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THE SOVIET STRATEGY OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The 27th CPSU Congress, a milestone in the history of Soviet society, marked the start of large-scale and diverse activities of the Soviet people to fulfil the grand plans of the Leninist Party. The work to implement the decisions taken by the 27th Congress is the main content of the activities of the Soviet Communists, and all the Soviet people, setting the pace of their life. The ideas and guidelines formulated by the Congress, imbued with realism and innovation and a spirit of revolutionary endeavour, have become a tangible force. Therefore it is most important today that the directives and conclusions of the Communist Congress and the most important and urgent proposals on key international issues made at it should be duly studied and analysed, and their impact on the present and future of world development be fully revealed.

Therefore this issue of the *International Affairs* journal carries an exchange of opinion on some of the cardinal problems dealt with at the Party Congress. Taking part in the discussion are scientists, practical workers, and journalists covering foreign policy issues and international relations.

The CPSU: The Creative Development of Lenin's System of Views on War and Peace Issues

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The 27th Congress of the CPSU, drawing on the collective wisdom of the Party, charted and substantiated the main line for the country's accelerated development and for safeguarding peace on Earth. The set of theoretical and political propositions and conclusions formulated in the Central Committee's Political Report, in the Resolution of the Congress, in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, in the revised Rules of the CPSU and in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 marks a new step taken in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application in the present-day conditions. The documents adopted by the Congress reflect the turning point in the development of the USSR and the whole world and offer solutions to today's most pressing issues. These documents are therefore immensely important, in theoretical and political terms, for they will greatly influence any significant processes in present-day world politics. It is obvious already that, as the impressive goals set by the Party at its 27th Congress are being accomplished, the historic significance and the immense mobilising power generated by the political and theoretical guidelines charted by the Congress of the Soviet Communists will be fully revealed.

Viewed in a broader context, the documents adopted by the Congress combine a truly revolutionary and innovative approach to all of today's vital problems with unshakeable faithfulness to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. It was namely the dialectical interpretation of new facts and phenomena and a bold analysis of the complex processes in present-day international developments on the basis of the laws discovered by Marxist-Leninist science, which enabled the 27th CPSU Congress to answer today's burning questions.

Among the most important theoretical and political problems that have been elaborated in the documents and materials of the supreme forum of the Soviet Communists, top priority is given to Lenin's science-based system of views on war and peace issues. I would like at this discussion to touch upon some questions pertaining to this system, for, as I see it, a comprehensive analysis of this system of views is bound to develop into a whole trend in our social science. Some of its aspects have already been examined in scientific studies, but, in our opinion, a comprehensive study of these views is still an outstanding problem. My contribution to the discussion allows me to dwell only on the more significant aspects of this many-sided problem.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme places Lenin's contribution to the development of the scientific system of views on war and peace issues on the same level with his theory of socialist revolution and building socialism. This is only natural, since in their practical and theoretical significance Lenin's views and propositions on the key issues of war and peace are of paramount importance for the cause of the socialist revolution and building socialism and are inseparable from this cause.

Lenin's views on war and peace issues are not just an assortment of ideas related to this problem but an integral system of views, based on a sound scientific foundation, revealing the nature of the war and peace problem in the present epoch. The components of this integral system are closely inter-related, the relationship being dialectical, but not mechanical. The basic principles of Lenin's system of views on war and peace issues are stemming from a class approach characteristic of Marxist-Leninist theory, an approach offering the only possible line of research along which the motley picture of the events and phenomena can be regarded as a series of objective and logical processes developing in accordance with the laws operating in society. War and peace issues, as Lenin saw them, cannot be viewed in isolation from the development of class contradictions, and their close interaction accounts for the origin of war in an antagonistic society. When studying the questions of war and peace, Lenin skillfully employed the method of historical analysis which enabled him to examine these complex phenomena in the life of society under real conditions of their origin and development.

Most important is Lenin's idea that the chief cause of war lies in the exploiter character of bourgeois society. "War," wrote Lenin, "does not contradict the fundamentals of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable outcome of those fundamentals. Under capitalism the smooth economizing growth of individual enterprises or individual states is impossible. Under capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics."¹ Because he saw the predominance of private ownership as the socio-economic cause of war, Lenin gave an exhaustive and scientifically grounded characteristic of imperialism which under new conditions increased the danger of armed conflicts many times over.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, 341

Lenin's assessment of the war and peace issues underlies the main ideas formulated in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, which says, in particular: "imperialism refuses to face the political realities of today's world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it tries to deprive them of their right to choose their road of development and threatens their security. Herein lies the main cause of conflicts in various parts of the world. The citadel of international reaction is US imperialism. The threat of war comes chiefly from it."

Lenin proved in theory, which was later convincingly borne out by social practice, that in the epoch when the world is split up into two social systems, when imperialism has ceased to be a dominating force in international relations, and when the new social system—socialism—invariably acts as a powerful and insurmountable barrier in the way of the imperialist policy of aggression and military brigandage, the war and peace issue, vital as it is for all nations, cannot be solved the way it used to be.

The scientific and technological revolution and the appearance of nuclear-missile weapons have added a new dimension to the war and peace problem. Technological progress cannot, of course, cancel out the laws governing the class struggle, but it demands that entirely new elements be taken into account in order to understand how war can help the exploiter classes achieve their self-seeking ends. Previously, being an instrument of the policy of aggression, of the seizure and of the enslavement of nations, a means of recarving the world and the spheres of influence, war could be an effective, though barbaric, way of attaining the goals set, whereas today a global war, even from the point of view of imperialism, can no longer yield such results. A world war has become an absurd means of achieving political or other goals, that is, speaking in terms of Marxist dialectics, war itself contains the prerequisites of its own negation. Whereas this dialectical negation of war, inherent in war as in a social phenomenon, was not so evident previously, today it is manifest so dramatically, I would say, that it can be denied only by those who deliberately ignore today's grim realities.

Indeed, now even the leaders of major imperialist powers declare—not only in speeches designed for the public but also in agreements that are legally binding—that nuclear war is inadmissible and that there can be no winner in it. Therefore, whether they want it or not, they indirectly admit the failure of the philosophy of militarism as a way of political thinking so typical of the imperialist quarters and the futility, in the long run, of the course military confrontation between the two socio-political systems.

However, forced to agree that nuclear war is inadmissible and absurd, the leaders of imperialist powers have far from abandoned the course of escalating the arms race, which is in fact tantamount to practical war preparations, and this, as the entire history of imperialism shows, is well in keeping with its class nature, with its rapacious character. The realities of our age compel the forces of imperialism to reckon with the fact that there can be no winner in a nuclear war, but they have not yet realised the obvious truth that the arms race cannot be won either. The recognition of this fact would naturally require abandoning the arms race and searching for constructive ways of ultimately eliminating mass destruction weapons altogether.

The 27th CPSU Congress set forth the Soviet Union's clear-cut policy which consistently demands that mankind be delivered from the nuclear sword of self-destruction. This policy takes the form of a constructive, balanced and practicable programme for completely and comprehensively eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. This programme, proposed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in his Statement of January 15 this year will, no

doubt, be pivotal in the entire struggle on the international scene in the coming years. Negation of war is a consistent political philosophy of the Communists, who remember well the words of Lenin that "socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal."² This life-asserting and truly humane philosophy was demonstrated throughout the 27th Congress of the CPSU, by all the large-scale proposals advanced by it. The CPSU and the Soviet government proceed from the fact that, as it was stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Political Report of the Central Committee, "the modern world has become much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of force. It cannot be saved and preserved if the thinking and actions built up over the centuries on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts are not shed once and for all, irrevocably."

Examining some major aspects of Lenin's system of views on war and peace issues, one should remember that in the days of Lenin, progress of science and technology had not yet posed so categorically the question of the suicidal character war has acquired now that formidable weapons have been developed which, if used, can destroy all life on Earth. However, even at that time, Lenin, with his brilliant insight, could discern the intricate dialectics of the inter-relationship between war itself and the means by which it is waged. According to Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), "Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) sometimes liked to dream about the future. I recall a conversation with him about war. This was in early 1918, in Leningrad. Vladimir Ilyich said that modern technology was making war increasingly destructive. But there would come a time when its destructiveness would grow to a point at which war would become impossible. Later, in 1920-1921, Vladimir Ilyich returned to this question again. He recalled his conversation with an engineer who had said that a new invention which was in the making would enable large armies to be destroyed at a distance. That would render any war impossible. Vladimir Ilyich spoke about it with great concern. It was obvious how ardently he wished war to become impossible."

In the system of Lenin's views on war and peace issues factors offering a real possibility for eliminating war from the life of society take the highest priority. It would be a gross oversimplification and misinterpretation of Lenin's views to say he believed technical innovations would themselves render war impossible and inadmissible. The effect of scientific and technological factors on solving the war and peace problem is achieved primarily through stepping up the struggle of the popular masses and the purposeful activities of political parties and organisations. The role of the popular masses in war and peace matters has always been in the focus of attention for the Marxist-Leninists, since war can be averted only by acting with reliance on the popular masses, uniting them all in a broad antiwar movement. Lenin considered it most important to explain to the people the situations giving rise to wars so as to mobilise them to the utmost for countering the policies of military venture. As the broad popular masses will realise the real threat of war and its origins, there will emerge a greater opportunity to organise a common struggle against war and the military threat. He wrote: "We must explain the real situation to the people, show them that war is hatched in the greatest secrecy."³

Today, when imperialism uses man's achievements for creating weapons of formidable destructive power, it is of paramount importance that imperialist bourgeoisie be prevented from using the achievements of man's reason and skill against human civilisation. The new edition of the CPSU

² V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1964, p. 299.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 447.

Programme says that "it is not science and technology in themselves that pose a threat to peace. This threat is posed by imperialism and its policy, the policy of the most reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of our time. The threat can be averted only by curbing those forces."

There does exist a real possibility for restraining the forces of imperialist aggression and war, even though mankind has never been confronted with so enormous a threat. One should not, of course, entirely equate the operation of laws in physics and in politics, but, still, in physics and politics any action gives rise to counteraction. So there is every reason to believe that the greater the war menace, the more resolute are those who have come out to prevent war. It is a fact that imperialist policy is opposed to by the mounting potential of the peace forces. The new edition of the CPSU Programme offers a clear-cut characteristic of this potential: it is an active and consistently peaceful policy pursued by the socialist states, and their growing economic and defence might; it is the policy pursued by most states in Asia, Africa and Latin America vitally interested in safeguarding peace and ending the arms race; it is the antiwar movement of the broad popular masses on every continent, the movement which has become a long-term and influential factor in the life of society. A sober assessment of the real alignment of forces leads many politicians in capitalist countries to realise the danger of continuing, let alone stepping up, the arms race.

The chief purpose of the antiwar campaigns against the war menace is to curb the arms race and achieve real disarmament. The hackneyed postulate of imperialist policy, which says that reliance on growing strength is allegedly the main guarantee of stable peace, has become most dangerous today, for if used in practice, it can lead mankind to catastrophe. World developments clearly confirm that Karl Marx was correct when he wrote: "Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time, none has caused more harm than the one that says: 'In order to have peace, you must prepare for war'. This great truth, whose outstanding feature is that it contains a great lie, is the battle cry that has called all Europe to arms and generated such a belligerent phanatism that every new peace act is regarded as a new declaration of war, and greedily exploited."⁴

In present-day conditions this slogan by bellicose hawks sounds more vicious than ever and the urgent task now is to expose it. It is symptomatic that in one of his recent speeches the US President declared that war preparations were the most effective way of safeguarding peace. It is hard to tell what really prevails in this approach—a distortion of history and disregard for its bitter lessons or the unwillingness to soberly assess today's realities. War preparations have never led to peace, nor did they ever help consolidate international security. This has become all the more true, since the appearance of nuclear missile weapons.

Fully in keeping with Lenin's views, the CPSU and the Soviet government see the ways of safeguarding peace not in building up arms, and not in creating an illusion of security by achieving a balance of terror, because a continuation of the nuclear arms race, as was noted by the 27th CPSU Congress, tends to increase equal danger which can be elevated to a point when even a parity is no longer a factor of military-political containment. The only reasonable alternative to the arms race today is Lenin's life-tested concept of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This concept, by which the USSR will be invariably guided in the future as well, was substantiated in detail and developed in the documents of the 27th Congress.

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p. 439.

By contrast, the US Administration, while speaking for a peaceful contest with the Soviet Union, in reality pursues a course of ever greater confrontation. Moreover, the USA has been trying of late to "institutionalise" a line for undermining the socialist community and pursuing a policy of direct interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, a policy—elevated to the level of a doctrine—aimed at suppressing the peoples' movement for social emancipation and national liberation. Clear evidence of this is, for instance, the statement by Patrick Buchanan, White House Communications Director. "The [Reagan] doctrine", he declared, "says we don't have to resign ourselves to the fact that once a country has become a member of the socialist or communist camp it must remain there forever."

In the final analysis, US imperialism seeks, if we are to call a spade a spade, social revenge on a global scale and attempts to block the process of inevitable social and political change in the world, a change viewed by some Western leaders as a historical abnormality. However, as this was stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Party, "the world is in a process of swift changes, and it is not within anybody's power to maintain a perpetual status quo in it". The attempts by imperialism to "replay" this historical game, so to speak, that is, to stop the irreversible advance of the peoples on the path of building a new society, are just as hopeless.

The results of the 27th CPSU Congress and the documents it adopted, which determine all the directions in the activities of the Party and government in domestic and foreign policies, have furnished yet more convincing proof of the great vitality of the immortal Marxist-Leninist teaching, of the Party's faithfulness to the behests of Lenin, its founder and leader. Lenin wrote: "A straight policy is the best policy. A policy based on principles is the most practical policy."⁵ This is the line pursued by the Communist Party in every area of its diverse activities. It is an example of a truly open and consistent policy expressing the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of all other nations taken duly into account. The Congress has demonstrated the continuity, inherent in the class nature of socialism, of the foreign-policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet government, and a creative approach to the problems confronting the USSR today. As was noted in the Political Report, "continuity in foreign policy has nothing in common with a simple repetition of what has been done, especially in tackling the problems that have piled up. What is wanted is a high degree of accuracy in assessing one's own possibilities, restraint, and an eminently high sense of responsibility when decisions are made. What is wanted is firmness in upholding principles and postures, tactical flexibility, a readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, and an orientation on dialogue and mutual understanding rather than on confrontation."

World development today, unprecedented in its fast rate and scope, is a complex and contradictory process which depends on the interplay of many factors and deep-going trends. One of these trends is obviously the increasing role of the Soviet Union as a powerful bastion in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, war and aggression, for peace, democracy and social progress. This reflects the reality of our epoch and is an objective expression of socialism's historical mission, which is to determine the general line of progress for human civilisation.

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, imbued with historical optimism, have equipped the Communists and all Soviet working people, as well as the forces of social progress the world over, with a clear and well-grounded programme of action aimed at reversing the dangerous

course of events, preserving peace and restraining those who have set out to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust. The Congress of Soviet Communists stressed in its Resolution, with confidence based on realism and thorough analysis of the facts: "The last decades of the 20th century confronted the nations of the world with difficult and acute problems. The need for solving most vital global problems should prompt them to joint action, to triggering the tendencies towards the self-preservation of humanity. The course of world affairs provides the requisite material, social and political conditions for this.... The forces of peace and progress all over the world can neutralise the threat emanating from imperialism, halt the world's slide towards the brink of the nuclear abyss, and prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield."

The creative development by the CPSU of Lenin's views on the problems of war and peace combines the scientific analysis of the inner trends of international relations with the synthesis of the new phenomena evoked into life by the very course of social progress. And here is rooted the strength of Marxist-Leninist dialectics as applied to the realities of the modern world.

The Socio-Economic Dynamism of Soviet Society

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The 27th Congress of the CPSU has determined that the main aim of the Communist Party's foreign policy is to ensure that the Soviet people have the possibility of working under conditions of durable peace and freedom. The wording reflects the dialectical interconnection between the constructive domestic and the peaceful foreign policies of the Soviet State. Further growth of the productive forces and improvement of production relations in socialist society for the good of all the Soviet people and determined struggle against the danger of nuclear war, the arms race, and for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace and security—these are the two fundamental and organically interconnected ideas which inform all the documents of the Congress, and all the plans of the Communist Party in the short and longer term.

In seeking to improve the material and cultural conditions in this country, the CPSU has worked out a programme for speeding up the socio-economic development of society. This entails large-scale restructuring that would bring about essential changes in industry, more fully reveal the social superiority of socialism and improve the performance of the national economy.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has stressed that the economy remains the main sphere of the Party's activities as before. It is in the economy, the Congress documents point out, that prerequisites are created for a materially and spiritually rich and socially meaningful life for the Soviet people under conditions of peace and for reaching a qualitatively new state of society.

Specific targets are well known. The Soviet Union is to double its industrial potential and almost double its national income by the year 2000. That would make it possible to double the amount of resources used to meet the requirements of the Soviet people.

In reviewing the achievements of the past years and outlining an economic programme for the future, the Party drew attention to the shortcomings and omissions that had taken place in the past. The task has

been set of overcoming resolutely, quickly, once and for all everything that has impeded the economic development and of making the economy highly dynamic by giving scope to revolutionary transformations and involving the broad masses of people in this process.

Soviet economy is to be switched to the intensive road of development. In concrete terms that means that the emphasis will be shifted from quantity to quality and effectiveness, from interim to final results, from expansion of production assets to their renewal. The task has been set of making major economies in fuel and raw materials, developing science-intensive branches and overhauling the national economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

Profound transformations are to take place in the countryside where the task is to ensure more stable development of agriculture and related industries. The Party considers the implementation of a modern agrarian policy to be a high priority task of the Party, Soviet and economic management bodies, all the Communists and all the people.

To be sure, if the economic targets are to be successfully met the existing reserves of the national economy have to be mobilised, i.e. fuller utilisation is to be made of the existing production capacities, and raw and other materials, fuel and energy will have to be saved. The result would be a dramatic improvement in the quality of products and the quality of work. Thus, clear-cut goals in the economic policy of the CPSU are inseparably linked with the raising of living standards.

The programme of accelerating social and economic development worked out by the Party and approved by its 27th Congress has a tremendous mobilising effect. It encourages all Soviet people to work creatively, raises the responsibility of everyone for doing his job and encourages search for reserves—in short, induces people to work better.

The Soviet people see this as their internationalist duty as well. Lenin in his time convincingly demonstrated that the greater this country's achievements in the economic field the more effective would be its influence on the international situation. The USSR was and is a staunch opponent of power politics and war. It puts its entire economic, scientific and technological potential at the service of peace so that mankind can enter a basically new period of development whose keynote will be not the arms race, but constructive work in the name of a peaceful life for the present and future generations.

Such is the logic of the interconnection between the domestic and foreign policies of socialism predetermined by its very nature. For neither the Soviet Union nor any other socialist country have social strata or groups who stand to gain from the arms race or war.

Another thing that needs to be stressed is that in the Soviet Union determining the guidelines and setting the targets in internal and foreign policies have become the concern of the whole people. The preparation, the course and the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU bear convincing proof of that. Soviet people took an active part in discussing draft Congress documents including the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of this country which outlines in detail the prospects for the USSR's advancement, for every branch of the economy and sets a timetable for this advance until the beginning of the next millenium. The Soviet people have expressed their whole-hearted support for the Party's foreign policy aimed at ridding mankind from a nuclear nightmare. That is why the whole Soviet society has been involved in working out the documents passed by the Congress.

The dialectical interconnection between the domestic and external policies of socialism can be seen everywhere. How can a socialist society, which is carrying out secondary school reform and is planning higher and specialised secondary education reform, which sets the task

of computerising all branches of the economy and is introducing genetic engineering, transforming nature while at the same time taking care to preserve it, which is launching space crews for the sake of its peaceful exploration, how can such a society base its foreign policy on the idea of conquering other lands and be committed to resolving the historical dispute with capitalism through military confrontation?

Although world socialism today has built up an economic, scientific, technical and defence potential that makes futile any attempts of using intimidation when dealing with it, nevertheless the Congress of the Communist Party in the most powerful socialist country has made the conclusion that the nature of modern weapons leaves no state any hope of protecting itself by military technical means, by creating the most powerful of defences. In this situation, a continued arms race on earth, let alone its spread to outer space, would accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and improvement of nuclear and other weapons, which is fraught with the gravest catastrophic consequences. As other speakers in this exchange have stressed, the objective conditions on the international scene today are such that the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can only proceed in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry.

Throughout its history socialism has constantly and consistently demonstrated that it can offer the broadest opportunities for its citizens to satisfy their material and spiritual requirements. Only socialism offers people the rights that ensure the full blossoming of the individual. Nothing remotely similar to this can happen in the capitalist countries, even in those with age-old traditions of bourgeois democracy. Free education, free medical service, absence of unemployment, moderate housing costs and many other things can only be dreamt of by people in the West. In this country all this has long been reality. The 27th Congress of the CPSU vividly demonstrated that the advantages of socialism will be still more fully revealed when these impressive plans are put into action.

The attraction of the socialist example, and the dynamism of socialism exert a powerful influence on the developing countries. They see that the Soviet Union has, in a historically short period, solved the national question and created optimal conditions for equitable relations between nations. All this convinces them that socialism creates conditions for the solution of the complex and acute questions of social and economic development in the interests of the majority. Naturally, they draw practical conclusions for themselves.

The broad vistas opening up before Soviet society that have now been presented to the world, the economic targets set in the USSR, which show how greatly the strength of Soviet state will increase in the near future, cannot but give a powerful impetus to all peace forces by inspiring confidence that the arms race can be reversed and the international situation improved in every sphere through joint effort.

It is no secret that the USSR has many enemies in the capitalist world. Yet a strong Soviet Union, and the growing well-being of its people could only be perceived as threatening and dangerous by the bellicose circles of monopoly capital, by the leaders of the military-industrial complex and transnational corporations who are harbouring plans for social revenge. Clearly, their aim is to whip up the arms race in which they hope to achieve military superiority over socialism and at the same time make it more difficult for the USSR to realise its constructive plans thus making socialist ideals less attractive for the workers in their countries. In setting these objectives they forget that such a foreign policy has an adverse impact on their internal affairs by increasing unemployment and bringing down the living standards of the majority of their people who feel less and less secure about their future.

The cause-and-effect relationship between the internal and external policies of the capitalist countries is apparent. The tremendously influential arms-manufacturing business in its quest for higher and higher profits seeks to expand military production at any cost, to secure the adoption of ever more ambitious militaristic programmes, to inflate military budgets, notably by cutting public spending.

The external policy of the leading imperialist states, in the first place the USA, is becoming ever more aggressive and dangerous for the destinies of mankind. Examples are not hard to find. Let us consider, for example, the developments that took place since the Soviet-US Summit in Geneva in November 1985. As is known, the sides came to the conclusion that ways should be sought to improve the political climate on the planet, to prevent the arms race in outer space and halt it on earth. However, the United States has committed itself to dramatically aggravating international tensions, in the first place Soviet-US relations. It has demanded that the USSR should make a drastic cut in the number of its diplomatic personnel at the United Nations. US battleships have entered Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea with a clearly provocative intent. The USA has staged air raids on Libya in a demonstration of strength, and in order to show that US imperialism could carry out such actions with impunity. In an attempt to wreck the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests the USA carried out a series of nuclear explosions at its Nevada site this spring.

The US Administration is turning a deaf ear to international public opinion which calls for non-militarisation of outer space. The notorious "star wars" programme is going full speed ahead with Britain, West Germany, Italy, Israel, and other countries taking part.

Thus, while the US Administration says one thing in official Soviet-American communiques it does the opposite in practice. If one adds to this the fact that the mass media in the United States constantly foment anti-Soviet hysteria in the country, it is evident that the White House is not inclined to abandon its course for building up international tensions. The situation in the world continues to be alarming, the arms race goes on, and the threat of nuclear war remains.

Yet there are forces in the world capable of opposing that reckless policy. Reaction is by no means all powerful. The 27th Congress of the CPSU has demonstrated that the very existence of the Soviet state and the world socialist system provides a powerful counterveiling force to the aggressive policies of imperialism. Its positions are also being undermined by further development of the world revolutionary process, the rise of mass democratic movements and national liberation movements. All this adds to the vast potential of peace forces.

Finally, I would like to go back to the question of the dialectical interconnection between the internal and external policies of the Soviet state. That interconnection was stated with utter clarity by Mikhail Gorbachev during his meeting with the people of the town of Togliatti on April 8, 1986: "We must constantly remember that the main front in ensuring success in the struggle for peace is the solution of the tasks of improving socialist society. The determining factor is the state of our economy, the development of science and technology, the qualitative restructuring of the economy, the enhancement of the spiritual, intellectual and moral potential of the Soviet power. In the final analysis, it depends on the work of each of us. In short, a strong and healthy economy ensures success in the policy of peace. This is the meaning of the interconnection between external and internal policies."

Socialist Internationalism—The Basis of Mutual Relations Among Fraternal Countries

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The experience of the USSR, of world socialism shows that the most important factors in its successful advance are the loyalty of the ruling Communist and Workers' Parties to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and a creative application of that doctrine; firm links between the parties and the broad masses of working people, an enhancing of the authority of the parties and their guiding role in society, strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, and development of government by the people under socialism; a sober consideration of the actual situation, timely and scientifically substantiated solution of the problems that arise; and the building of relations with other fraternal countries on the principles of socialist internationalism that include class solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance in solving the tasks of building and defending the new society, and equality, respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

Socialism has brought to life a new, previously unknown type of international relations whose character is determined by the community of the socio-economic system and ideological unity of the socialist countries, the community of their aims and all-round comradely cooperation in conditions of full respect for the interests, specificities and traditions of each country.

This type of relations is new because by its essence it differs fundamentally from relations between states typical of the capitalist world where the striving of monopoly capital for maximum profit is the prime motivation. It is not by chance that the history of bourgeois diplomacy abounds in secret deals made behind the peoples backs, to the detriment of the interests of the working people. Frederick Engels wrote in this connection: "All hitherto existing rulers and their diplomats have employed their skill and efforts to set one nation against another and use one nation to subjugate another."⁶ The striving of strong states to enslave weaker ones, the disregard of states for the national interests of others, the practice of suppressing and subjugating peoples and states by the threat or use of force—all these are inherent features of capitalism. It is known that Lenin characterised the essence of international relations under capitalism as "the open robbery of the weaker".⁷

Such intentions are alien to the nature of socialism. The type of relations characteristic of the socialist countries is determined by the important circumstance that the working class, which represents the interests of all the working masses in each of these countries, becomes the ruling class and its Marxist-Leninist party becomes the ruling party. As they came to power and guiding themselves by the principles of socialist internationalism, Communists succeeded in planting seeds of friendship which have yielded abundant fruit in an area where the exploiting ruling classes had for centuries cultivated division and alienation among peoples.

At the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, held in Prague in January 1983, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisa-

⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, 1977, p. 165.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, 1963, p. 189.

tion stressed that the formation of the new type of international relations based on voluntary equal cooperation and international solidarity of sovereign socialist countries is one of socialism's greatest achievements.

Relations between countries inherent in the nature of socialism manifest themselves to the fullest extent in the life of the socialist community of states that is characterised by extensive cooperation in all spheres of society's life, including participation in socialist economic integration, the pursuance of a joint and coordinated policy in the international arena. As it was noted in the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress, the heart and soul of the political cooperation among our countries have been and remain the interaction among the ruling communist parties, the improvement and renewal of its forms and methods, which make possible prompt comradely exchanges of opinion on an entire range of problems of socialist construction. This approach is in keeping with the demands of the day and enriches the content of relations between our parties and countries at all levels. This fully applies to the relations between member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, between member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Needless to say, there are no barriers whatsoever separating the community from other socialist countries. In this connection Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress: "The CPSU stands for honest, above-board relations with all communist parties and all countries of the world socialist system, for comradely exchanges of opinion between them. Above all, we endeavour to see what unites the socialist world. For that reason the Soviet Communists are gladdened by every step towards closer relations among all socialist states, by every positive advance in these relations."

It is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme that history has not known such a community of countries in which no one country has or can have special rights and privileges, in which international relations have really become relations between peoples, and in which fruitful ties at various levels have taken shape and are developing—from the highest level of the Party and state leadership to work collectives. The community multiplies the strength of the fraternal states in the building of socialism and helps reliably to ensure their security.

Whereas the law of uneven development is typical of capitalism and in the sphere of international relations leads to a situation in which strong countries enrich themselves by plundering the weaker ones and perpetuate their backwardness in every way, totally different laws operate in conditions of socialism. Simultaneously with the flourishing and strengthening of the sovereignty of the socialist countries there takes place the process of their drawing closer together. This process begins with the very first steps of their revolutionary development along the road of socialism and expresses itself in the growth of common elements in politics, economy, social life and, on this basis, in the further strengthening of the mutual ties of the fraternal parties and states. The levels of development of the socialist countries are brought closer together through the creation of the necessary conditions for raising the less developed countries to the level of the more developed ones, and this is an important manifestation and result of the process of drawing closer together. And the higher and closer are the levels of social development of the socialist countries, the richer and more profound becomes their cooperation, the more organic the process of drawing closer together. The matter is that as the number of common features grows, these countries are faced with increasingly similar tasks, and a steadily growing part of these tasks are being tackled by the fraternal countries, not individually but through joint effort. Hence the growing dependence of the successes in the internal social and econo-

mic development of each socialist country on the level of its cooperation and interaction with the fraternal states.

The socialist system creates all possibilities both for society's all-round progress and for balanced relations between countries. But the realisation of these possibilities depends in many ways on the subjective factor and calls for tireless activity of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties, special attention on their part and all-round cooperation so as to prevent the appearance of conditions for discord capable of inflicting damage to the common interests of the socialist countries. The coordination of actions in matters of fundamental importance, comradely interest in each other's successes and strict fulfilment of adopted obligations are of much importance. A profound understanding of national and international interests in their organic interconnection is especially important. The major role of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which reliably protects the peaceful creative work of the fraternal peoples and is a stable factor of preserving peace in Europe and in the world as a whole, was noted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Sofia in 1985. It was stated at the meeting that the Warsaw Treaty member countries will further consistently pursue their course of raising the effectiveness of their mutual cooperation in all spheres on the basis of a balanced combination of their national and international interests.

When the question of the interrelationship of the national and the international is raised correctly in theory and solved in practice, this enhances the flourishing and drawing closer together of socialist nations and helps avoid errors in the guidance of socialist construction on the national and international scale, and makes it possible to avert sliding down to positions of nationalism and voluntaristic disregard for the national factor. When studying the question of the corelationship of the national and international interests of the working class, Lenin proceeded from their organic unity. He stressed the need to "fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest".⁸ To be an internationalist, he said, "one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but place *above it* the interests of all nations".⁹

The common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction lie at the base of the dialectical unity of the national and the international. The successful building of socialism, the strengthening of the world system of socialism, the socialist community are taking place on the basis of these common laws, with due account for the historic conditions and national specificities of each country. V. I. Lenin taught that "the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions... but an application of the *fundamental* principles of communism... which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions."¹⁰

Lenin taught that every Communist must back up his understanding of his international duties with practical deeds. He was implacable to those who professed internationalism only in words. Genuine international solidarity, as Lenin saw it, is distinguished for the fact that it manifests itself in concrete deeds and serves the deepening of the world revolutionary process. He called on Communists to be internationalists all the time, to solve every question of socialist construction from positions of common

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1964, p. 347.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, 1924.

interests of revolutionary struggle, to see one's nation's real interests within the framework of common international tasks.

Lenin, emphasising the importance of the international factor, never belittled the importance of the national one and constantly demanded the most serious attention to the national specificities of every country, taking national specifics fully into account. "Our experience," he said, "has left us with the firm conviction that only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely cannot be peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilisation."¹¹

With the formation of the world socialist system Lenin's ideas of internationalism became the foundation of the interstate relations between the socialist countries. The harmfulness of attempts either to underrate the national factor or to unjustifiably exaggerate its role was determined in practice already during the initial period of the development of the new type of international relations in the course of the search for the optimum correlation of the national and the international.

Life has shown that in the dialectical unity of the national and the international it is important not to emphasise one to the detriment of the other, and the more so to counterpose these two factors.

Creative thought is not marking time and its task is to boldly raise pressing issues, creatively generalise experience and work out clear-cut bearings for the future in the spirit of the fundamental ideas of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. However, sometimes one hears that supposedly a change has occurred lately in the correlation of national and international interests. It is hard to square such an understanding of internationalism with Marxist-Leninist science. For when the international is pushed to the background internationalism gives way to nationalism. The striving for one's own advantage "at all costs", contrary to, or to the detriment of, the interests of other socialist countries and the international interests of world socialism invariably inflicts damage to the common cause and signifies departure from internationalist policy.

The following argument is usually employed to substantiate the above-mentioned point of view: the role of the national-state factor increases at the present stage within the complex of the interrelationships of socialist countries. But nobody denies this. However, the role of the international factor increases to a no lesser extent. It is thus with the deepening, intensification and growing sophistication of mutual ties, the drawing into them of ever new elements of the national economies that the common international interest of socialist countries begins to acquire an ever growing importance in international life. It also includes the collective defence of these states against the coordinated efforts of the West to put economic pressure on them by means of all sorts of discriminatory measures, credit restrictions, technological boycott, etc. Yet another factor should also be borne in mind: the West extensively resorts to a differentiated policy in respect to individual socialist countries with the hope of undermining their interest in concerted and coordinated actions.

All this goes to show that the dialectical unity of the national and the international in the mutual relations of socialist countries is characterised at present by the growth of both of its aspects. This understanding of the harmonious combination of national and international interests serves as a basis for adopting correct decisions helping to strengthen the socialist countries' unity and cohesion. If we take the sphere of economic coopera-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, 1966, p. 386.

tion, the coordination of national interests may include, in particular, a voluntary waiving of some current economic advantages for the sake of a major strategic gain, a sober reassessment of one's own requirements in the light of common needs or the general situation.

The role of the international factor increases still further with the adoption in December 1985 of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000 of CMEA countries. Its fulfilment involves the extensive development of direct ties of coproduction between countries, the creation of international scientific-technical complexes, joint firms and enterprises, and this will inevitably require a still closer coordination of actions along a number of directions within the framework of the entire socialist community.

Clarity of political position and purity of Marxist-Leninist world outlook on the part of every Communist are especially important now when the class enemy is trying hard to cultivate nationalistic sentiments among the peoples of socialist states, a way of life alien to socialism, and is circulating rumours about "injustices" in the Soviet Union's relations with the fraternal countries with the aim of isolating them in "national apartments". One should not underestimate this. The practice of the mutual relations of the socialist countries shows that manifestations of nationalism are capable of weakening international ties, undermining the unity and cohesion of the socialist states and inflicting damage to socialism as a whole and also in the country in which they are revealed.

That is why it is a common task of the Communists in the socialist countries to conduct an implacable struggle against manifestations of nationalism, to facilitate the formation of ideologically dedicated fighters for socialism, to bring them up in the spirit of socialist internationalism, awareness of their joint responsibility for the destiny of world socialism, and constant readiness to defend its gains. As it is stressed in the Party Programme, in the sphere of ideological activity "the CPSU stands for pooling the efforts of the fraternal parties aimed at studying and using the experience in building socialism and in the communist education of working people, at developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism while deepening its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence... The Party will continue to enhance awareness of the unity and common historical destinies of the fraternal peoples."

Today the common international task of the socialist countries is to further strengthen the unity and cohesion of world socialism, first of all the socialist community which is such an authoritative force of our time that not a single question of world politics can be solved without it. The community of socialist states is a firm bulwark of peace on earth, the most consistent champion of healthy, peaceful, democratic elements in international relations, the main obstacle standing in the way of imperialist reaction.

In conditions of the present aggravation of the international situation it has never been more necessary to pursue the agreed-upon line in foreign policy with ever growing consistency and precision because it is this policy that ensures the security of socialist countries and international security as a whole, makes it possible to successfully resist the pressure of imperialist forces, to curb them and thereby avert nuclear war and save mankind from annihilation.

There Is no Alternative to Peaceful Coexistence

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Both in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress and in the new edition of the Party's Programme, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is treated as a categorical imperative of today.

Naturally, we have existed side by side with the capitalist world for almost 70 years now and over a half of that period has been marked by the presence of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of several states. Proceeding from that circumstance, some theorists and politicians in the West, above all in the United States, have claimed that the Soviet Union allegedly lays it on too thick speaking of the extraordinary nature of the current international situation; they allege that everything goes normally in the world, that the military balance, which is acknowledged by Moscow as well, is more or less stable, and that the Soviet-US talks on limiting nuclear and space arms go on, and that, if so, why should one "work up" fears.

"Mollifying declarations" of this kind occasionally fall on fertile ground because most of men and women throughout our planet have grown up under conditions of peace and view the latter as a natural state of our civilisation. And far from all people have pondered the fact that throughout many a millennium the history of mankind has in fact been a history of wars among various clans, tribes, nations, and states, which have been interrupted by very brief respites, i. e. periods of peace. But what was "natural" a mere hundred years ago has become altogether unnatural today because nuclear weapons can trigger a tornado capable of wiping the entire human race off the face of the Earth.

A friend of mine in the United States, journalist Thomas Powers who is vigorously fighting against the insanity of the nuclear race, has recently sent me a two-volume study, prepared by 300 scientists from 30-odd countries within the framework of the International Council of the Scientific Unions and concerned with the environmental consequences of a nuclear war. Despite the utmost caution displayed by those experts in natural sciences and all the differences among them about specific consequences, which a global nuclear conflict could entail, they are unanimous in predicting a possibility of a tragedy of an unprecedented scope. Yet, many politicians in the West continue to brush aside that fully justified anxiety expressed by the scientific community, and some sections of the general public in capitalist countries are not fully cognizant thereof, either.

This is why the description given by the 27th Congress to the current period as, in fact, a crucial turning point or a threshold in deciding whether or not a world nuclear war would be unleashed, seems to explode the false complacency and compels one to think anew of the fact that this is not a question of merely heading off a bloody slaughter but of preserving the unique human civilisation on our planet.

The destinies of humankind are directly contingent on present-day policies. And this crucial issue has been accorded topmost priority by the Soviet Communists who are aware of the complexity of dealing with the problem of securing a durable peace under conditions of confrontation and coexistence of the two different social systems, cohabitation that has not always been peaceful.

True, the logic of objective circumstances and, above all, of realistically understood national interests together with the sober decisions taken

by the state leaders of bourgeois-democratic countries resulted in a coalition of the USA, Britain, the Soviet Union and many other states during the Second World War, with all the participants in the coalition fighting shoulder to shoulder against German fascism and Japanese militarism. That war took the toll of 50 million human lives. But what would that number have been, had Hitler succeeded in laying his hand on the A-bomb? And indeed, the phenomenon of such a maniac as Hitler is not ruled out today, either.

Naturally, in raising the issue of a need to strengthen peaceful coexistence and to build that process on a stable treaty and legal, institutional and material basis by primarily renouncing reliance on force and on instruments of war in the foreign policy of states, the CPSU proceeds not so much from a probability that a nuclear madman obsessed with the idea of world domination may take the reins of power in a nuclear state as from the awareness that even the process of gradually accumulating and improving nuclear arms, which some people in the West have termed a "normal concern for one's own security", is capable of inertially and, in point of fact, automatically driving the world to a nuclear clash. This idea has been expressed very aptly by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress: "Security cannot be built endlessly on fear of retaliation, in other words, on the doctrines of 'containment' or 'deterrence'. Apart from the absurdity and amorality of a situation in which the whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, these doctrines encourage an arms race that may sooner or later go out of control."

In evidence is a threat, and a very real threat at that, and awareness of that threat should have stimulated all states, and primarily the nuclear powers, to undertake vigorous and urgent measures to reverse the nuclear arms race and the steady sliding down to a nuclear war which under present-day conditions cannot mean anything else but an end to human civilisation.

I am saying "should have" because not everyone in Washington and, for that matter, in other Western capitals is fully cognizant of the critical nature of the current period of history and the urgency of the task of rectifying the dangerous situation prevailing now on the world scene.

In the early 1970s, the Republican Administration in the USA, under the impact of the tragic experience of its armed intervention in Indochina and as a result of a more or less realistic assessment of the situation, in particular in terms of the future military rivalry between the two systems, arrived at a conclusion that it was necessary, jointly with the USSR, to undertake efforts to stabilise the international situation, to slow down the arms race and to limit strategic armaments. It was in that period that the USSR and the USA negotiated most important arms limitation agreements which, no matter how imperfect or limited they were, still remain the main instruments containing, in one form or another, confrontation between the two systems, the two blocs of states.

It was also then that the leaders of the USSR and the US signed a major document on the "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America" in which the US side for the first time formally recognised peaceful coexistence as a fundamental principle of relations between the two countries in the nuclear age. The two sides agreed that at present "there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Differences in ideology and in the social systems of the USSR and the USA are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage".

Both sides derived substantial benefits in the 1970s when Soviet-US relations were based on the above principles. For a time, American ruling

quarters stopped looking at the historical competition between the two systems only through the prism of military and technological rivalry. This permitted to conclude SALT-1 accords and the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems which is of unlimited duration and which not only stabilised the Soviet-US parity at the level of "equal penetrability" of each state to retaliation in the case of an attack but also allowed both the Soviet Union and the United States save hundreds of billions of roubles and dollars due to their mutual undertaking not to deploy ABM systems for a defence of their national territories.

That development of relations between the two countries was clearly not to the liking of American "hawks" who in the 1980s began to exert a decisive influence on US foreign policy. They resorted to all sorts of scheming and falsehoods as regards the issue of a military and strategic parity. It is obviously required to dot all the i's and cross all the t's in this matter.

This country believes that the parity situation, the situation of mutual containment exercised by equalising the danger for both sides in the event of a nuclear conflict between them is unsatisfactory because it implies above all a danger, and a nuclear danger at that, when the deadly outcome of but one nuclear explosion can run into millions upon millions of human lives lost. This is why we suggest specific ways for changing that equal danger into a situation of equal security by drastically reducing the nuclear arsenals of both sides and preventing the spreading of the arms race to new areas. In other words, we stand for a radical and permanent reduction in the military component of the states' foreign policy and its psychological externalisation in the form of the threat of a physical use of military, above all nuclear, force.

As to the politicians who came to power in the USA in January 1981, they regarded the situation of equal danger as unsatisfactory not because it implied a danger but because that was an equal danger. Their goal was not to lower it for both sides but only to alleviate the threat for the USA while sharply enhancing it for the Soviet Union. By all appearances, this is the main political rationale behind the US President's "strategic defense initiative".

We are perfectly aware that in expounding his SDI scheme the US President claims that this is a means of replacing stability based on a possible "mutual assured destruction" with a more effective and more humane principle of stability on the basis of "mutual assured survival". But in reality the White House has set its sights not on demilitarising US foreign policy but on augmenting the latter's military component. In other words, this road is diametrically opposite to the one proposed by the USSR which has put forward a specific plan for eliminating nuclear weapons in the world before the end of the century.

It is self-evident that attempts to secure substantial unilateral advantages and to place the other side in a position of strategic vulnerability while ensuring strategic invulnerability for oneself mean not only giving up the cessation of the arms race but also a direct attack against the principles of USSR-US peaceful coexistence and a challenge to pursue the policy of armed confrontation.

It should be noted that in the period of detente the two sides took substantial steps to build on the basic principles of peaceful coexistence and to supplement them with more specific obligations. In particular, the SALT-2 Treaty together with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the 1971 Soviet-US agreement on the prevention of nuclear war laid down a good foundation for moving over to radical reductions in strategic arms. The SALT-2 Treaty established a direct link between the parties' interests and the strengthening (not violation) of strategic stability; it reaffirmed the principle of equality and equal security and

specifically and materially consolidated the latter in all its provisions. The Treaty established a link between the Soviet and US strategic arms limitation efforts and their obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Finally, it contained a solemn undertaking of the two sides promptly to begin active negotiations on further measures for the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, with the objective of achieving general and complete disarmament. By refusing to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty, the US Administration seems to have disavowed those principles.

As is well known, the joint Soviet-American communique on the outcome of the Geneva summit does not contain an explicit mention of the term "peaceful coexistence". Yet, both the communique and the meeting itself have in fact implied the US side's recognition, if I am allowed to put it this way, of the inevitability of peaceful coexistence and the non-existence of any other platform or any other prospect for relations between the two countries because, as has been stressed in the communique, "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought".

That the USSR and the USA set about improving their relations not "from scratch" but continue what has been initiated before has been stressed by the US President himself at the closing ceremony of the meeting in the following words: "Will the treaties and agreements signed, past and future, be fulfilled? The people of America, the Soviet Union and throughout the world are ready to answer 'yes'". It is only to be regretted that a whole series of actions undertaken by the US Administration since the Geneva summit shows that it is not inclined to heed the voice of millions of people in pursuing its foreign policy course.

Thus, on May 27 the US President declared that he would no longer observe the Soviet-American instruments on the limitation of the strategic offensive weapons--the 1972 interim agreement and the SALT-2 Treaty. The Soviet government regards this step as an extremely dangerous measure capable of undermining the legal system restraining the arms race.

As to our country, it does not simply say "yes" to the process of cementing peaceful coexistence. The new peaceful initiatives of the USSR, the new edition of the CPSU Programme and the fundamental provisions of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress--all consolidate the concept of peaceful coexistence as applied to the current crucial stage of international relations by rendering it even more universal.

What new has the forum of the Soviet Communists added in this regard? While not claiming to be all-embracing, I wish to highlight the following points. First and foremost, this is a concept of a nuclear-free world. What is involved here is that at present genuine security is guaranteed not by the highest possible but by the lowest possible level of strategic balance which should fully exclude nuclear arms and other types of weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, this is not merely a programme for complete elimination of mass-destruction weapons by the end of the century, accompanied by appropriate stabilising reduction in conventional arms, but it is also a programme of restructuring the present-day system of international relations on the basis of the universal application of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

This is the principle that constitutes the centerpiece of the basis for a comprehensive system of international security as formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, which can justly be termed a new code of peaceful coexistence of states in the modern age because it unites all aspects of interstate relations, be it military, political, economic or humanitarian, with a view to establishing a truly lasting peace on our planet.

Then, it is a fundamental provision regarding the need to approach security as an exclusively political problem. The character of present-day

weapons leaves no country any hope of defending itself only with military and technical means, for instance, by creating defences, no matter how formidable they were. Security can only be universal and should be ensured not through a global arms race but on the basis of international treaties and agreements aimed at not merely limiting the arms race but at attaining a verifiable reduction in the levels of the military potentials of states down to the limits of what is reasonably sufficient.

An indispensable part of the comprehensive security system should be a system of international economic security providing for protection against discrimination, sanctions and other methods of arms-twisting through non-military factors to the detriment of other states partners in the world community.

This is also a question of harmonising legitimate national interests through the aid of appropriate international procedures and institutions. The goal of this is to remove most acute disagreements now existing among states and above all among major powers which, because of their economic and military potentials and their international prestige, are endowed with a particular responsibility for a course of world developments. As to the social faceoff between capitalism and socialism, it should take the form of, only and exclusively, peaceful competition.

Furthermore, under present-day conditions, peaceful coexistence urgently calls for creative cooperation on a world-wide scale in dealing with environmental and other global problems.

A good many other fundamental provisions promoting the concept of peaceful coexistence could also be mentioned. The main thing, however, is that the Soviet approach to restructuring international relations constitutes, in essence, an amalgam of the philosophy of moulding a safer world in the nuclear and space age with the platform of specific actions. Not only do the CPSU and the Soviet government call for doing away with the outdated stereotypes of thinking but with their actions and initiatives they provide a specific example of abandoning narrow, selfish interests and grasping the collective responsibility of all states, big and small, for the future of mankind at the threshold of the third millennium.

Military and Strategic Parity and the Realities of the Nuclear and Space Age

Maj.-Gen. Yu. LEBEDEV

The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress note the increased role of this country and of the entire socialist community as a potent factor in fighting against aggression and war, for peace, democracy and social progress. The forum of the Soviet Communists has stressed that the CPSU will continue to make every effort to ensure that the Soviet Armed Forces be maintained at a level precluding military supremacy of the forces of imperialism. As is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the establishment of the military and strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and NATO has become a historic achievement of socialism. The established balance of forces has dashed the hopes of the aggressive quarters of imperialism, primarily of the United States, that they might win a world nuclear war.

The military and strategic parity has not been achieved in one day but it has required gigantic efforts of the entire Soviet people, major strides forward in the economic, scientific and technological development of the USSR, and constant attention paid by the Party and the government to securing the nation's defence potential, building the Soviet Armed Forces and enhancing their combat readiness.

The core of the military and strategic parity is the rough balance in the Soviet and US strategic armaments as well as in medium-range nuclear systems and conventional arms of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. It stands to reason that the military equilibrium does not imply a mathematical identity in the quantitative and structural aspects of the opposing armed forces. Each of them is known for its own historically established priorities and peculiarities. Therefore, the parity can be objectively defined only if the totality of all specific disproportions in armaments is evaluated, taking into account the historically shaped structure of the military forces and some other factors determining the strategic situation. In other words, in dealing with the issue one should be guided by the principle of equality and equal security.

It should be stressed at once that the Soviet Union believes that a rough parity is sufficient for defensive needs. It has never set the goal of upsetting the existing equilibrium and gaining military superiority over the other side. Moreover, the Soviet Union holds the view that the maintenance of the military and strategic parity is exactly what is needed to ensure implementation of the principle of equality and equal security and lays groundwork for preserving and strengthening peace, for everything which, taken en masse, is termed international stability.

The United States holds a different position. The US ruling quarters have set themselves a task of tipping in their favour, whatever the cost, the alignment of forces in the world scene and securing military supremacy of the USA over the USSR and of NATO over the Warsaw Treaty

Organisation. The escalation of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, is viewed as the most essential means for scuttling the military and strategic balance. Reliance on force in tackling international issues, which has been elevated by Washington to the level of state policy, pre-determines the nature and thrust of US war preparations.

In building up its strategic forces and making them capable of launching the first nuclear strike, the United States deployed in the 1970s 550 new Minuteman 3 ICBMs tipped with three warheads each, developed Trident 1 SLBMs, and equipped 31 submarines with Poseidon missiles, each of them having 10 to 14 warheads. Strategic bombers have been armed with SRAM attack missiles (up to 20 missiles per airplane). By adding almost three nuclear warheads daily, the USA has all but doubled its nuclear potential over the past decade, increasing it to 10,000 pieces. It has been the first to equip its missiles with multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles and to initiate the development of a new type of strategic arms, i.e. long-range air-, ground- and sea-based cruise missiles. It is also symbolic that the improvement of nuclear systems has pursued the goal of increasing their accuracy and the yield of their warheads. The US strategic forces communications and control system has undergone modernisation.

Along with building up its strategic nuclear potential, Washington has attached considerable importance in its military planning to encircling the Soviet Union with military bases. US forward-based nuclear systems have been fielded in Western Europe.

Under pressure by the United States, the North Atlantic bloc as a whole has also amplified its nuclear arsenal in Western Europe. The hundreds of US nuclear-capable aircraft have been supplemented with American submarines equipped with Polaris SLBMs to the total of 400 warheads. Aircraft carriers with nuclear-capable airplanes aboard have begun to ply sea waters in areas adjacent to the European continent. Several West European allies of the USA in NATO have begun to receive nuclear missile systems. In December 1979, NATO took a decision to deploy in Western Europe qualitatively new medium-range ballistic missiles, Pershing 2s, and land-based cruise missiles. While moving its nuclear arms nearer to the USSR borders, the USA has in fact attempted, in circumvention of the SALT 2 Treaty, to acquire an additional strategic potential.

The Soviet Union has been forced to respond to the growing military threat by strengthening its own defence capabilities. Pooling their efforts, the USSR and other socialist countries have demonstrated their ability to parry the inroads of any aggressor. Let us recall that the measures taken by the CPSU and the Soviet government permitted back in the early 1970s to do away with US preponderance in strategic armaments. Washington has had formally to acknowledge the existence of a balance in strategic nuclear forces: in February 1971 the then US President said that at that time neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had a clear-cut nuclear edge. Over almost seven years the established parity was checked and rechecked in the course of the Soviet-American SALT 2 negotiations and was formally recorded in 1979 during the signing of that Treaty. The Soviet Union has since strictly respected the conditions of that document and never increased the levels of strategic arms. It has 2,504 nuclear delivery units while the USA possesses a slightly lower number, i. e. 2,215 units.

As to land- and sea-based ballistic missiles, even according to American data the two sides have approximately 7,500 warheads of them each. In terms of the aggregate numbers of warheads, the United States still maintains an edge because of heavy bombers armed with long-range cruise missiles, SRAM missiles and nuclear bombs. On the whole, there

exists a rough parity of forces, which cannot be denied even by the USA. In a report to Congress concerning the military situation of the United States in 1986, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have noted that at present there exists a rough nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As to the equilibrium in the nuclear forces between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, it should include, apart from strategic arms, medium-range systems and other respective nuclear weapons in Europe. The medium-range nuclear arms of the USA (forward-based) pose a direct strategic threat to the Soviet Union because they are capable of reaching its territory. At the same time, Soviet medium-range nuclear systems cannot hit the US territory. Moreover, there are British and French nuclear arms stationed in Europe.

In a bid to counterbalance NATO nuclear forces in Europe, the Soviet Union has deployed in its European part, in addition to aircraft systems, firstly SS-4 and SS-5 medium-range missiles and subsequently updated SS-20 missiles of the same category as a substitution for the former. In carrying out such a replacement, i. e. modernising its nuclear missile systems in the European part of the country and installing one new missile instead of one or two old ones, the USSR has not upset the balance of forces in that region in its favour.

At present, the USA has fielded 300 medium-range missiles in Western Europe; taking into account the British and French systems, there are, all in all, 478 such missiles. The USSR has 243 SS-20s in the European zone, with the number of warheads on them not greater than on the NATO missiles. Taking into account the aviation of the two sides, the ratio of nuclear warheads is approximately 3,000 to 2,000 in NATO's favour. Notwithstanding some differences in the mixup of the respective nuclear armaments and the corresponding measures taken by the USSR, there is every ground to speak about a rough balance in those weapons as well.

It is more difficult to determine a balance of forces in conventional armaments between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. The West often uses that fact to its advantage while giving reality-distorting data. This is done in various ways, namely by providing higher-than-actual figures regarding the Warsaw Treaty Organisation armed forces or lower-than-actual figures for NATO troops, disregarding their respective reserve formations or prestored arms, and discounting the armies of Spain and France. Oftentimes, only armaments whose comparison would be to NATO's benefit are taken out of the overall mixup of weapons. Yet, even the Pentagon-published booklet *Soviet Military Power* admits that the manpower strength of NATO forces is 5.6 million while that of the Warsaw Treaty is only 4.9 million. While enjoying a 94 to 78 edge in combat-ready divisions, an advantage in antitank weapons and a roughly equal number of artillery pieces and tanks, NATO is slightly behind the Warsaw Treaty in the number of tactical aircraft. As to the naval forces, the advantage of NATO in major warships (aircraft carriers, aircraft-carrying ships, battleships, etc.) is offset by a bigger number of the Warsaw Treaty's submarines and smaller surface vessels. All in all, there is a rough balance of forces in conventional weapons as well. In this regard, a report published by the London Institute for Strategic Studies in 1986 says that neither of the sides (NATO or the Warsaw Treaty Organisation) possesses a sufficient aggregate conventional might to assure a victory.

Thus, the military and strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO objectively does exist. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries proceed from the belief that the rough parity in military forces is sufficient to

meet the needs of defence. All their actions in the military field are taken as reciprocal steps in the interests of ensuring their defence capabilities. As has been stated by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress, "naturally, like any other country, we attach considerable importance to the security of our frontiers, on land and at sea".

The United States and NATO countries pursue a diametrically opposite policy, having set their sights on tipping the alignment of forces on the world scene in their favour. It is through their fault that the situation in the early half of the 1980s has become particularly complex and explosive. The fact that it is precisely Washington that has initiated the arms race has been confirmed by the US President who said on May 22, 1984, that the Russians would not be able to rival with the USA and would not stand a competition in the arms buildup. Back in 1981, the White House declared its "strategic programme of America's rearmament" which provided for the development of new types of ICBMs such as MX and Midgetman, a Trident 2 ballistic missile for submarines, long-range cruise missiles of all basing modes (air-, sea-, and ground-based), and new strategic bombers B-1B and Stealth. Many of those armaments will shortly be added to the US arms inventory. The US continues its medium-range nuclear missile deployments in Europe and improves conventional arms which approach nuclear weapons in terms of their destructive potential. Nevertheless, none of those systems will strengthen American security or give any advantage to the USA.

The realities of today are such that the economic, scientific, technological and other capabilities of industrialised states do not permit any single country or a group of states to count on gaining military superiority. It is not fortuitous that the US nuclear policy, i. e. the position-of-strength policy, has now ended up in a deadlock. But the main thing is probably that because of the inevitability of a nuclear retaliatory strike all Washington's hopes of winning a nuclear war also become pointless. Under those conditions, the USA and some of its NATO allies, unwilling to comprehend the realities of the nuclear and space age, attempt to find a way out of the "nuclear impasse" through outer space. The masters of the White House are fooling themselves with a belief that through "star wars" they would allegedly be able to rush ahead militarily and to dictate their will to the Soviet Union. Yet, Washington's exertions are to no avail. Reliance on outer space and on space weapons based on new physical principles is utterly groundless. The Soviet Union possesses necessary material and intellectual capabilities to foil US attempts at acquiring military supremacy. The military and strategic parity has been and continues to be an objective factor of containment.

At the same time, the rapid pace of the arms race and the improvement of weapon systems can ultimately result in a situation in which the level of military parity per se would become perilously dangerous for stabilising the strategic situation and maintaining peace. The man overpowered by computers and automations can lose control over weaponry. A nuclear chaos can be triggered by an error or a technical malfunction in electronic equipment.

The Soviet Union is against such a turn of development. It comes out in favour of the existing parity in the military domain becoming a line which would mark the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The central idea permeating the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress is that, in the first place, it is essential to considerably reduce the level of military confrontation and to achieve equal security at the lowest possible level of strategic balance which should totally exclude nuclear arms and other types of mass-destruction weapons.

The nuclear and space age explodes the habitual notion of security. Today, security can only be mutual or, taking humanity as a whole, universal. Given the huge piles of the accumulated weapons of mass destruction, it cannot and must not be built on the military force or a threat of using such force. This means that neither a nuclear war itself nor preparations for it, i. e. the arms race, can bring political benefits to anyone. Today, security of every state is increasingly dependent on how seriously it takes into account and respects security of its opponents. This idea has been expressed in very clear terms by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement on the results of the Soviet-US summit in Geneva: "We would not want, for instance, a change in the strategic balance in our favour. We would not want that because such a situation will heighten suspicion on the other side and also increase the instability of the overall situation."

The Soviet Union is strongly opposed to a test of strength in developing new types and systems of weapons. As long as there is the balance of forces and outer space is free of weapons, it is necessary to work towards a joint understanding as regards a minimum level of armaments of each side that could be considered sufficient in terms of its defensive needs. Despite the existing asymmetry in the armed forces structure of the two sides, the Soviet Union has believed that there is no type of weapons which could not be reduced provided there is a mutual approach and a goodwill on the part of the negotiating partners. Naturally, such decisions should be worked out at the negotiating table, proceeding from the principle of equality and equal security.

Treating the destinies of humankind with a high sense of responsibility, the Soviet Union has advanced large-scale and extremely important initiatives aimed at lowering the level of the existing military balance both in the nuclear field and in conventional arms and armed forces.

The basis of those initiatives is provided by the programme of eliminating nuclear weapons on Earth by the year 2000. Through the three stages which will take, all in all, 15 years, it is scheduled to carry out a reduction of nuclear weapons, balanced in terms of their volume and categories, all the way down to their complete elimination. The realism of the programme lies in the fact that it is constructive and does not impinge on the security interests of either side. It provides for the nuclear weapons reductions to be done in a manner that would ensure an approximate balance of forces from the first to the last phase.

The first phase of the programme is a convincing example thereof. Given an agreement on banning space-strike arms, it is proposed that only Soviet and US armaments be reduced at that stage. The nuclear systems capable of reaching each other's territory would be cut by 50 per cent and Europe would thus be freed of both Soviet and US medium-range nuclear missiles. As to the issue of medium-range missiles in the European zone, the Soviet Union is prepared to solve it without directly linking it with strategic and space arms. In other words, an independent decision could be arrived at here in the near future.

The major reduction in both American and Soviet nuclear weapons at the first stage makes it legitimate and fair to raise the issue of the other European nuclear powers renouncing quantitative buildup of their respective arsenals while the USA would refrain from supplying its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries.

This is how the lowering of the level of the existing military and strategic parity could begin. Objective possibilities for that do exist. What is needed is for the USA to show a political will and readiness to translate into practice the agreements reached during the Geneva summit. The fact that a nuclear war is unwinnable, renunciation of attempts to gain an

edge over the other side, acceleration of the talks on nuclear and space arms as well as of other negotiations affecting security and disarmament issues have all been embodied in the Soviet proposals. They have found their succinct reflection in the idea of creating a comprehensive system of international security encompassing all spheres of activities of the world community. The fundamental principles of such a system have been set forth in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. They can become a point of departure for a fruitful dialogue between leaders of the countries of the world community. Such a dialogue is particularly important between the five nuclear powers.

Naturally, as long as the arms race continues and the threat of nuclear war is not ruled out, the military and strategic parity between the USA, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO remains a military and political factor of containment. For the threat of nuclear war to be erased for good from the face of the Earth it is essential that both nuclear and other types of mass-destruction weapons be taken out of circulation. The military potentials should be restricted to the limits of what is reasonably sufficient. Today, those limits are contingent on the attitudes and actions of the USA and its bloc partners. This cannot be disregarded by the Soviet Union, which will exert every effort to ensure that the country's defence capabilities be maintained at a level ruling out military superiority of the forces of imperialism. This has been particularly stressed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The Soviet Concept of Comprehensive Security

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The fundamental principles of a comprehensive system of international security as laid down in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress have already been dealt with in the exchanges of opinions. In view of the exceptional importance of that new Soviet peace initiative I shall dwell on it in a more detailed manner.

The extremely complex and unfavourable and unprecedentedly explosive character of the world situation in the early half of the 1980s has acutely raised before all participants in the international intercourse an issue of working out a qualitatively new approach and a new way of political thinking in order to reverse the course of international affairs. It is high time to bring public consciousness in line with the realities of everyday life and fully to understand the stern facts, namely that the arms race has driven humankind to a critical line beyond which, taking into account the lethality of the new types of land-based and space weapons, life itself on Earth will be hanging by a thread which can break at any moment. It is only today that we begin to comprehend the full wisdom of Albert Einstein's words that modern weapons call for a new way of thinking if humankind wants to survive and to develop along the ascending line.

It is symbolic that practically all are now speaking about the need for new thinking. Yet, discourses on that score and the acknowledgement of the problem alone are no longer sufficient. A new way of thinking needs to be elaborated directly in the practice of international communication and it should be promptly translated into the language of specific actions. The task is, without turning a blind eye to the persistent social, political and ideological contradictions, to master the science and art of behaving

oneself in the international arena in line with the new requirements, above all, restrainedly and prudently, for the survival of civilisation itself depends on how civilised international relations are. This is precisely how the 27th CPSU Congress has raised that issue, giving a clear-cut and unambiguous directive to the Soviet Union's foreign policy, i. e. "...to look for, find, and use even the smallest opportunity in order—while this is still possible—to reverse the trend towards an escalation of the threat of war". The Congress's call for replacing the old arrangement in which the world has become a hostage to nuclear death with an all-embracing system of international security is characterised by being aimed at really tangible measures, at close and fruitful cooperation with the governments and public movements which is really concerned about the fate of the planet.

What are, then, the main parameters of the new concept? They hinge on its underlying postulate reflecting the fundamental realities of today, namely that, given the present-day level of sophistication of the means of annihilation, our planet has become much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of strength. It cannot be saved and preserved if the political practice built up over the centuries on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts and on a longing for military superiority are not shed resolutely and irrevocably.

Hence, the following:

first, no state can any longer cherish the illusion of safeguarding itself solely with military and technical means, even by building up the most powerful defence, be it on land or in outer space. The task of ensuring security is increasingly seen as a political problem, and it can only be resolved by political means;

second, ensuring security requires that the accumulation of the means of annihilation should be stopped. It is no longer possible to win the arms race or a nuclear war itself, and objectively they can bring political benefits to no one. Continuation of such a race and, even more so, its spreading to outer space will only step up even further the pace, rapid as it is, of piling up and improving nuclear weapons. The situation in the world can become such that it would no longer depend on the reason and will of politicians and would be taken hostage of technology and the military and technocratic logic;

third, no single country can oppose its national security to international security. Those two concepts have become organically interrelated and indissolubly linked. As has been stated in the well-known report of the Palme Commission—and we cannot but pay tribute to the memory of Olof Palme—the countries should realise that in the nuclear age states cannot ensure their security at the expense of each other. Only joint efforts and the policy of mutual restraint by the states can enable the people throughout the world to live without fear of war and destruction, to live with hopes of a safe future and prosperity for their children and for coming generations.

The global character of the threat which equally calls into question the life of the peoples throughout the planet demands that they all should feel themselves to be in equal security. In other words, security must be equal for all.

As to the Soviet Union, it has been stated with all responsibility at the 27th CPSU Congress that "in the context of the relations between the USSR and USA, security can only be mutual, and if we take international relations as a whole it can only be universal". This country lays no claim to more security but it will not settle for less.

The Soviet Union sees its ideal in a world without weapons and violence, a world in which each people would live in equitable and safe

conditions and freely determine its fate. The comprehensive system of international security is called upon to ensure such a world. Basic foundations of such a system should be laid down in the military, political, economic and humanitarian fields.

As to the essence of those foundations, it consists in unconditional renunciation of war and the threat or use of force as a means of solving interstate political, economic, ideological and other contradictions, including confrontation between the two opposing social systems—socialism and capitalism. In point of fact, this is a question of consolidating everywhere in international relations the principle of peaceful coexistence as a generally recognised and universally observed norm, which has already been dealt with above.

The comprehensive system of international security, as we contemplate it, is not merely the absence of war but also the incontestable right of every people sovereignly to choose ways and forms of their development, a just political settlement of international crises, confidence-building, and effective methods of preventing international terrorism. This also means development of broad long-term and stable ties in the spheres of economy, science and technology on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, renunciation of any forms of discrimination and pressure, and economic security of states. This means mutual exchange of genuine cultural values, expansion—while respecting the laws of each country—of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social and personal rights of people. This means cooperation in solving the global problems of environmental protection, in searching for new sources of energy, raw materials, food, in the peaceful exploration of outer space and the riches of the World Ocean, and in overcoming economic backwardness, famine and diseases. It is obvious that the attainment of all the above goals will be substantially facilitated if an end is put to the squandering of manpower and funds on the arms race.

The advancement to a universal peace can apparently be ensured by establishing reliable security guarantees in all spheres of international relations. A set of such guarantees would determine the structure of the system as proposed by the Soviet Union.

It is our firm conviction that the main support of the entire edifice of security should be direct guarantees that weapons would not be resorted to and would not wipe the human race off the face of the Earth. And the most reliable way to ensure that is to eliminate weapons themselves. In other words, disarmament that erects a physical barrier to wars is the most important guarantee of and the basis for a safe world.

In the first place, it is essential that the foundation of the common house of humanity contains no explosives capable of blowing the whole planet to smithereens. Security cannot be built endlessly on fear of retaliation, i. e. on the doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence". They are intrinsically aimed at whipping up the arms race and heightening the risk of nuclear war because, if one were to follow their logic, each country should seek security in creating and aggravating the threat of launching a nuclear strike. Hence, the more weapons and the greater their destructive power, the more reliable is security. Thus, apart from the absurdity and amorality of a situation in which the whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, those doctrines encourage an arms race that may sooner or later go out of control.

As is borne out by the entire record of the post-war period, that race, if continued, cannot but increase equal danger. As to its spreading to outer space, this will only step up the pace, critically high as it is, of accumulating and improving nuclear arms.

According to a majority of scientists in virtually all countries of the world, a way out of the existing situation cannot be found in developing and deploying weapons in outer space, which is what the USA intends to do with the assistance of some of its allies. While making the adventurous quarters believe in their impunity from retaliation should they be the first to launch a nuclear strike, those moves would erode the factors of military and political containment. The risk of nuclear war would also be further increased as a result of a technical malfunction, and the time and possibilities for taking political decisions in the event of a crisis would be cut down to the minimum. Such space weapons would directly supplement the offensive nuclear potentials, and with the passage of time, as they continue to develop and improve, they themselves would acquire a capability of launching a first strike against the targets in outer space or in the atmosphere or on the Earth.

There is only one direct and reliable road leading to ensuring international security in the nuclear and space age, i. e. nuclear disarmament and prevention of the introduction of arms in outer space.

Guided by all that, the Soviet Union put forward on January 15, 1986, a programme of comprehensive security through disarmament whose centrepiece is the phased elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere and for all time with an effective ban on space-strike arms. Concurrently with banning nuclear weapons, the USSR proposes totally to eliminate chemical arms. In the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces, it is also prepared to advance so far as other states would be ready to go.

All the disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Union provide for verification, including wherever necessary, on-site inspections. The USSR is open to verification; we are interested in it not less than others and consider it a major element of the disarmament process. That verification should be sufficient to ensure that all sides comply with the agreements reached.

If implemented, the Soviet programme for complete nuclear disarmament would open up for humankind a prospect of entering the third millennium, focusing mainly on creative plans and placing the atom and outer space at the service of only peaceful purposes. In practical terms, the Soviet Union has proposed to the states a programme of star peace, i. e. their large-scale cooperation in the exploration and exploitation of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes and to the benefit of all the peoples, as a reasonable and realistic alternative to the new twist in the arms race spiral triggered by "star wars" preparations. We propose forthwith to set about implementing major projects of such cooperation, including joint development of advanced space technology in the interests of science, production, and economic development. In that we see a promising area for accelerating scientific and technological progress and a possibility for loading advanced industries and for effective investment. The Soviet Union regards that as a humane and highly moral task reflecting the moral values of our society.

What is the morale of those who do not wish to bid farewell to nuclear arms, viewing them as a means of intimidation, those who intend to supplement those arsenals with "star wars" weaponry? Those, so to say, moralists will have, willingly or unwillingly, to answer the question whether they are ready at all to bid farewell to nuclear arms. Or can they not see a world without new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis?

The process of arms limitation and disarmament is of crucial significance for developing all other direct and indirect security guarantees as well. According to the UN study on the relationship between disarmament and international security, the advancement towards disarmament will strengthen international security by creating conditions which would permit UN member states to take various steps for reduction of tensions,

peaceful settlement of disputes and joint actions aimed at preventing the outbreak of war. UN experts have reached a conclusion that disarmament is the principal and most important factor in consolidating international security.

It would be even less permissible for the implementation of disarmament measures to hinge on the attenuation of regional conflicts. This hides both reluctance to go along the road of disarmament and the desire to use weapons and armed force with regard to other countries and peoples. The Soviet Union has opposed and will continue to oppose such a position. It has been and will remain a steadfast champion of the freedom of the peoples, stronger international law and order, and elimination of regional conflicts by collective efforts on an equitable basis, the sooner the better. It goes without saying that that would, in turn, facilitate progress in arms limitation and reduction. We are ready to move concurrently along all these lines.

An essentially similar dialectical link also exists between confidence-building and disarmament. There is a thesis which is known to have currency in the West, namely that the peoples do not trust each other not because they are armed. But they are armed because they do not trust one another. Yet, a contrary can also be stated with full confidence, namely that the peoples and states lack confidence in each other because they are armed. In reality, both assertions are true. The question is what one wishes to prove. And it is an answer to that question that shows that the thesis played up in the West is a werewolf. It is called upon to justify the vicious circle which can be followed *ad infinitum*, which is exactly how, properly speaking, international relations have been developing over many a decade: the arms race—stronger confrontation—the arms race. To look for justification for that vicious circle means not to wish to find a way out of the current extremely dangerous situation and to drive international relations into ever further deadlocks. In evidence here is a typical example of the old way of thinking with its merciless exploitation of mistrust, suspicion and enmity which should be relegated to the past if mankind takes care about its own future.

New thinking calls for a search for indirect guarantees which would create conditions making it extremely difficult or simply inconceivable for a state to use force against another state. Here, it is necessary to follow the road of strengthening the climate of confidence which constitutes both a prerequisite for, and a major component part of, the establishment of universal security. What is needed are both large-scale foreign policy actions of states and efforts at changing the moral and psychological atmosphere in society in order to educate the population in the spirit of peace, tolerance and mutual respect and to introduce everywhere political psychology that would make the germination of militarism and hatred to other peoples impossible. In a word, what is required is an overall restructuring of the entire system of value orientations of the states in the international arena, the restructuring in line with the revolutionary advances occurring in the scientific and technological sphere. The main thing there would be to acknowledge the incontestable reality of today, namely that no single people and no single country can survive without efficient disarmament leading to security for each of them in particular and all of them together.

The establishment of a comprehensive system of international security is not only a multifaceted but global task calling for concerted action by the states and the peoples. For it to be fulfilled, all international forums should be set in march and the efficiency of the arms limitation and reduction negotiating mechanism should be increased to the utmost. An important role should be played by the systematic dialogue among the

leaders of all countries of the world community, both on a bilateral and a multilateral level.

A particular responsibility for the world situation rests with the permanent members of the Security Council, which are nuclear powers at that. It is those powers that should demonstrate a political will and to undertake specific actions to put an end to material preparations for a nuclear war and to ensure a stage-by-stage reduction of the nuclear potentials down to zero. This is the underlying motivation for the Soviet proposal to the leaders of the five nuclear powers to meet together at the negotiating table.

The Soviet Union has taken vigorous efforts in a bid to impart a new impetus to the Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, the Conference on Disarmament, the Stockholm Conference, and the Vienna talks, whose aim is to curtail the arms race and to build confidence among states. We are convinced that in this approach to negotiations just like to international affairs as a whole, firmness in advocating the principles and interests of universal security should be combined with tactical flexibility, readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, and a search for a mutually acceptable balance of interests. What is needed is to aim not at confrontation but at dialogue and mutual understanding.

It is all too clear that universal security and the revival of detente as an inevitable and necessary stage along the road to that security are possible only as a result of political interaction among states, constructive interaction based on realism, a sense of responsibility in conducting international affairs, and new political thinking. In order to survive, we all should learn to live in a civilised manner, to work vigorously, boldly and jointly to create a comprehensive system of international security.

Europe's Historic Chance

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The materials of the CPSU's 27th Congress, which accumulated work of fundamental importance done throughout the entire period preceding it and especially after the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which gave a fresh impulse to analysing and reassessing the realities of the contemporary world; to working out a foreign policy strategy in line with these realities, allow one to make an all-round assessment of the present situation in Europe and its prospects in the broad context of world development. First of all it is necessary to note that the real dialectics of the present-day world—a multifaceted and contradictory and yet an interdependent and in many ways an integral one—manifest themselves especially patently in Europe. For the Europe of our time is a zone of a high level of development of productive forces and social dynamism, a concentration of the main tendencies and contradictions of our epoch. Socialism is represented in Europe by a number of countries of the socialist community and capitalism by one of the three main centres of modern imperialism.

It is in Europe that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the two powerful armed groupings, possessing the most modern tanks, missiles, planes, are in direct confrontation. Europe is virtually crammed with lethal arms, including the latest and most destructive ones capable of snuffing out life on Earth.

Yet the buildup of nuclear arsenals continues. The 1980s, as is known, witnessed the deployment of new American medium-range nuclear weapons in several West European countries. The "star wars" plans of the United States are fraught with the danger of a further spiralling of the arms race in Europe as well and a corresponding further growth of the threat of war. As a consequence of the high density of population and oversaturation with armaments the Old World is more vulnerable to an armed conflict, the more so a nuclear one, than any other continent. And this circumstance especially underlines the interconnection, the intertwining of the destinies of the European peoples despite the difference of the roads of social development chosen by them.

Another circumstance is no less obvious—the interconnection of Europe's destiny with that of other continents. Having originated in Europe, both world wars drew the whole planet into their orbit while now an armed conflict started in Europe will inevitably bring about a catastrophe of global magnitude.

So there is every reason to say that averting a nuclear catastrophe is the key problem, a sort of "super task" of both European and world politics. And while the CPSU and the Soviet government, as is convincingly shown by the materials of the 27th Congress, display a political thinking corresponding to the present-day realities and are constantly looking for new ways of solving the urgent problems and advancing bold large-scale initiatives, the West, regrettably, displays a different attitude. Facts show that Washington is inclined to view the problems of European security having in mind its own selfish, hegemonistic aspirations and power politics assigning its West European allies the role of Washington's nuclear hostage, of a potential testing ground for the American doctrine of "limited nuclear war".

A continuation of this course threatens to destabilise the situation on the European continent, to undermine mutual trust and international security and in the long run increases the danger of nuclear catastrophe. This explains the timeliness and urgency of the repeated Soviet warnings to the Western states that attempts to find a way out of the situation by further perfecting the "shield" and the "sword"—regardless of under what guise, American or European, these attempts are being made—are not only illusory but also extremely dangerous.

The attempts by certain quarters in the West under the cover of the slogan of "overcoming Europe's split" to revise the territorial and political status quo resultant of the victory over Nazism and post-war development and also recorded in the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, can play a similarly negative role. It is contended in the West that these decisions are the cause of a divided Europe. One cannot accept this. The Soviet Union views the decisions of the above-mentioned conferences not only as a logical result of the war for which millions of people paid with their lives but also as a manifestation of the spirit of international cooperation that found its embodiment in the 1970s in the Helsinki Final Act and other multilateral and bilateral agreements.

No denying it, the situation in Europe continues to deteriorate, the danger of war continues to grow and the development of events is approaching the critical point. In short, there is ample cause for serious concern. But it would be wrong to view this fatalistically, from passive positions. The present course of events can and must be changed for the better. For contrary to what is sometimes said both in Western Europe and across the ocean the causes of the present situation are not rooted in the fact that there exist states with two opposite systems on the continent and not in their ideological implacability. It is the political course that has now become predominant in the leading circles of the United States and NATO, their emphasis on force and confrontation and the fur-

ther intensification of the arms race that is the main source of the present threat to the European continent.

The exceptional, truly historic importance of the innovative approach to problems of ensuring a lasting peace on Earth that characterises the Party's foreign policy strategy worked out by the 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union's latest practical actions on the international scene stands out in even greater relief against this background. The fundamentals of the all-embracing system of international security formulated in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee fully accord with the interests of the peoples of Europe. It seems that as compared to other continents the conditions in Europe are most favourable for a response to the new ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress on the matters of peaceful co-existence, for the active interaction of all states in the interests of creating a comprehensive system of international security, for genuine advance along this direction. Apart from the objective interest of all European countries in strengthening peace one should also have in mind the subjective factor as well.

Present-day Europe has an extensive and far-ranging potential of peace, reason and goodwill opposed to imperialism's aggressive policy. Its components are the might and the vigorous peaceloving policy of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community along the European direction, the strong positions of progressive democratic forces, the broad scope of mass antiwar movements; the realistic tendencies in the policy of many politicians in West European countries who realise the danger of the continued arms race; the constructive role of neutral and non-aligned states in the struggle to consolidate peace on the continent.

Besides, the ever growing interconnection and interdependence of Europe's peoples and states are not limited to their interests of survival and the common danger confronting them. The experience of international relations in Europe includes not only wars and conflicts but also the peaceful cooperation of states regardless of their size, social system and foreign policy orientation, as well as close economic ties and the mutual influence of national cultures. Europe has traditions of intensive political dialogue, of bilateral and multilateral negotiations, and it has displayed skill in looking for and finding points of contact and mutually acceptable compromises. It is not by chance that the idea of detente originated and brought the most tangible fruits precisely in Europe, as a result of which solutions were found comparatively quickly to many problems that had previously seemed to defy solution.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed in Helsinki on August 1, 1975, based on a sober account of realities and a fine balance of the interests of its signatories and at the same time being directed into the future, is a concentrated expression of Europe's positive experience and still existing peaceful potentialities. To this day this historic document can serve in many ways as an example of new political thinking and new political psychology, of a new approach to problems of peace, cooperation and international trust.

The objective preconditions of the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to two social systems in Europe that made possible the achievements of detente in the 1970s, still exist despite the drastic deterioration of the international climate as a whole. And herein lies a possibility of a turn for the better in world politics. Europe's historic chance is in the peaceful cooperation of the continent's countries. It is only on this path that Europe can safeguard its future and play a constructive independent role in world affairs. So as it is stressed in the Central Committee's report to the 27th Congress, it is important, "while preserving the assets that have already been accumulated to move further: from the initial to

a more lasting phase of detente, to mature detente, and then to building of dependable security on the basis of the Helsinki process, of a radical reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons."

The Soviet Union regards Europe not as an eventual theatre of war but as the common home of the nations inhabiting it which must be saved from a nuclear conflagration at all cost. The USSR is a consistent champion of ridding Europe of all nuclear arms, both intermediate-range and tactical.

Proceeding from the need to follow up the philosophy of survival with bold and resolute actions, the Soviet leadership has come up with major comprehensive initiatives providing for eliminating all nuclear arms in stages by the year 2000. And the first concrete steps along this direction that have already been taken by it unilaterally and the joint measures suggested by it to the Western partners are directly concerned with Europe.

Thus, already in April 1985 the USSR imposed a moratorium on the deployment of its intermediate-range missiles and suspended the implementation of its other responsive measures in Europe. Within the framework of the programme of eliminating weapons of mass annihilation and averting the danger of war set forth in the Soviet Statement of January 15, 1986, it was proposed that all Soviet and American intermediate-range ballistic and cruise missiles in the European zone be liquidated already at the first stage of this programme. Then at the 27th Congress readiness was expressed to solve this question separately—without a direct link to problems related to strategic armaments and outer space.

The implementation of this measure requires that the United States undertake not to supply its strategic and intermediate-range missiles to other countries and on the part of Britain and France an undertaking not to build up their respective nuclear arsenals. The importance of the fulfilment of these Soviet proposals for scaling down the nuclear threat in Europe and for the continent's security is obvious. It should also be borne in mind that in the event the American missiles are totally liquidated the further presence of the Soviet longer-range tactical missiles in the countries where they are now deployed would no longer be necessary.

The creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the continent would be a useful step towards ridding Europe of nuclear arms. The USSR and its Warsaw Treaty allies have repeatedly declared their support for proposals to create such zones in Northern Europe and the Balkans, and also support for the proposal to create a corridor free of nuclear arms along the line separating the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in Central Europe.

The idea of ridding the European continent of chemical weapons and the proposals of the socialist states to create chemical-weapons-free zones in Central Europe and the Balkans corresponds to the guidelines of the 27th Party Congress.

At the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe the Soviet Union and its allies pursue a constructive policy directed at bringing closer the positions of the sides and attaining mutually acceptable agreements. The new Soviet initiative aimed at reaching an agreement for the substantial reduction of all components of the land forces and the tactical aviation of the European states and the corresponding forces of the USA and Canada deployed in Europe evoked a broad, positive response in the world. The units subject to reduction would be disbanded and their weapons eliminated or stored on the national territories. All of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, should be a geographic zone subject to reduction. The tactical nuclear weapons should be reduced simultaneously with conventional arms. The untenability of the contentions of the West about a mythical Soviet supe-

rriority in the field of conventional weapons as an obstacle on the road to nuclear disarmament is obvious in the light of the above stated.

Within the framework of the Helsinki process, which was highly assessed at the Congress, the USSR and its allies are pressing for results at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament, and want its first stage to conclude with the adoption of a substantive final document.

The Warsaw Treaty states come out for a steady continuation of the Helsinki process, for strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe. At the recent (March 1986) meeting of their Committee of Foreign Ministers they formulated as follows their stand in respect of the forthcoming regular meeting of representatives of the ECSC member states this autumn: "This meeting should make a substantial contribution to improving the political climate and reviving detente in Europe and the world, to reaching agreement on new major steps to reduce the level of military confrontation on the European continent, to expand cooperation between European states".

The Soviet Union is no less active in the struggle for the attainment of these aims in the field of bilateral relations. It attaches much importance to maintaining political dialogue with the West European countries, and works for constructive interaction with them in the interests of a lasting peace and reliable security on the continent. This is evidenced, in particular, by the results of the Soviet leadership's meetings with the leaders of France, Italy and Finland before the Congress, and with the leaders of Sweden, Austria and Spain after the Congress.

The ideas and guidelines of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning issues of present-day international relations were received in Europe with tremendous interest and approval. They inspire the peaceloving public to struggle against war and militaristic preparations. A difficult and unrelenting struggle lies ahead because the centres of power in the West are not yet showing any sign of readiness to take joint steps with the USSR in the direction of disarmament. The denunciation of nuclear war and escalation of armaments in general terms has yet to be followed by appropriate practical actions. Meantime the latter continue to follow the beaten path of power politics. This applies not only to the Washington Administration but also to the ruling circles of some West European countries. One cannot but be alarmed by the support given by them in this or that form to the "star wars" programme, by the continuing deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in several countries, the attempts at interference in the affairs of other states, the campaign to evoke hostility and mistrust in respect of the USSR and the other socialist community countries conducted by mass media.

The impression is that some Western leaders definitely lack realism, a sense of responsibility, political will and sometimes ordinary common sense in order to look at the world in a new way before it is too late and embark on the road of joint efforts proposed by the Soviet Union and capable of ensuring mankind's survival and a future without wars and violence.

In the light of this it is especially evident that the implementation of the lofty and sublime ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress on issues of peace and security will require a tremendous amount of work, persistent and consistent efforts by the Soviet state and all progressive forces of mankind.

This is the only way to provide wide opportunities for a fruitful international cooperation of all countries and peoples. And not only the people living in Europe but all the people in the world will benefit from this.

Washington's Imperial Ambitions—A Course of Militarism and Neocolonialism

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A product of the exploitative system, militarism, has acquired particularly revolting features under present-day imperialism. As is noted in the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress, it has become the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century, whose efforts help to convert the most advanced scientific and technological ideas into weapons of mass destruction.

There have never been so huge mounts of weapons, and most destructive weapons at that, as at the present moment. This is the ominous material embodiment of a course pursued by the extremely reactionary, aggressive quarters of capitalist society, the course geared at settling the historical dispute between the two opposing world socio-economic systems not by means of businesslike competition but through a reckless and highly dangerous rivalry in the military and technological domain.

What should be borne in mind here is a whole range of driving motives such as the predatory appetites of arms manufacturers and influential military and bureaucratic groups, the selfish interest of the monopolies in acquiring sources of raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods, the monopoly bourgeoisie's fear of the ongoing changes, and finally its attempts to solve its own increasingly acute problems by way of "containing" or, wherever possible, "rolling back" socialism.

Such a course results in an exacerbation of international tensions which poses a grave threat to the very survival of humankind. It is precisely because of the aggravation of confrontational elements in foreign policies of the United States and some of its closest military and political allies that the foundations of universal peace, unstable as they are in the conditions of stepping up the race in the deadliest armaments, have become even more tenuous.

Militarism, which is to blame for the two previous world wars and for other bloody conflicts which have entailed millions of human lives lost, today constitutes a force threatening life itself on our planet. When President of the United States, James Carter once shared his views on possible consequences of a nuclear war saying that it would be impossible to describe in words the terror of a nuclear catastrophe. All the brutalities committed over the long history of mankind paled if compared with the hideousness of nuclear war. In a matter of only several hours more people would die than in all wars waged in all countries since the first entries have been made in the chronicles of history.

Yet, experience shows that US political leaders draw no practical conclusions from such acknowledgements. For instance, the current US Administration is particularly persistent in opposing any steps capable of slowing down the arms race it carries out. Weapons of mass destruction are a special object of its "affection". The master of the White House has gone in his pronouncements as far as saying that it would allegedly be "immoral" to deny state-of-the-art weaponry to the Pentagon. Thus, in this particular case "morale" lies in the quantities of human beings or material assets that can be destroyed.

It is not surprising that given, if one may say so, such an approach international forums which discuss disarmament issues with the partici-

pation of US official representatives turn out to be an impasse. Negotiations are marking time while the efforts exerted by the chieftains of the military-industrial complexes of the USA and other NATO member states tend to add one twist after another to the arms race spiral. Over the five years since the current US Administration came to power no single agreement or accord has been achieved on any issue on the agenda of the ongoing international disarmament forums. All this is happening despite the new far-reaching peace initiatives of the Soviet Union which have evoked a positive response among US allies as well.

Washington's course at unrestrainedly fanning the arms race is predicated, among other things, on the hopes of economically wearing out the USSR. This has been the spirit of many a pronouncement of the US President, while last spring, during his visit to Bonn, US Assistant Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle stated in no uncertain terms, bearing in mind his government's position as regards relations with the Soviet Union, that an underlying reason of the competition in arms is the competition in economy and technology.

We do not certainly assert that Washington's course at sharply twisting up the arms spiral is something that we may ignore. The USSR has never neglected and will not neglect its defence interests. It has invariably found a proper response to every challenge hurled by imperialism in that domain and it will always do so as long as it meets with such challenges. The potential of advanced socialism permits us not to allow a violation of the military and strategic balance and to ensure an overall progressive development of this country.

Even the most diehard American politicians cannot fail to see that, but they nonetheless refuse to give up their hopes of debilitating the Soviet Union through the arms race and to make it vulnerable to all sorts of pressure and political blackmail. Similar motivation also guides Washington whenever it tries to force the governments of West European countries and Japan to curtail their trade with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. The instigators of trade "embargoes", economic "boycotts" and other similar measures naively believe that, given such a practice and in the scientific and technological revolution transpiring in the world, the USSR will end up in a position of a country "lagging behind", which would enable the USA and its military and political allies, in one way or another, to achieve preponderance over the USSR in the military field.

That the weight of militarism in US economy and politics has been increased out of proportion is indicated by the representatives of the country's ruling class themselves. For example, the book *The Cloud of Danger: Current Realities of American Foreign Policy* published in 1977 by George Kennan, a former American diplomat turned scientist, noted: "A second phenomenon of American life which has to be borne in mind when one thinks about this country's situation from the standpoint of the conduct of foreign affairs is the military-industrial complex. By this I mean, of course, the weight of military purchasing in our economy, the role of the Pentagon as a factor in our industrial life, and the effect of all this on our society." The scope of the MIC influence has since grown even further so that there is every ground to speak of militarism as the principal driving force of present-day US foreign policy.

Hence the continuing tensions between this country and the United States of America which negatively affect the entire international situation. Being responsible for the confrontational course with regard to the USSR and other socialist countries as well as some newly free states in which the architects of US policy see an impediment to their globalist, imperial designs and ambitions, those quarters use the world tensions

they themselves have created and maintained as a pretext for frenziedly building up their military forces in all areas.

For reasons well known to everyone, the instigators of such a course have second thoughts about directly resorting to power politics in respect of this country and its allies, i.e. the other states of the socialist community. As to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America seeking to consolidate their sovereignty in the political and economic fields in the teeth of imperialism's machinations, the ruling quarters of the USA and some of its NATO partners regard them as an area in which they can derive certain benefits through arm-twisting methods.

Militarism is directly interested in preserving and hardening the system of neocolonialist exploitation. The stepped-up formation of the Rapid Deployment Force in the United States, the establishment of the Central Command for the purpose of deploying naval, air force and marine units in the vast region from the Persian Gulf and Pakistan to East Africa, acts of banditry against Libya, the training and arming of mercenaries for actions aimed against the legitimate governments in Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, the pressure brought to bear on the West European NATO members with a view to making them support more vigorously the interventionist course of the United States, and many other facts have all shown the significance attached by Washington to the strategy of using crude force against the countries and peoples standing on anti-imperialist positions.

It stands to reason that the US ruling quarters view the reactionary dictatorships as most suitable for the role of their minions in pursuing the neocolonialist course. It is those regimes that willingly throw open their national doors to US military bases and, even more so, to American monopoly capital. Establishing such regimes by the force of arms and supporting them with its "instructors" and weaponry, the United States counts on their backing in fighting against developing nations which are not to its liking.

It is precisely on that basis that the CIA, the Pentagon and the State Department have turned Pakistan into a base for subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Similarly, the Americans rule the roost in Honduras and El Salvador, using their territories for an undeclared war against Nicaragua.

The South African racists could hardly have committed their crimes against the indigenous population, maintaining their sway over the southern part of the continent, had they not received direct support, in particular military aid, from the current US Administration. The South African military that launch regular armed provocations against Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are backed by the CIA and the Pentagon. Recently, the USA has discarded camouflage in supplying latest arms to the bands acting in Angola.

This is how regional conflicts threatening to escalate into still more dangerous military hotbeds are initiated. Herein lies the reason for the continuing dangerous tensions in the Middle East where US imperialism encourages the Israeli expansionists supplied with state-of-the-art American weaponry to launch new adventures against the neighbouring countries. The White House stakes on direct aggression, which is evidenced by the barbaric bombardment of Libyan cities.

Naturally, the strategy of neocolonialism includes many other less egregious means. Pulling financial and economic levers is, so to say, a daily practice of the imperialist states in their efforts at driving the newly free countries into the West's orbit. But when things go as far as decisive test of force or direct faceoff in the regions in which the waves of anti-imperialist actions are rising ever higher, militarism comes to the fore.

Transnational corporations resembling gigantic octopuses whose tentacles entwine their victims and the Rapid Deployment Forces under formation in the USA, Britain, France and Italy as their striking arm constitute together the main "battleforce" of today's imperialism in its struggle against the peoples striving for national liberation, social and economic emancipation.

A hastily concocted "doctrine of new globalism" underlies the aggressive, expansionist course of the USA and its military and political allies. Literally jutting out of that doctrine are the claims of the US ruling quarters to retain by crude force as many developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as possible in the web of neocolonialist exploitation.

US leaders use their military primacy in the capitalist world to assert their country's "supremacy" on the world scene. In so doing, they depict the American nuclear missile arsenal as "defence" against a mythical "Soviet military threat". Yet, in reality the predominant position of the United States in the overall military balance of the capitalist states is an important instrument widely employed by Washington to impose its will on those countries and to dictate a course to its own liking within NATO and other imperialist groups.

Washington's demands that its allies steadily increase their military outlays are predicated, apart from political motivation, on the desire to weaken their competitive power on outside markets. This is seen most clearly in the most vigorous attempts by the United States to force Japan sharply to augment its military budget. US top officials state in so many words that Japan's success in the export attack on the markets are accounted for in a large measure by its lagging behind other major capitalist countries in the amount of funds earmarked for war preparations.

The concentration of efforts of the leading capitalist states on military production is achieved at the expense of their civilian industries. For instance, Britain is the West European front-runner in terms of military expenditures. In the meantime, the country's share in the world capitalist economy has been steadily on the wane. As to its overall industrial output, Great Britain is now behind even Italy, let alone the FRG and France. This is the price paid for London's "military primacy" among the West European NATO members. As a result, Britain has been also losing one position after another in the political domain both in Western Europe and in the world as a whole.

But let us return to the United States. In purely physical terms, the Pentagon is certainly a gigantic complex of armaments against the background of which all other imperialist predators look as its scaled-down versions. Yet, the continuous squandering of enormous material resources on non-productive purposes does not strengthen US imperialism but subjects it to ever greater internal stresses and strains.

Over the three postwar decades, according to data published in late 1979 by the UN disarmament centre, \$6 trillion have been spent throughout the world on weapons and armies. While over the last five years alone the bottomless barrel of US military business has swallowed up \$1 trillion. As to the coming five years, the Pentagon demands \$2 trillion. This is the essence of unrestrained US militarism.

The grave threat of a federal deficit is looming ahead, and if that deficit is not placed under control we could lose everything - this is what has been said in the President's budgetary message addressed in early 1986 to the US Congress, and nothing is exaggerated therein. Suffice it to say that the US state debt is already in excess of \$2 trillion. It has doubled over the last five years, i.e. since the current Washington's Administration came to power. A trillion out of that debt is the amount spent by the Pentagon on new military programmes. There is indeed something

for both governmental officials and the most experienced representatives of major monopoly bourgeoisie to cudgel their brains about.

But this is not all. On June 30, 1985 the US Department of Commerce stated that for the first time since 1914 the United States became a debtor rather than a creditor. Systematically drawing upon foreign capital to cover the federal budget deficit and having a chronic deficit in foreign trade, the Administration is forced today to send more hard currency abroad than to receive therefrom. And this a logical result of the near-sighted domestic and foreign policy of the American ruling elite.

In his article "Armaments and Capitalism" published on May 21, 1913 in *Pravda*, Lenin wrote about an "exclusive international gang" of bourgeois politicians into whose pockets the golden rain produced by the arms race was pouring.¹² Socialism did not exist at that time on earth. It was not the myths about a "Soviet military threat" but other sophisms designed to portray arms manufacturers as "patriots" that were used then to justify the arms race. The weapons of that period were such that they did not threaten the aggressive side with self-annihilation. While pitting the peoples against one another in pursuing their annexationist, interventionist policies, bourgeois leaders and the bourgeoisie itself as a class preparing conflicts could remain assured that the flames of war would not practically effect them. The arms race and the cult of militarism were subordinated to the "practical goal" of war preparations.

The situation has changed after the emergence of weapons of mass destruction. As is known, there can be no winners in a nuclear war. Under those conditions, the very basis for the growth of militarism would seem to be eroding. Yet, the nature of monopoly capitalism has not changed despite the whittling down and weakening of its global economic, military and political positions. This is the fertile ground on which militarism continues to bloom under the wing of capitalist politicians.

As is noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "the capitalist world has not abandoned the ideology and policy of hegemonism, its rulers have not yet lost the hope of taking social revenge, and continue to indulge themselves with illusions of superior strength".

Lenin called disarmament an ideal of socialism. And it is only natural that triumphant socialism has stepped to the forefront of the struggle for filling up that ideal with a specific content and placing it on a practical track.

This is much facilitated by the mass democratic movements as well which have become an influential force of world development. Militarism is still strong but it is no longer omnipotent just like imperialism as a whole. It can and should be curbed through a creative will of human reason combined with the material potential of the forces of peace throughout the planet.

Why Is Imperialism's Policy Becoming More Aggressive?

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In the present conditions capitalism is encountering an unprecedented intertwining and mutual aggravation of all its inherent contradictions, more social, economic and other crises and clashes than it has ever en-

¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1963, p. 106.

countered throughout its history. The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism clearly manifests itself in all spheres of society's life. In this situation, the ruling circles are resorting to increasingly stringent measures to protect the interests of the ruling class in an attempt to find a way out of the impasse of the old system's unsolvable contradictions.

It is only natural that the reaction's brutal pressure in all areas of domestic policy cannot but leave its imprint on foreign policy. "Imperialism is prompted by its intrinsic mainsprings and socio-economic essence to translate the competition of the two systems into the language of military confrontation. By dint of its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly generates aggressive, adventurist policy", it was stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress.

The essence of this policy is best illustrated by the imperialism of the United States. What lies at the root of the intensively aggressive foreign policy of the present American Administration? Why does Washington seek to channel the competition of the two systems towards military confrontation?

Of course, it is no accident that the United States attempts to solve the entire range of contradictions separating the two world by means of force. These attempts stem from the inner social and economic essence of American imperialism and are determined by monopolies' urge to attain additional profits, sources of raw materials and markets, the appetites of predatory arms manufacturers and of influential military-bureaucratic groupings, and the intent to solve the mounting domestic problems at the expense of other countries.

The contradiction between the present objective position of the United States in the system of military-strategic, economic and political interconnections, on the one hand, and the subjective ambitions, programmes and aims of its ruling circles, on the other hand, is the most characteristic feature of that country's present behaviour in the international arena. Substantial changes in America's position and role in the world have occurred during the past fifteen years. They were triggered by the establishment of a general military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States which was perceived by certain circles in the United States as an unprecedented "weakening" of the country and loss of its erstwhile invulnerability. On the whole, American capitalism was forced to take into consideration the establishment of this parity and to adjust to it as a new condition of its existence. But inside the ruling class groupings have formed, and rather influential ones at that, which have never accepted parity as an inevitable reality, which have come out and are coming out for the attainment of US military superiority by any means, in fact even by means posing the greatest danger to international stability and peace.

Two tendencies have clashed within the American ruling circles: one realistically admits the danger of reckless adventurism in the nuclear age (a sort of "nuclear instinct of self-preservation"), while the other seeks a "settlement of accounts" with socialism and the acquisition of positions of "exclusive strength". As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress: "Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as an 'error' of history which must be 'rectified'. It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and 'punishments', or refusal of any and all cooperation." Now, seventy years after the birth of socialism, some circles in the United States are setting themselves the very same tasks which can be described as "social revanchism".

Apart from their class roots such sentiments were a reaction to America's waning positions in the international arena, as exemplified in the 1970s by the failure of the Vietnamese venture, the defeat of pro-American

forces in various parts of the world, and the Iranian crisis which became a sort of indicator of Washington's political and diplomatic weakening and the actual extent of anti-American sentiments in the world.

As is known, early in the 1980s the Republican administration's foreign policy slogans boiled down mostly to the demand "to reverse the process of weakening of America". But quite quickly the formula of "restoration of America's power" was transformed by the White House into another one—"active assault of America's restored power". A further rethinking of the overall strategy of the United States in respect to confrontation with socialism is now taking place and an even more vividly expressed intransigence is being imparted to it. Thus, whereas in the past the thesis was that of the need for vigorous counteraction to "communist forces" with the aim of preventing a further spread of socialism's influence, there is now talk in Washington about taking social revenge, moving the confrontation "to enemy territory" and even "winning over" to the side of capitalism the countries that have chosen the road of socialist transformations. Adventuristic actions are being taken in line with these ideas but they are doomed to failure because the objective parameters of America's present position in the world are such that they preclude any "return" to history's yesternight.

American imperialism has lost its economic hegemony in the capitalist world. Western Europe and Japan have succeeded in pushing their overseas partner somewhat to the sidelines. In the political-diplomatic sphere as well Washington can no longer count on the allies-rivals to meekly succumb to American diktat, the more so to the detriment of their own interests. In an attempt to regain its positions the United States places the emphasis in its relations with other capitalist countries on the claim that it remains the primary military guarantor of capitalism.

As a result, the American Administration tries to suggest only military solutions to all the complex political problems of the contemporary world. As to military-strategic problems, they are often interpreted in a too simplistic way, in fact, reduced to the level of production and technological ones. When asked in the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives about the main accomplishments of the Administration's military policy, the US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger merely listed the construction of 54 MX missiles, 4 Trident missile submarines, 100 B-1 bombers and the deployment in Europe of 130 Pershing-2 and 196 cruise missiles.

The policy of building up a nuclear potential and achieving military superiority is very clumsily camouflaged. Addressing the nation on February 27, that is, a day after the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress in Moscow when he already knew the main provisions of the Political Report, including the fundamentals of comprehensive system of international security outlined in it, the American President claimed that the Soviet Union respects only those countries that negotiate with it from positions of strength, that America's might is an inalienable element of peace in the world....

Washington's presumptuous reliance on strength in today's very complex world is also largely a result of the internal regroupment of forces that has occurred in the US ruling circles in the last decade. Representatives of the impetuous conservative quarters of the monopoly bourgeoisie, predominantly from the Southwest and West, have pushed away from the helm of the US political machine the traditional liberal coalition, representing mostly the interests of the capitalists in the "old" Northeastern states. While not affecting the mainstays of the country's foreign policy, this "changing of the guards" has brought about noticeable changes in some forms and methods of political activity.

What economic forces are represented by the political placement of the so-called "Sun Belt", as they have been dubbed by the American press?

These are mostly high technology industries—electronic, aerospace, robotics, and others characterised by very rapid growth rates, the highest levels of profits, the application of technological innovations and accelerated expansion of trade. Being accustomed to operate in business aggressively and on a large scale, the representatives of these circles are trying to behave similarly in politics. There is an essential similarity between the conservative plans suggested by them in the economic sphere—unrestricted competition and technological "reindustrialisation" of America—and their ideas about effective ways to solve international problems; here they bank not on collective security but on increasing the military potential, on new technologies, such as laser satellites as the most effective means of assuring military superiority and thereby changing the alignment of world forces in favour of the United States.

The coming to power of the present Republican Administration not so much opens a new "cycle" in American politics as concludes the regroupment of forces that had been in progress for quite a lengthy period and coincided in time with the weakening of America's world positions. Many parameters of the present US foreign policy of globalism were very much in evidence already by the end of the Carter Administration's term in office. The very coincidence of the "cycles" of changes in the foreign policy and economic spheres and in the domestic political alignment of forces is by no means accidental. America's loss of its absolute superiority in the capitalist world brought about and accelerated the defeat of the liberal coalition which had been relentlessly attacked by the right-wing conservative forces throughout the 1970s and blamed for the "dramatic weakening" of the country's positions.

But American capitalism's real drama is not the loss of its positions—this is a natural process objectively determined in a world in which the system of socialism is developing, military parity continues to exist, developing countries display ever more vigour and independence, while the structure of world mutual ties is becoming ever more multifaceted. The futility and, at the same time, the extreme danger of the present American policy stems from the collision of the present ruling grouping subjective desire to restore American "leadership" by means of strength and the changed objective conditions requiring a fundamentally different approach in order to guarantee survival, peace and security. "The policy of total contention, of military confrontation, has no future. Flight into the past is no response to the challenges of the future. It is rather an act of despair which, however, does not make this posture any less dangerous," it was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The objective role and possibilities of military strength in solving world problems change in the nuclear age. It is this obvious truth that the American leadership refuses to recognise. It is trying to convince people in the USA that "Soviet communism is more dangerous than nuclear arms", thereby preparing psychological climate for solving the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism by means of military confrontation.

But the opposite point of view on this question is held not only by broad sections of the American public but also by many representatives of that country's ruling class. They believe that nuclear arms are more dangerous than any outcome of the confrontation with communism. These arms, they say, equalise the fates of capitalism and socialism in face of nuclear confrontation, make them equally vulnerable and raise a bigger problem than that of a choice of social system—the problem of mankind's survival.

In this connection, I believe, it is appropriate to ask the following question: who threatens to "change the colour" of the American system? Has the Soviet Union ever imposed the following choice on the United States: either be destroyed or introduce social ownership of the means of production? Every sensible person familiar with the USSR's foreign policy knows that my country recognises and respects the interests of others, firmly adheres to the course of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and has never attempted to dictate to the American people the principles of social organisation they should choose. But that is exactly why the Soviet Union has the right to demand of the United States similar respect for its own interests and first of all for the two countries' common interest in ensuring survival, peace and security.

Today the countries of the world are confronted with a task that is by no means simple: while not ignoring the social, political and ideological contradictions to learn to conduct their relations on a peaceful basis, to act with restraint and circumspection, with due account for the interests of the international community as a whole. Peaceful competition of the social systems, proper communication and cooperation between states—these are the principles of mutual relations that should be asserted in the present conditions.

The laws of social development are of an objective nature and they cannot be "bent" or "transformed" as one sees fit. But that is exactly the aim of the imperialist policy of "social revanchism". One can either act in the international arena in accordance with these laws or enter into an ever growing conflict with the very course of history. All the same, the American leadership will never achieve its aims, but the world will move closer and closer to the brink of the nuclear precipice.

This path does not suit the peoples. They do not want our planet to be constantly threatened with nuclear annihilation through the fault of the reactionary imperialist circles.

Inter-Imperialist Contradictions at the Present Stage

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Previous contributions have already dealt with some aspects of the growing inter-imperialist rivalry. I would like to explore that problem further. And I would like to begin by quoting the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress which stressed that these contradictions have "not been eliminated either by class affinity, the interest in uniting forces, by military, economic and political integration, or by the scientific and technological revolution".

This is borne out by the relations taking shape between the three centres of imperialist rivalry—the USA, Western Europe and Japan—and between individual capitalist countries. It is important to note that in the present situation concerned are not merely the clashes between individual firms, monopolies and groups of monopolies prompted by capitalism's immanent chase of maximum profits, the wish to oust competitors from the most promising markets and sources of raw materials, and to deprive them of profitable investment opportunities. Inter-imperialist contradictions have formed a complex knot into which the economic, political and military interests of the capitalist states and their monopolies are tied up. Clashes are not only over economic issues but also over distribution of the roles in realising the political and military-political strategy of im-

perialism, and even over the very essence of this strategy, i. e. in areas where their class solidarity would seem to be most manifest. The emergence and development of such contradictions cannot be impeded by the strong and wide-ranging mutual commitments in the military-political blocs and alliances the imperialist states have created in the postwar years. Moreover, it is precisely the presence and functioning of bloc mechanisms that often generates interimperialist rivalries and in any case lends them new forms and directions. In other words, the diverse trade, monetary, financial, and other economic differences that lead to incessant clashes between states and monopolies in the capitalist world represent but a part of the general picture and essence of the contemporary inter-imperialist contradictions.

All this reflects the ongoing process of change in the correlation of forces between imperialist states caused by the law of uneven development of capitalism. This in turn led to the United States being deprived of the uncontested superiority over other capitalist states which it enjoyed in the early postwar years. Although the USA are still far ahead of its imperialist rivals in terms of the volume of industrial output and financial resources it now costs the USA much more effort to withstand the competition of Japanese and West European rivals.

Of course, there is rivalry in the markets in quest of various economic advantages in different parts of the world among the countries of Western Europe and between them and Japan. And yet if the situation as a whole is assessed, one must single out the rivalry between the USA and other leading capitalist states (which are partners and competitors at the same time) as the axis of the present-day interimperialist contradictions.

As this competition develops, the USA increasingly reveal a hegemonistic approach in its relations with the other capitalist countries. Since the advent of the present Republican Administration, the United States has in effect launched an all-out economic and political counteroffensive on its imperialist partners choosing the most sensitive spots to deliver its strikes.

The race in high technology which has got under way in recent years offers an illustration. The USA today retains its leading position in technological competition with the three centres of capitalism and controls the market for high-tech goods. True, Japan has managed to outdo the USA in some areas of science and technology. It is no accident that Western Europe, which lags way behind the USA and Japan in this field, views with growing apprehension the prospect of an American-Japanese "axis" in high technology that would "knock out" the rest of the capitalist world.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that; according to *Le Monde diplomatique*, almost two-thirds of American expenditures on R&D are channelled for military purposes which cannot but weaken US competitiveness in the world markets. It is this circumstance that makes the USA look for ways to impede its partners' advancement in the scientific and technological field.

The USA does not conceal the fact that its persistence in trying to involve other leading capitalist states in the "star wars" programme has been prompted (in addition to political and military considerations, naturally) by the hope of using their scientific and technological potential for its own selfish interests.

General Abrahamson, director of the "star wars" programme, told the *Armed Forces Journal* that one of the main aims of the USA is to harness the allies to the programme because in certain areas they have the technical potential no one else has. America wants, he went on, to get the best technical personnel to work on the American project in order to carry it into life within the shortest time and at the least cost.

Recent years have dramatically revealed the USA's desire to cope with the economic difficulties at the expense of the allies, difficulties that stem to a large degree from the US line of confrontation with the socialist states and the national liberation movement and total arms race. This is achieved by manipulating the rate of the dollar and discount rates, the measures to protect its home market and boost its exports. Thus, one of the knottiest problems in inter-imperialist contradictions has arisen in connection with the increased flow of investment from Western Europe to the United States lured by the high interest rates of American banks. This is a drain on the West European economies. According to Western experts, the flow of capital from Western Europe to the US amounts to about \$100,000 million a year which of course worries the USA's trade and economic partners.

Among the major participants in inter-imperialist rivalry (and that includes the field of science and technology) are the giant transnational corporations (TNCs) which monopolise entire areas of production both within individual countries and in the world capitalist economy as a whole. The TNCs are particularly well equipped to suppress their rivals and surmount any protectionist barriers put up by states. While most capitalist countries now have TNCs the most powerful and far-flung among them are to be found in the United States. They have their subsidiaries in dozens of countries and produce almost \$1.5 trillion in goods and services a year.

Transnational capital, which until recently operated mainly in the developing world, is focusing more and more on industrial capitalist states. In Western Europe they have long been sounding the alarm over the fact that the American TNCs are penetrating deeper and deeper into the economic activities of the continent and seeking to grab an ever bigger share of the world market and, consequently, increase their profits to the detriment of their European partners.

The transnationals are invading the sphere of political interstate relations acting as consultants to governments and at times directly representing governments in unofficial talks. This sphere of the activities of transnationals is described by the phrase "parallel diplomacy" recently coined in the West. American transnationals often act as vehicles of the hegemonistic, imperial designs of the US ruling circles who use their TNCs in other countries in order to influence the latter's foreign as well as economic policies.

Recent developments, however, show that inter-imperialist contradictions go far beyond the spheres in which they have traditionally evolved. Today they are felt even on such issues which throughout the postwar period have seen the greatest unanimity among capitalist countries, namely, matters of military preparations in order to be able to talk the language of force with the socialist and with numerous developing countries.

There is no question that practically all the leading members of the North Atlantic bloc rubber-stamp the resolutions aimed at whipping up military tensions, such as NATO's long-term military programme or the decision to deploy American medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries, and are increasingly involved in the American "star wars" programme. And they contribute more than a little to the arms race which has been initiated and is being vigorously pursued by the USA.

Yet even here some discord between the partners has arisen. The USA is vexed by the desire of some West European countries to try to shirk their commitments to boost military spending. The Pentagon, according to *The Washington Post*, constantly complains about the half-hearted attitude of its allies. The military-industrial quarters in the West European

countries for their part are grumbling that the American monopolies have seized too large a part of the contracts with the bloc and are pushing West European concerns out of profitable arms deals.

What in the West are termed "negative" trends in the North Atlantic bloc is not merely a question of who is lining his pockets at whose expense and who contributes more to "joint defence". More important is the fact that the governments and the public in the West European countries are taking a long look at the very concept and the allowable level of their involvement in the American strategy on the key issues of world politics. As P. Lellouche, Assistant Director of the French International Relations Institute, wrote in the book *Pacifism and Deterrence, the Pacifist Movement and Future European Security* the USA's West European partners consider their political and strategic interests to be distinct from those of the USA.

The question of how far Washington's course in the world meets the security and other interests of Western Europe has recently been the subject of sharp debates in the governing bodies of the North Atlantic bloc. It is far from accidental that in signing a number of documents Denmark and Greece have been regularly recording their particular opinion and some members of the bloc like Greece have challenged the US right to have nuclear weapons on their territories.

It is true of course that in airing their disagreements with Washington on some cardinal world issues West European ruling quarters are to some extent putting on a show: they cannot but take into account (or pretend to be taking into account) the demands of the broad public circles who insist that an end be put to the unbridled arms race and call on a revival of detente. Charles Williams Maynes, editor of the American magazine *Foreign Policy*, wrote on this issue that "discussions of nuclear strategy" have moved "out of the think tanks and government offices and into the streets".

At the same time the critical attitude of some West European countries to the foreign and military policy of the USA and their wish to distance themselves from this course (to varying degrees) is prompted by their real fears of becoming victims of the US policy of confrontation with the socialist countries and of being drawn, against their will and interests, into the imperial adventures of the overseas power in other parts of the world. This is one of the reasons why West European leaders have been assiduously promoting the idea of West European integration through stronger mutual ties, extending the powers of such associations as the European Economic Community or the Western European Union by turning them into political and even military-political blocs, creating a kind of counterweight to the "star wars" programme by implementing the Eureka programme or even developing their own "strategic defence initiative".

The USA, by and large, is not overly worried by such initiatives as it is convinced that all these programmes, if they come through, could be used as an additional prop for the North Atlantic bloc and US leadership in it. In fact, the initiators of all the projects aimed at strengthening and broadening West European integration, foresee no other prospects.

Washington considers that a far more dangerous divergence among allies is over the attitude to relations with the socialist countries, the West European countries' failure, in some cases, to comply with the American course for military confrontation, for undermining the all-European process and curtailing business ties established on the European continent.

As a result, the challenge which the West European allies present to the United States by their behaviour, according to an American political scientist Robert Blackwill, consists not so much in protectionist measures,

practiced on both sides of the Atlantic, as in their stand on such issues as arms control. Many representatives of the West European countries are convinced, he believes, that given a more flexible approach to these problems their governments could defuse East-West tensions and ease their internal political difficulties, notably effect substantial cuts in the quantity and power of the weaponry deployed on the old continent, scale down their military expenditures and avoid war. In Blackwill's opinion, to try and convince them of the opposite is like stirring a beehive.

Some observers believe that all this is giving rise to a "new anti-Americanism". While formerly, wrote *The International Herald Tribune* recently, anti-American sentiments usually meant a scornful attitude to the "Hollywood and Coca-Cola culture", today anti-Americanism manifests itself on a far wider range of problems: from doubts about Western Europe's involvement in the SDI to outrage over the US embargo on supply of technology to the socialist countries. "Europeans suspect", wrote the paper, "that the US government has at times used the mechanism of COCOM, the Paris-based Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls, to favor American industries".

In other words, the differences between the USA and its partners in the bloc are beginning to spread to one of the basic principles of the US foreign policy. The question is not only that the West European countries do not want to miss the practical advantages they would gain from broader business ties with the socialist countries (although these advantages are of no small importance in view of the continuing crises that beset Western economies), but of gaining a real possibility to pursue a more independent course in the world.

The United States, of course, is still hoping to find methods and institutional structures that would stem these "negative trends" in all the spheres of interstate relations and prevent their partners from becoming more independent. This search is pursued in various directions and by various means: by setting up new bodies to regulate the relations between the leading capitalist states (such as the Tripartite Commission or the annual meetings of the Seven) by improving NATO's structure to give the bloc's leading bodies wider powers in international politics, and by resorting to open pressure on the partners.

Washington sees the promotion of militarism and a sustained effort to involve the partners in the arms race as the most effective method of coordinating the policies of the leading Western countries in accordance with the interests of American imperialism and at the same time of weakening its economic rivals. Even the so-called economic summits of the Seven have from the outset been oriented to discuss military and strategic issues. Washington is particularly keen to draw its West European allies and Japan into the SDI programme. In pursuit of this goal the USA is resorting to a wide range of methods from written ultimatums to private persuasion. But the progress of the talks on the SDI confirms that agreed positions of the three rival imperialist centres more often than not result from pressure or open diktat and are primarily geared to meet the interests of the USA.

A vivid illustration is offered by the vicissitudes of the talks between the FRG and the USA last March on the participation of West German firms in the "star wars" programme. West Germany was the most zealous supporter of this militaristic programme. According to the Western press, the FRG hoped to negotiate "special" terms of cooperation with Washington in that field. However, all these claims were brushed off by the American partner, which prompted *Der Spiegel* to make the sad conclusion that "the Americans do not always reward the exemplary loyalty of the vassals" and want to "keep the reins in their hands forever."

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stressed, "the existing complex of economic, politico-military and other common interests of the three 'centres of power' can hardly be expected to break up in the prevailing conditions of the present-day world. But within the framework of this complex Washington should not expect unquestioning obedience to US dictation on the part of its allies and competitors, and especially when this is to the detriment of their own interests."

The Tokyo meeting of the Seven, held last May, once again exposed the preference given by Washington to the methods of diktat in relations with its partners. None of such meetings went without the USA putting forward some "central issue", and, as was noted by the French press in particular, Washington always demanded that these problems should be resolved in its favour. Last year it was the SDI, this year the "problem of international terrorism". Washington wanted to enlist its partners' support of the "power approach" to the developing countries, to make them associate themselves with Washington's policy of "neoglobalism" whose imperial essence was quite clearly revealed by the US military's brigand attack on Lybia, which, incidentally, evoked a reaction far from suiting Washington in Western Europe. Therefore, to make the Seven adopt a statement on terrorism the US President had to exert strong pressure on other participants of the meeting. As for the intention of its participants, stipulated in the Tokyo Declaration to pool efforts in the search for a more secure, healthy, more civilised and prosperous, free and peaceful world, this is nothing but a verbal attempt to create a semblance of full unity of the partners.

The fact that agreement in the relations between the capitalist states, including NATO partners, is more and more often achieved by direct pressure and dictate on the part of the USA spells the birth of new contradictions engulfing new areas, and that means new clashes in economic competition, and in the field of political and military-strategic relations.

Militarisation of Political Consciousness As a Means of Manipulating Public Opinion in the West

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A good deal has been said here about the increased aggressiveness of imperialism internationally, about its plans of social revenge through military confrontation. An important part in the implementation of these plans is the creation of an atmosphere of mistrust and militaristic hysteria.

The old dictum that never are more lies told than after a hunt and before a war vividly illustrates the methods used to militarise consciousness in order to manipulate public opinion in the capitalist and developing countries. An army of well-disciplined socialism-haters using the gigantic machine of mass propaganda created by imperialism and equipped with sophisticated technology, seeks to influence not so much the reason as the instincts of their audience, or, as Lenin put it, prejudices and not reason.¹³

Militarisation of public opinion is a major component of the "psychological warfare" unleashed by imperialism which, in the assessment contained

¹³ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 1965, Vol. 29, p. 524.

in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party's 27th Congress "cannot be qualified otherwise than as a special form of aggression, of information imperialism impinging on the sovereignty, history, and culture of peoples. Moreover, it spells out direct political and psychological preparations for war, having, of course, nothing in common with a real comparison of views or with freedom of exchanges of ideas, about which they speak hypocritically in the West. There is no other way for evaluating actions, when people are taught to look upon any society uncongenial to imperialism through a gun-sight."

The stakes are high, for it is the struggle for the minds of people, their perception of the world, their life, social and spiritual bearings. Actually, it is a confrontation of two diametrically opposite forces: those who are upholding mankind's right to life and progressive development and those who are ready to burn world civilisation in a nuclear missile conflagration.

In analysing the direct political-psychological preparations for war (not simply for the sake of analysis but for the sake of preventing it) we must, I believe, answer at least five questions: who bears the responsibility for these preparations? What are the "arguments" of the apologists of nuclear apocalypse? How are these "arguments" prepared? What methods are used to try and implant them in the consciousness of the people? Whom do they expect to believe these "arguments"? In other words, a thorough knowledge of its source, substance, methods, dissemination channels and the audience is required to be able to expose the goals and purposes of bourgeois propaganda.

The main source of militarisation of public consciousness is the military-industrial complex of the USA and of other NATO member countries relying on a far-flung political and ideological apparatus including its top echelons. The present US Administration, more than any previous administration, has geared the country's foreign policy to ideology in the spirit of psychological warfare, of the proclaimed "crusade" against world socialism. Unprecedented and troglodytic anti-Sovietism, when the Soviet Union is proclaimed to be an "evil empire", represents an unsuccessful attempt to derail the socialist community from the track of peaceful coexistence, to ditch the whole system of relations between the states with different social systems, to replace civilised norms by the morals of cowboy-like feuds.

A particular danger for further contamination of the moral climate on the planet stems from the growing interest that the military-industrial complex has not only in the arms race but also in the development of qualitatively new types of mass destruction weapons. The arguments of the advocates of the "strategic defense initiative" that it is strictly a scientific research programme are untenable inasmuch as the military-industrial complex has never invested in "pure science". The "star wars" programme is therefore fatally dangerous even at the stage of R&D. And one has to remember that a loaded gun must fire sooner or later, the sad truth that has been confirmed many times since firearms had been invented.

The basic content of the political-psychological preparations for war and its numerous programmes is formed by slanderous allegations about a "Soviet military threat". This false myth has been the major and trite argument of the enemies of international detente. However, the myth clearly misfires if one compares it against the Soviet state's practical actions in the world. Let us cite but one example. The most effective way to curb the nuclear arms race is to stop nuclear arms testing. The Soviet Union has advanced a noble initiative: on the 40th anniversary of the American bombardment of Hiroshima this country declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and recently once again, already for the third time, extended it till August 6, 1986, which was stated in the middle of May by Mikhail Gorbachev on Soviet television. We shall not speculate what will be Washington's response this time. We would only recall that despite the per-

sistent demand of the public to adhere to the Soviet moratorium the "peace-makers" in Washington conducted a series of nuclear blasts in March-April this year.

None of the arguments to justify their intention to continue to quake the globe by nuclear tests can stand up to criticism. Take, for instance, the Pentagon's spurious statistics which allege that the USSR has carried out more nuclear tests than the USA and can therefore afford the luxury of a moratorium. Here are the figures released by the Swedish Defence Institute. If the number of nuclear explosions is taken to be 100, then as of January 1, 1986 the share of each nuclear power in them has been as follows: the USA—50.4, the USSR—36.0, France—8.6, Britain—2.4, China—2.0. The contention that it is impossible to monitor underground nuclear tests by other states is equally untenable and makes no sense technically.

The strategy of social revenge stakes not only on keeping the world under constant threat of nuclear war. Great hopes are pinned on conventional arms which the reactionary imperialist circles in the USA are using in order to try and stem the mounting national liberation movement. As part of its official "neoglobalism" doctrine, the Pentagon has developed a concept of "low intensity combat" (L. I. C.) whose growing popularity, according to the American magazine *Nation*, "stems from two interrelated phenomena: the armed services' desire to develop a publicly acceptable formula for the use of force in regional conflicts and the Reagan Administration's desire to build public support for its military campaign... That's what L. I. C. doctrine is intended to do. It contains both a strategic blueprint for military activities abroad and a political program for manipulating public opinion at home." The target of the L. I. C. doctrine is the national liberation movements in the developing world and the antiwar protest inside the USA.

The "neoglobalism" doctrine proclaims to be "legitimate" American support, including military support, for the antigovernment forces and their armed bands in Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Nicaragua. This neocolonialist doctrine raises international terrorism to the level of government policy and propagates the USA's right to do whatever it pleases under the imperial flag of defending its "vital interests", even if these are at the other end of the world. By the same token, the doctrine is designed to stir up chauvinistic sentiments inside the USA, to make public opinion at home accustomed to the "legitimacy" of armed punitive actions abroad.

Let us now look at the channels for the spread of militarist propaganda. It is unleashed on the populations in the capitalist and developing countries through information agencies, the press, radio and TV broadcasting and other video propaganda means. Using communications satellites, The Voice of America, numerous other radio stations who follow its lead, and American TV networks saturate the air round-the-clock with crude ideological sabotage. Leading the chorus of slanderers is the US Information Agency (USIA) whose budget has reached almost \$1,000 million. CIA agents all over the world are engaged in "black propaganda"-style acts of subversion.

A circumstance to be noted is that in recent years the White House has become not only the source of but an active vehicle for the ideas of militarism and social revenge, to which end it uses numerous press conferences with orchestrated questions, radio addresses and televised appearances ("telepolitics" is the new term coined in the USA). A White House television team has launched mass production of video cassettes of the Presidents speeches intended for specific audiences. It is being planned to create a White House television company which would give the President direct access to the screen without "intermediaries" (ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN).

Hollywood militaristic movies play a special role in duping the audience and corrupting political innocents, notably young people. Its output today

includes films about the bloody adventures of superman John Rambo, a Vietnam war veteran, a crude professional killer who at the same time is obsessed with a nostalgia for the "American dream", a dream of restored American greatness which has allegedly been undermined by the "intrigues of the Reds". They are the targets on which Rambo directs his fury as he playfully destroys enemy legions on land, at sea and in the air. In this way part of the audience may come to believe the most dangerous myth that the USA would emerge unscathed from a nuclear war.

The methods of militaristic propaganda, and its workings merit a closer look. "A popular method always used by the bourgeois press in every country with unerring effect is to lie, scream, raise a hullaballo, and keep on reiterating lies on the off-chance that 'something may stick'." ¹⁴ These words of Lenin reveal the very essence of the massive brainwashing of the population by imperialist propaganda.

The ideologists of psychological warfare in their attempts to manipulate public opinion constantly use various stereotypes. These run of the mill, simplistic ideas of social phenomena are designed to stimulate certain responses (sympathy or antipathy) as soon as their carrier is faced with something associated with a habitual image. Anticommunist propaganda turns such notions as peace, democracy, freedom into stereotypes presenting them as inalienable attributes of the capitalist society and antipodes of the socialist society, communist ideology and morals. Ever since the end of the last war the world has been exposed to the imperialist propaganda stereotype about an "iron curtain" which allegedly prevents the people in the socialist countries from getting "truthfull" information about events abroad, which in turn is supposed to prove that the Soviet Union is a "closed society".

Imperialist propaganda makes extensive use of open lies, fabrications and "canards". The most dangerous specimen is the false allegation about a "Soviet military threat". In late 1985 the US Administration mounted a strident slanderous campaign alleging that the Soviet Union was not complying with the SALT-2 Treaty and groundlessly accusing the USSR of developing a second generation of IBMs. This falsification, which had far-reaching goals, was undertaken in the wake of the Soviet-US summit in Geneva where the two sides reaffirmed agreement on holding Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space weapons in order to work out effective accords aimed at preventing the arms race in space and halting it on Earth, consolidating strategic stability, and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons completely and everywhere.

Deliberate "information leaks" is another method often used by the enemies of international detente. On the eve of the Geneva summit a letter from Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to the President was published in which the former cited deliberately inflated data on the Soviet military potential and warned the President not to trust the Russians. World public opinion was unanimous that the letter, which mysteriously got into the hands of American journalists, was aimed at undermining and disrupting the Geneva meeting.

Quite often the old principle of Göebbels that "the best lies are made from half-truths" is put into service. In order to build up credibility with its audience, imperialist propaganda often laces false reports with true facts. For instance, the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station was accompanied by concoctions about "thousands of victims", "communal graves", "dead Kiev", and so forth and so on. As it was noted by Mikhail Gorbachev, the instigators of this highly amoral campaign badly needed it "to besmear the Soviet Union and its foreign policy, to reduce the impact of the Soviet proposals on the discontinuation of nuclear tests and the elimina-

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 1964, Vol. 24, p. 118.

tion of nuclear weapons, and simultaneously to mitigate the mounting criticism of the US conduct on the international scene and the US militaristic course".

Infrequently dosed out "half-truths" are manipulated depending on the circumstances. If anything, logic is totally lacking here. For instance, the US Administration likes to talk about US uncontested might. However, when it needs to extract fresh billions of dollars from the Congress—or, to be more exact, from the American taxpayer—to finance the arms race, allegations are immediately produced to the effect that the country is "vulnerable" on a number of points.

Imperialist propaganda devotes much effort to semantic tricks. At the initial stage of the aggression in Vietnam it tried to conceal US involvement in the "dirty war". Accordingly, the words "armed forces" were replaced by the word "advisers", even though their number had reached 20,000. A similar approach is being used to mask the de facto US intervention in El Salvador.

The French political scientist Claude Julien described these and similar methods of manipulating public opinion in the Western countries, notably the USA, in order to whip up militaristic sentiments as "information shows" on the governmental stage. In his words, "an information show makes one forget the art of asking questions... The laws of the show lend particular significance to violent actions turning their perpetrators into stars and making a travesty of law."

There are no verbal tricks imperialist propaganda does not use, for example, in order to prove that aggression is "legitimate". In 1954 the USA toppled Guatemala's constitutional government on the false accusation that it pursued "communist policies". In 1965 the USA committed armed intervention in the Dominican Republic under the pretext of "protecting the lives of American citizens", whom no one threatened. In 1973 the USA overthrew the legitimate government of Chile under the pretext of "defending democracy", only to bring to power a fascist junta. In 1983 Washington used the pretext of "protecting national security" to launch armed intervention against Grenada, a tiny state with a population ten times less than that of New York City. Today it uses a similar propaganda cover to wage its undeclared war against Nicaragua. Washington is trying to spread the "big stick" policy and "gunboat diplomacy" methods perfected in Latin America (which it still considers to be its "backyard") to the rest of the world.

Finally, a few words must be said about the targets of militaristic propaganda, about the audience at which it is aimed. It is in fact the whole capitalist society, including its top strata. In early 1985 the White House launched a campaign to influence Congress which was debating the Administration's request for money to finance the building of 21 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles. In the spring of 1986 the President personally attempted to pressure the House of Representatives into sanctioning military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Needless to say, methods vary depending on the object, and the corresponding "actors" are picked out to support the propaganda show.

The object of militaristic propaganda in the USA can be likened to a pyramid, with Congress at the top and the broad masses of the people at the bottom. Not even children have been spared. They are exposed to unprecedented doses of war and violence. In place of innocuous tin soldiers they now have toys simulating mass destruction weapons and inciting to violence. Progressive people see this as one cause of the growth of crime in the capitalist world.

Exposing the ideology and practice of militarism is a pressing task of our time. It is one of the necessary conditions for all the peace forces to pool their efforts and stop the arms race on Earth, to prevent its spread to

outer space, to make sure that mankind enters the next millenium without nuclear weapons.

The Significance of the Foreign-Policy Programme of the 27th CPSU Congress for Scientific Theory and International Practice

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The profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of world development problems made at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the influence of the documents adopted by it on the development of mankind, on the hearts and minds of the people the world over, make the Congress an event of worldwide historic significance.

The feasibility of our economic plans and the unlimited possibilities for speeding up socio-economic advancement provide a sound basis for the international positions of socialism growing stronger, exerting increasing influence on every aspect of the socio-political activities of the peoples. It is the effectiveness of Soviet domestic and foreign policies, and the impact of the economic successes scored by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries on the rest of the world, that have always enabled socialism to demonstrate its vast advantages over the old social system, thereby adding to the attractiveness of socialist ideals and the socialist way of life for the working people in capitalist countries.

By its historic decisions the 27th Congress of the CPSU has contributed to the further elaboration of the theory of gradual transition from socialism to communism, viewing socialism and communism, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as phases of one communist formation. "There is no," says the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "distinct line dividing them: the development of socialism, an ever fuller revelation and use of its possibilities and advantages, and the consolidation of the general communist principles characteristic of it—this is what is meant by the actual advance of society to communism."

The 27th Congress clearly formulated the indisputable advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist one in every aspect of the life of society. These advantages are not a product of abstract theorising, but the result of the operation of the objective laws governing historical development, a natural display of these laws. To explain them in full volume and in all their relationships is the main task of social sciences at this stage. The Congress said that attention should now be centred "on studying and thoroughly analysing the experience of world development and the building of the new society in the USSR and other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and relations of production and of the material and cultural spheres under socialism, the general laws governing the formation of the communist system and the ways and means of ensuring gradual movement towards its highest stage."

Social scientists are now offered a large sphere of action for truly scientific studies of the problems involved in the development of Soviet society. I should like to say in this connection that we scientific analysts of international events owe the Party a great deal. Frankly speaking, instead of analysing major questions in a comprehensive way, we often confine ourselves to merely examining certain aspects of a problem which at best is

simply an outline of an approach to that problem but not its theoretical elaboration. The 27th Congress has reminded us of the need for an in-depth theoretical study of the topical issues in the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government. It demonstrated that Marxist-Leninist theory, including the area of international politics and the experience we gain as we are building communism, should be boldly developed in a creative way.

"Time sets the question of the social sciences broadly tackling the concrete requirements of practice and demands that social scientists should be sensitive to the ongoing changes in life, keep new phenomena in sight, and draw conclusions that would correctly orient practice."

The sections on foreign policy matters in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, in the new edition of the CPSU Programme and in other historic documents adopted by the Congress are an excellent example of a creative approach to the study of problems related to Soviet foreign policy and international relations. They offer a clear Marxist-Leninist analysis of today's world, of its main tendencies and contradictions, set the goals and determine directions for our Party's foreign-policy strategy, and formulate the basic principles of a universal system of international security, the principles epitomising foreign-policy moves of the CPSU and the Soviet government towards making peaceful coexistence among states belonging to two opposite systems a supreme universal principle of international relations.

As concerns the topical issues of world politics, the present time demands a new approach to war and peace problems in the context of the nuclear-missile era, and a scientific explanation of the vital need to reshape the political thinking of statesmen and experts in international relations. The stress here should evidently be not on subjective factors, and one should not be confined to issuing calls, sometimes pacifist calls, alone, but should clearly and consistently reveal the structure of present-day world relations and the alignment of world forces and show the level of socio-political, economic, scientific and technological development of modern society making up, objectively, the basis of international relations today.

Consequently, the Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and peace has passed the test of time and now awaits its creative elaboration in accordance with the new data and new experience accumulated by Soviet science as a result of both the progress of world socialism and the scientific and technological revolution which has produced powerful means of mass destruction that can lead to the annihilation of mankind if a nuclear conflagration breaks out.

Today, when the general crisis of capitalism is growing increasingly acute, the global strategy of imperialism is most closely associated with plans of war and aggression. Numerous facts can be cited to show that the strategic line of the USA and NATO is determined not by a wish to strengthen the defence capacity and not by the needs of national or collective defence but is designed for taking social revenge and stopping or reversing the course of historical development. The new edition of the Programme of the CPSU points out that "the imperialist powers strive to coordinate their economic, political and ideological strategy, to create a common front of struggle against socialism, against all revolutionary, liberation movements".

Refusing to reckon with the real state of affairs in the world, imperialism, US imperialism above all, relies on military force, and seeks to build up tensions and provoke conflicts in various parts of the world. As the old system is disintegrating ever faster, its social and economic contradictions growing ever more acute, hamstringing the positions of imperialism in the world, its anti-popular and aggressive nature is increasingly laid bare.

For this reason the chief tasks of Soviet social science and Soviet experts in international politics are, as before, to reveal the class motives behind the foreign-policy course of the USA and other imperialist powers, to expose before the whole world the demagogic rhetoric employed by the Western ruling elite for lulling world public opinion and concealing its vicious plans of war and aggression and to uncover the economic, political, *military and ideological motives behind the arms race.*

It should be borne in mind that the class and ideological factor is central to determining the political strategy and tactics of the USA and NATO. This explains why all foreign-policy doctrines—from the notorious “peace through strength” concept to “neoglobalism”—are designed to justify the imperial ambitions and imperial policy of the United States, stop the progressive advance of mankind, and block further revolutionary changes in any part of the world. Hence the attempts to ideologise foreign policy and diplomacy, alleging that their chief mission is to “contain Soviet expansion”.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is well aware that there is no “Soviet military threat”, nor can there be; and that the USSR has never claimed foreign territory. As for “containment”, what is really meant here is primarily fear of the ideological and political influence of the Soviet Union on other nations. George Kennan, a US diplomat and scientist, one of the authors of the “containment” concept, who coined the term itself, said: “When I used the word ‘containment’... with respect to that country [the USSR]... What I did think I saw—and what explained the use of that term—was what I might call an ideological-political threat. Great parts of the Northern Hemisphere—notably Western Europe and Japan—had just been seriously destabilized, socially, spiritually and politically, by the recent war. Their populations were dazed, shell-shocked, uncertain of themselves, fearful of the future, highly vulnerable to the pressures and enticements of Communist minorities in their midst.”

The real reasons for circulating the ideological myth about a “Soviet threat” and issuing calls for “containing” socialism are expressed all too clearly here. Even Kennan himself admits: “It is entirely clear to me that Soviet leaders do not want a war with us and are not planning to initiate one. In particular, I have never believed that they have seen it as in their interests to overrun Western Europe militarily, or they would have launched an attack on that region in these postwar decades even if the so-called ‘nuclear deterrent’ had not existed.”

George Kennan is one of the key US ideologists. He takes an active part in developing all kinds of doctrines and concepts along anti-communist and anti-Soviet lines. At the same time, elements of realism are clearly manifest in his judgements. All this lends significance to his utterances. It is clear from them that imperialist reaction in the USA sees a mortal danger for itself in the very existence of the USSR, in the ideological, political and moral influence exerted by existing socialism on the state and development of the non-socialist world.

But to declare this publicly would mean to admit how bankrupt the entire system of values in bourgeois society is and to recognise that the old social system is historically doomed. Therefore the imperialist bourgeoisie takes a roundabout way, attempting to hide the true situation and so cover up its pathological enmity and hatred for our country and other socialist states by lies about a “war threat” from the East. The calculation was simple: knowing that a large part of the population in the West is poorly informed, they present the foreign-policy course of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in a grossly distorted way. Regretfully, the tenacity of the myth about a “Soviet military threat” is evidence that imperialism has managed to impose anti-communist and anti-Soviet stereotypes on definite segments of the population. Fraud, falsification of facts, and slander—these

and other similar means are used by bourgeois ideology and propaganda in the struggle against socialism and its noble ideals.

But intentionally lumping together the class and ideological struggle on the world scene with military confrontation of the two systems is not in the least a sign of the strength of the bourgeoisie, of its ideology and policy. On the contrary, it is clear evidence that the general crisis of capitalism is going from bad to worse, that the ruling elite in the imperialist states, fearful of the future, is impotent to refute the scientific ideology of socialism and its practical example.

An important task of the social sciences, says the CPSU Programme, remains the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism. To fulfil this mission, it should carry on the in-depth study of the processes going on in the communist, working-class and national liberation movements, and in the capitalist system. This study must not be a rehash of commonly known propositions, not to mention those of them which no longer fully reflect the present-day reality. What is needed is objective analysis, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, from our class positions, of all the processes and phenomena—economic, social, political, military and ideological—which at this juncture characterise the state and development of bourgeois society.

Exposure of bourgeois ideology cannot be reduced to extensively quoting Western political scientists only because the quotations speak for themselves. Such a reckless approach sometimes results in the spread of unscientific "theoretical" conceptions that are alien to us. What should be used is a sure and long-tested method—a critical analysis of the theories, doctrines and concepts advanced by the ideologists of imperialism—a method of revealing the class motives behind them and comparing them with our own scientifically grounded and well-argued position.

Examining, for instance, the general crisis of capitalism at the present stage, we concentrate on the economic, social and political aftermaths of its aggravation and illustrate the collapse and disintegration of the old system by the latest examples backing up our scientific conclusions. However, more attention should be paid today to the ways in which this crisis affects foreign policy, which would make it possible to see the deep-seated causes of imperialism's growing aggressiveness in the world.

As for the kaleidoscopic succession of various doctrines designed to justify the foreign policy pursued by the United States and other NATO countries, a more thorough analysis of their "theoretical" basis would be required to prove their complete unfoundedness. This "theoretical" basis is provided mostly by "Sovietology" which is alleged to be a science in the West. But this "science", whose purpose is to misinterpret Soviet domestic and foreign policies, clearly fails to attain the goals set. The "Sovietologists" sometimes offer quite peculiar reasons to explain the failure. For instance, A. Dallin, a well-known "Sovietologist", declared that the constant failure of his colleagues to understand and explain the Soviet reality, its past, present and future, is due largely to the deliberate interference of politics into academic life.

But we look at it a different way: any unbiased judgement about the Soviet Union and the events and processes taking place in it, results according to American political scientists themselves, in immediate punishment by the US ruling circles of the "guilty" research centres and scientists.

And this introduces new aspects in the disclosure of all kinds of military-political and ideological doctrines, employed by the ruling elite in many capitalist countries, doctrines based on a myth about a "Soviet military threat" which has been constantly drummed up in the West. Therefore a superfluous and simplified approach to refuting these doctrines is absolutely inadmissible in Soviet counter-propaganda.

We must always remember that the notorious doctrine on US "vital interests", and the slanderous allegation that national liberation movements are a version of terrorism, like many other such lies spiced with false assertions about a "Soviet threat", are intended for concealing, at least partly, the true goal of imperialist policy, which is to prevent further revolutionary changes in the world and to take revenge on a global scale.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always sought to disguise its foreign-policy plans and goals under a veil of secrecy. But secret diplomacy was put an end to by the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the world's first socialist state, with its policy of peace and new methods of conducting foreign affairs, emerged on the international scene. Polemising with Karl Kautsky, Lenin pointed out way back in 1918: "Take foreign policy. In no bourgeois state, not even in the most democratic, is it conducted openly. The people are deceived everywhere.... The Soviet government has torn the veil of mystery from foreign policy in a revolutionary manner."¹⁵

These words of Lenin's not only characterise the methods employed by imperialist policy and diplomacy but also emphasise the great influence exerted by Soviet foreign policy on world developments.

The important thing to note here is that Lenin's assessment quoted above is fully applicable today and, what is more, its significance has even increased. We do not speak any longer of secret diplomacy as such but of new cover-up methods employed by the bourgeoisie in place of the old ways of drawing up political plans and conducting diplomatic activities. Deception of the popular masses and the efforts to depoliticise public movements in the West have never before assumed such proportions. To that end, the bourgeoisie makes extensive use of the latest scientific and technological achievements in order to build up the facilities for the mass media and propaganda.

One of the chief tasks confronting Soviet social science is to reveal the mechanism of foreign policy decision-making by imperialist states, properly to assess the role of this mechanism and find the true causes giving rise to new military-political doctrines.

Among the most widely-used methods of misleading the nations and world public opinion is, in our view, the constant line of the US ruling elite and the NATO leadership of "drowning" politics and diplomacy in propaganda, in warlike ideology, to lump all these notions together and thus to confuse public thinking. As we all know, all the foreign-policy moves of the US President and other leaders of the NATO countries are, first and foremost, pure propaganda. The difference between propaganda and diplomacy is so indistinct that even expert politicians sometimes have difficulty seeing it. Notably, political bluffing is used nowadays more often than not in the West to whip up the arms race.

A clear example of hypocrisy, deceit and lies is the "strategic defense initiative" proposed by the US President. It is justly referred to as a "star wars" doctrine, for it means militarisation of outer space, which would inevitably give rise to a new round in the nuclear arms race and increase the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. Nonetheless, it is alleged in Washington that a space "shield" would ensure peace and tranquility on earth. There seems to be no logic in this reasoning, but imperialism has its own logic. To prop up its international positions and extract billions of dollars in profit, it would not stop short of risking the destruction of civilisation.

So, the above-mentioned specifics of the policy and diplomacy of the USA and other NATO countries today are the product of the very development of world capitalism, of the aggravation of its general crisis and the ideological struggle between the two opposite systems. Most probably the foreign

¹⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1965, pp. 246-247.

policy of imperialist powers will be further ideologised, which can block the solution to the key problems of world politics.

Under the circumstances, the importance for the USSR to disseminate information about its foreign policy is growing. Therefore, its forms and methods must be constantly improved, all kinds of tricks used by the class enemy should be exposed more efficiently, and the militaristic nature of the foreign-policy plans and actions of modern imperialism should be revealed in a timely manner.

Soviet foreign-policy information is effective in that it is based on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the processes and events in the world, on the constructive peace proposals of the CPSU and the Soviet government. Our enemies often label Soviet large-scale initiatives on today's major issues as "propaganda". Such reaction is a sign of helplessness and shows that the West, having no alternative to these Soviet proposals, is only trying to dismiss them. It simply means that those in the West are distressed by the fact that every proposal, being constructive and thoroughly weighed, meets the wishes of all peace-loving nations and carries great political influence on world public opinion, on the hearts and minds of people on every continent. The propagation of the foreign-policy moves of the CPSU and the Soviet government, which pursue such noble goals as safeguarding world peace, curbing the arms race and eliminating the nuclear war threat, naturally, evoke favourable response in the USSR and abroad.

Life itself brings ever new proofs of the fact that the foreign-policy course elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress, as was stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address on the Soviet TV on May 14, 1986, "is correct, that our proposals on the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the discontinuation of nuclear explosions, the creation of a comprehensive system of international security correspond to those inexorable demands which are made on the political leadership of all countries in the nuclear age."

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, steadily pursuing the Leninist policy of peace, are a powerful counterpoise to the imperialist camp. They spare no effort to defend the cause of peace and international security, to expose the anti-popular character of imperialism and its aggressive policy, and mobilise the peoples of all countries for opposing the policy of war and aggression pursued by the governments of the USA and other NATO countries and launching resolute joint actions to preserve peace and life on earth.

The results of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and its decisions are of a truly worldwide historic significance. The impressive plans for speeding up the Soviet Union's scientific and technological advancement and perfecting socialism will, no doubt, improve not only the social and economic conditions of the Soviet people but cause a wide response in all countries and have a direct impact on the world relations as a whole. The fulfilment of the social and economic plans will ensure the continued growth of the economic might of world socialism, of its international prestige, and strengthen its positions in the world.

The foreign-policy programme of the 27th Congress of the CPSU has again demonstrated to the whole world the continuity of the consistent foreign policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government. The CPSU has again demonstrated to the whole world that safeguarding peace and ensuring the progress of mankind as a whole has always been socialism's great historical mission.


In conclusion I should like to thank on behalf of the *International Affairs* editorial board all who have joined our exchange of opinion.

THE SOVIET PROGRAMME FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

P. V O L O D A R O V

The programme for achieving world security through disarmament, like all other foreign-policy initiatives launched at the CPSU 27th Congress, has become the focus of world public attention. The new major Soviet initiatives are examined, debated and discussed everywhere. Interest is great, indeed, for the future of mankind is at stake. For the first time an integral, concrete and precisely timetabled programme for making the world safer, for delivering it from nuclear arms, preventing an arms race in outer space, and drastically reducing conventional weapons, has been put forward.

Having carefully analysed the present world situation, having assessed the positions and practical actions of other states, the Congress of Soviet Communists has arrived at the conclusion that in today's world, which is full of contradictions and where many aspects and phenomena have become interdependent due to the nuclear and space realities, it is possible and vitally imperative that the international situation be radically improved, that a new, extremely dangerous and costly round of the arms race be prevented, and that universal security be strengthened.



The struggle against the nuclear danger, the arms race, for preserving and strengthening universal peace, remains the major thrust of the Party's activities in the world arena. Within this framework the central thrust of the USSR's foreign policy will be the activity aimed at implementing the programme advanced by the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary in his statement of January 15, 1986. This programme is based upon the fact that mankind's historical development reached the point when its future existence depends on the path along which it chooses to proceed.

The countries of the world have a choice: either they can continue thinking along old lines, pursuing the arms race and military superiority, or they can reject this, take a critical and unbiased look at the world situation, and pool their efforts to ensure peace and prosperity for the present and coming generations.

The Soviet Union proposes the second variant, for the first one leads to self-destruction.

Apart from being aware of the importance of this moment, one should realise the necessity of ensuring equal security for all nations. Countries can no longer afford to seek security at the expense of others. They should work together to achieve security, for they all are confronted with the common threat of nuclear war.

This conclusion inevitably follows from the realities of the nuclear and space era which has infinitely extended mankind's possibilities and simultaneously compressed the territorial and time indices.

The Soviet Union does not claim that this idea is exclusively its own. The same conclusion has been made by realistically-minded politicians, public figures, scientists and everyone concerned with maintaining peace. This conclusion is formulated in the documents of the non-aligned movement and in the appeals by leaders of the six countries representing different continents.

Life insistently demands that priorities be revised with regard to ways and means of achieving security. Previously the possession of more weapons could protect a state from outside threats, whereas today security cannot be achieved by military-technological means.

New and more sophisticated types of weapons developed to counter, or replace, the existing ones, can no longer give one country advantage over others security-wise, since the existence of new weapons would render the world situation still more unstable and, in the long run, bring about "zero security". The capability and properties of modern weapons make the policy of confrontation senseless. Here are some statistical data to prove this: 3.3 million people died in the wars within the whole of the 17th century, 5.3 million in the 18th century, and 5.6 million between 1801 and 1913. World War I took a toll of 10 million killed and 20 million maimed, and World War II wiped out 50 million human lives. And what would a war result in now with the immense overkill arsenals stockpiled in our world?

In this entirely new situation security can be achieved by political means, through reaching political understanding.

It is therefore impossible to prefer national over international security, or to strengthen one's security at the expense of the security of others.

The Soviet Union is fully aware that a selective approach to security is utopia. As was stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev, in the nuclear age the security of states cannot depend on the use or threat of force. It is possible only as security for all. Lesser security of any country as compared with that of the Soviet Union would not benefit the USSR, since this would be a source of distrust and instability.

Dozens of sovereign countries in the world today have their own interests, ambitions and problems, and to ensure stable general security it is absolutely necessary that the interests of each state be met with due account of the interests of others, through cooperation.

The Soviet Union firmly insists on practical disarmament measures. It takes these measures itself and urges others to follow suit.

In the programme of universal security through disarmament the Soviet Union offers a comprehensive plan for the consideration by the international community of ensuring reliable and just peace. The USSR proposes that peace be built by taking rapid, large-scale steps, so that the world would be free of any mass destruction means by the end of this century. The Soviet Union is against rigid linkage and all types of diplomatic games designed for making up for concessions in one area by putting up obstacles in another one.

The most extensive measure to be implemented in this plan is the programme of complete and general elimination of nuclear arms by the end of this millennium advanced in the January 15 Statement.

The Soviet Union already proposed at the outset of the nuclear era that nuclear arms be removed from the arsenals of states.

This programme is new in that it not merely sets an ultimate goal to be achieved some time in the future, but proposes clear-cut and specific measures to be effected within a historically brief period of fifteen years, as a result of which nuclear weapons would be totally eliminated in the world and simultaneously space strike weapons would be necessarily banned.

Under the programme, at the first stage (5-8 years) the nuclear arms of the USSR and the USA capable of reaching the territory of each other would be cut by half, provided, naturally, that both sides renounce space strike weapons.

A ban on space strike weapons is a natural and logical condition for eliminating nuclear arms in general. Preventing the arms race from spilling over into outer space is tantamount to lifting a barrier to large reductions of nuclear arms and their ultimate stage-by-stage liquidation. This is not an arbitrary linkup of two different matters. There is an objective material relationship between them. As it sets the goal of eliminating nuclear danger, the USSR proposes that simultaneously another and not less disastrous menace, the space one, be eliminated as well. This does not imply a prohibition of fundamental research (including laser development). But if this exceeds the limits of fundamental research and becomes part of arms development, then it must be banned too, of course.¹ If an obligation on refraining from the development of space strike weapons is assumed, it would be easily verifiable. Should any state attempt to violate it, this would become known, for the development of these weapons would involve building models, pilot specimens, and extra-laboratory testing. To prevent this, the Soviet Union has suggested setting up verification laboratories. So, a ban on space strike weapons would automatically solve the research problem.

The implementation of these Soviet proposals would bring the total amount of the nuclear arms of the USSR and the USA to 1,250 and of the delivery vehicles to 1,680 after the first stage provided space strike weapons are banned. The Soviet Union thus agrees to the USA having some advantage in the number of delivery vehicles, considering that after a 50-per cent cut in the nuclear arms delivery vehicles the sides would have an equal number of 6,000 charges each, which will thus ensure approximate strategic equilibrium.

It has, thus, been proposed to reduce strategic offensive arms on the Soviet side and strategic offensive arms and medium-range missiles deployed in Western Europe, carrier-based aircraft, and medium-range carrier (parent) aircraft at the US bases in Europe and Asia on the US side. The Soviet medium-range missiles cannot reach US territory and therefore are not included in the strategic parity formula. As for the reduction of US forward-based weapons, although the USSR found it possible not to include them in SALT-2, it has never dismissed the issue. Their inclusion in the proposed reduction is all the more justified since it is going to be a drastic cut.

An entirely new element in the programme is the bold and far-reaching proposal on medium-range missiles. The Soviet Union has declared its preparedness to sign, already now, a separate agreement with the USA, which would not directly concern strategic arms and outer space issues, on eliminating medium-range missiles in the zone of Europe. On the US side, this would be Pershing-2 ballistic missiles and cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe and on the Soviet side, the medium-range missiles deployed in this zone. It is necessary that the USA stop deliveries of its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, then it would become impossible to side-step a future reduction agreement.

It is necessary also that Britain and France not build up these types of weapons. In this case the planned delivery of US Tridents to Britain

¹ The "research" conducted in the United States to develop an anti-ballistic missile system with space-based elements is a violation of the Soviet-American 1972 ABM Treaty as it runs counter to the letter and the spirit of this Treaty. This can be compared to a state signatory of a convention on banning and destroying germ weapons announcing a national programme of developing such weapons. This is precisely the case with the Strategic Defence Initiative and the ABM Treaty.

would be prohibited both in keeping with the first provision (non-transfer of such weapons by the United States) and with the second one, as this would sharply increase its nuclear potential (in the number of warheads in submarine-launched ballistic missiles). All the relevant problems could be discussed directly with France and Britain.

It is only natural that if a separate agreement on medium-range missiles in the European zone would be signed, then the reduced US medium-range missiles would be included as part of the future 50-per cent cut in nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

The new Soviet proposal on medium-range missiles is, of course, a large-scale and bold measure towards freeing all of the European continent from nuclear arms.

All the proposals put forward earlier by the Soviet Union at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms fit well into the USSR-proposed solution to the medium-range missile issue. This pertains to a possible intermediate decision on medium-range missiles, say, on their partial reduction, for which the Soviet side has expressed preparedness.

It is sometimes alleged in the West that the Europeans feel it makes no difference if the Soviet SS-20 missiles are eliminated only in Europe, for these weapons could be delivered from the Soviet East to the European zone in no time. But the same is true about the US medium-range missiles—Pershing-2 and cruise missiles. It is no secret that they can reach Europe from America even faster. So this kind of reasoning is merely a pretext for avoiding a solution to the problem of eliminating medium-range missiles.

Nonetheless, if additional guarantees are required, the Soviet Union is prepared to sign a separate agreement prohibiting the redeployment of Soviet medium-range missiles from Asian to European regions, provided a reciprocal obligation is assumed by the United States. Such an agreement is verifiable by the available technical means.

As for the missiles in the eastern part of the USSR, they are deployed to balance the American nuclear arms in that region which can reach Soviet territory (carrier-based aviation and nuclear arms carrying aircraft deployed on Guam Island, in the Philippines, Japan, and South Korea). The fewer nuclear weapons counterbalanced by the Soviet missiles, the fewer such missiles remain in the eastern part of the USSR. In the long run, all nuclear means, including those in Asia, would be eliminated under the USSR-proposed nuclear disarmament programme.

That is, the number of Soviet medium-range missiles deployed in the eastern part of the Soviet Union directly depends on the military-strategic situation in the Asian region.

Moreover, the European zone within the boundary proposed by the USSR at the Geneva talks, in particular, its eastern borderline (80° Eastern longitude), would make it impossible for the Soviet SS-20 missiles to reach targets in Western Europe.

It is alleged also that the Soviet Union is going to make up for the loss of its medium-range missiles in the European zone by building up tactical nuclear arms there, because its programme, it is said, envisages no limitations of these weapons at the first stage. The Soviet Union has no such intention, for this would contradict the purpose of its programme of eliminating nuclear weapons. But it is not just intentions that matter here. Tactical nuclear weapons can in no way be a substitute for medium-range missiles. As for the Soviet operative longer range tactical missiles deployed on the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia as a response measure, there will be no need for having these missiles there if the cause of their deployment is eliminated, that is, if all US medium-range missiles are removed from Europe.

A specific feature of the new Soviet programme is that it takes into account present-day world realities, and the opinions of other states, including nuclear ones.

The programme fully reflects the special responsibility placed on the Soviet Union and the United States for attaining nuclear disarmament. They will have to be the initiators and start the practical dismantling of the nuclear arsenals.

Naturally, at a certain stage the other nuclear powers, too, will have to join the USSR and the USA.

The British, French and Chinese leaders have said on many occasions that their countries' joining nuclear disarmament efforts must be preceded by substantial cuts in the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals. Even specific figures were named.

Therefore the Soviet Union proposes that these countries begin nuclear arms reduction at the second stage, when the USSR and the USA have reduced—by 50 per cent—their strategic and other nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory. Besides, according to the Soviet programme, the reduction of these countries' nuclear arsenals would begin with tactical weapons, while the nuclear arms they themselves call strategic would be eliminated only at the third stage, simultaneously with the completion of that process by the USSR and the USA. But at the second stage the other nuclear powers would commit themselves to freezing all their nuclear armaments and not deploying them in other countries from where the missiles could reach these powers' territories.

At the second stage the Soviet-American agreement on banning space strike weapons should become multilateral and be necessarily joined by the major industrial powers.

At the third stage, which should start not later than 1995, all nuclear arms on Earth should be eliminated by the end of 1999.

A universal and all-embracing understanding (or understandings) should be elaborated to rule out the possibility of recreating nuclear weapons any time in future. To this end, the international norms of prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be made universal and nuclear weapons testing should be banned in the atmosphere, in outer space, under water and under the ground.

The proposed nuclear disarmament programme outlines the main directions of limiting and ending the nuclear arms race. In the process of its implementation other measures would, naturally, also be taken, such as cessation of nuclear arms manufacture and ending the production of fissionable materials for arms manufacture.

The Soviet programme of universal security through disarmament has been justly regarded in the world as an alternative to the nuclear threat, the only possible alternative at that. It would be no exaggeration to say that the new Soviet initiatives struck a sympathetic chord in millions of people and revived their hope for the triumph of reason and common sense, the hope that mankind would at last be able to get rid of the fear of nuclear destruction.

If we are to single out the characteristics of the new Soviet moves most often expressed in comments by people of all walks of life and political convictions, it would be their novelty, large scope, and concrete approach. Most political analysts note that all the Soviet proposals on nuclear disarmament have been backed up by far-reaching verification measures reliably ensuring the observance of future agreements.

Our friends in the socialist countries have accepted the proposals as their own cause, as an important contribution to the pursuance of their

common line in the international arena, the line which had been agreed upon at the summit meetings of the socialist countries' leaders in October 1985 in Sofia and in November that year in Prague.

The congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, held in March and April this year, expressed full support to the foreign policy of peace pursued by the CPSU, the course, reaffirmed at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, directed towards ensuring peaceful and constructive work of the Soviet people and the working people in the fraternal socialist countries, and meeting the interests of all nations.

"The USSR's peace programme," said Gustav Husak in the report to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "opens up a unique opportunity before mankind. If the peoples of the world want to enter the third millennium without apprehensions about their future, they should use this historic chance. The CPCz and all people of Czechoslovakia fully support this programme. We shall use the ways and means available to us to help realise this grand peace prospect as effectively as we can."

Addressing the 13th Congress of Bulgarian Communists, Todor Zhivkov emphasised that the Bulgarian Communist Party and socialist Bulgaria would contribute to building up the unity and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries, and to the joint efforts to eliminate the nuclear threat and improve the European and world affairs.

"The Soviet Union's initiatives in tackling problems of world politics and its large-scale proposals aimed at delivering mankind from all types of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and creating a universal system of international security, mark the start of a new phase in international development," declared Erich Honecker at the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Scientists, politicians, public figures, workers, peasants and the youth in socialist countries welcome the Soviet proposals on nuclear disarmament. "It's a long time since I've been with the peace movement," said Wojciech Zukrowski, a well-known Polish writer, chairman of the Union of Polish Writers and deputy to the Polish Sejm (parliament). "As all people who wish to live and work in peace, I have been inspired by the far-reaching Soviet proposals on a complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons on the Earth, which were put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev and reaffirmed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU."

The Soviet programme of complete and total elimination of nuclear arms and other means of mass destruction evoked a broad response and interest among the public and in the official quarters of most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which are members in the non-aligned movement. There is no state among them today which is not willing to commit itself on the new Soviet peace move. True, the assessments are fairly diverse, but the feelings of hope, satisfaction and support for the bold steps made by the USSR are clearly prevalent.

Below is a review of most typical responses in the Asian, African and Latin American countries to these initiatives.

Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi: the Soviet programme is an alternative to nuclear armament in outer space. It indicates the way of freeing the Earth from nuclear arms.

President of Argentina Raúl Alfonsín: the new Soviet peace initiative is a positive step. It opens up new opportunities for stepping up the struggle for world peace.

Socorro Diaz, chairman of the ideological commission of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico: "The Soviet stance on the

preservation of world peace gives all nations hope that the struggle against a nuclear conflagration will be a success."

The young developing states stress that the new Soviet peace proposals, if implemented, would make it possible not only to strengthen security for all but would offer an opportunity for eliminating famine, diseases and economic backwardness.

The response from the official quarters of the NATO countries has been just as symptomatic, all the more so since Washington, in the opinion of the French newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris*, hastened to warn these countries immediately after the Soviet Statement was issued, against "making open statements on the Soviet proposals".

Prime Minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreu, said: "The USSR's bold and original proposals, aimed at protecting life on our planet, offer a practical plan of eliminating all types of mass destruction weapons." In the opinion of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the USSR's proposals contain interesting and new elements concerning, in particular, such problems as verification and reduction of medium-range missiles. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying that its government positively regarded the Soviet proposals on eliminating nuclear weapons in the world by the year 2000.

Meanwhile in the West, specifically in the United States, a campaign has been launched which is obviously meant to belittle the significance of the Soviet proposals and find flaws in them that allegedly infringe on the interests of the West. The campaigners do not even stop at distorting the meaning of some of the Soviet proposals.

As for official response, this time the Western governments, aware of the public view in their countries, did not venture to dismiss the Soviet proposals outright, as they used to do in the past. First they pretended to be studying the proposals carefully, conducting diplomatic work to coordinate their positions. Then they set out to drown the new Soviet initiatives in debate on technicalities, provoking doubts in the feasibility of the Soviet proposals.

The United States is clearly dodging this issue. On the one hand, it admits that the elimination of nuclear arms is the goal which all nuclear states should seek to attain and, on the whole, seems to agree with various Soviet proposals concerning disarmament and security. It has even voiced some encouraging views. But these views are dissolved in the host of reservations, linkages and terms which, in fact, block the solution of some key disarmament problems. A reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals is made conditional on the USSR's agreeing to the "star wars" programme and to unilateral cuts in Soviet conventional weapons. The refusal to stop nuclear tests is being justified by allegations that such tests are necessary so long as nuclear weapons remain a "containing" factor. This runs counter to the Washington-confirmed goal of eliminating nuclear arms. It is over the issue of nuclear explosions, whose termination is demanded by the whole world, that the unwillingness of the US ruling forces to take the path of nuclear disarmament is most clearly manifest.

As for the Soviet Union, it is a consistent advocate of ceasing all nuclear tests. Mikhail Gorbachev said over Soviet TV on May 14, 1986 that "the Soviet government, having appraised all the circumstances involved in providing security for its people and the entire human race, has taken the decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until August 6 this year, that is the date the first A bomb was dropped on Hiroshima more than forty years ago".

By extending its unilateral moratorium for the third time the USSR thereby once again appealed to the United States to evaluate with all responsibility the extent of the danger hanging over mankind and to take into account the opinion of the world community.

Washington shows no intention of really getting down to solving the cardinal problems of eliminating the nuclear threat and, in actual fact, sticks to its old positions on all matters taken up in the Soviet proposals.

It did, however, attempt to pretend it had come up with "new" ideas on medium-range missiles in Europe, the issue on which the Soviet proposal accords to some extent with the previous US judgements on that score. But these "new" ideas boil down to reproducing the old "zero option" which is not different just because it is suggested to be carried out under a "three-stage plan". As before, this option is aimed at eliminating all Soviet medium-range missiles not only in Europe but also in Asia. On top of that, it is demanded that a "global ceiling" be set at each reduction stage for the number of Soviet and American warheads, which means the USA would have the "right" to have medium-range missiles, at least, also on its own territory. The USA linked the reduction of medium-range missiles with simultaneous limitations of missiles with a range shorter than medium range. The US formula still envisages no limitations for the British and French nuclear missiles. It also says nothing about the United States' assuming an obligation not to transfer its missiles, strategic and medium-range, to other countries. So, as regards medium-range missiles, too, the US answer shows Washington's unwillingness to achieve a radical and fair solution of this problem with regard to Europe where all the necessary opportunities can be provided for this purpose thanks to the Soviet initiatives.

Official quarters in the West have made repeated attempts of late to make arms limitation conditional on the settlement of regional conflicts. This ploy is not at all new. It was used by Western diplomacy to block disarmament efforts way back in the 1930s and after the war. It is quite obvious that this artificial linkage torpedoes the solution of both disarmament problems and regional issues.

An understanding on curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament would offer the main channels along which universal security could be strengthened and military confrontation decreased. By eliminating the means of warfare, the states would create real opportunities for ensuring peace and security.

However, one should not overlook the fact that the conflicts erupting now and again in various parts of the world may grow into an all-out war and therefore practical steps must be made to settle them by joint efforts, through negotiations, with independence and the right of nations to self-determination fully respected.

The Soviet Union is all for urgent actions to eliminate the threat of war and effect disarmament. It has proposed that 1986, declared to be the International Year of Peace by the United Nations, become the year of all-out offensive on the means of warfare in all directions. The Soviet Union can cope with any arms race, if forced to do so. But we say frankly we do not want it.

We do not want it because we know that no one's security, including ours', will benefit from the arms race. We do not want it also because the Soviet people have quite different priorities, which are to speed up in every way the economic, scientific, social and cultural advancement for the good of man. It is namely these ideas which underlie the Soviet proposals on disarmament and our long-term course of making the world safe to live in. This course has been clearly formulated in the documents adopted at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is an expression of the will of the Party and of all Soviet people.

USSR in the System of Socialist Economic Integration

Academician O. B O G O M O L O V

The Soviet Union has been steadily extending its external economic ties, regarding these as an effective instrument for the solution of a number of economic and foreign-policy problems. They help to intensify and accelerate our development. Economic integration strengthens and consolidates the community of the socialist countries. Cooperation with the developing countries makes it easier for the latter to restructure their economy and social life on progressive lines. Finally, economic, scientific and technical ties with the capitalist states strengthen and expand the material base of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Relations with the socialist countries have priority in the whole system of the Soviet Union's external economic activity. That is only natural, for they have the same type of socio-economic system; consistently abide in their policy by the principles of equality, mutual benefit, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and socialist internationalism; and are working to resolve many common economic, social and foreign-policy tasks.

The importance of fraternal economic, scientific and technical cooperation for the progressive development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as it was emphasised at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, multiplies at the present stage in the life of these countries, a stage which is crucial in many respects, when a switch to the road of intensive economic development has become an imperative need.

The scientific and technological revolution has added new factors connected with the high concentration and technical level of modern production and the rapid growth of the services to the traditional factors that determine the USSR's involvement in the international division of labour. The range and technical complexity of industrial goods, especially in engineering, electronics and the chemical industry, are so great, and the need to reduce costs through concentration and greater serialisation of production is so insistent that even the largest and most developed states cannot efficiently produce a full product mix. The possibilities for that are also limited by the growing costs of research and development. All of that makes it necessary to go on developing international specialisation and cooperation of production, which are now an essential condition for raising economic efficiency and improving product quality.

An ever greater share of the goods and services produced in each state is meant for international exchange, rather than for domestic consumption. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee's meeting on matters of accelerating scientific and technological progress, "The world trend is such that in many countries foreign trade is increasing twice as fast as production. This is a powerful accelerator of scientific, technological and economic development". Some economic forecasts indicate that within 20 years roughly one-third of the world's entire output will go into international exchange.

Under the present level of the world productive forces and the continuing change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, the objective process of the internationalisation of economic life is ever more emphatic. It also manifests itself in the economic development of the USSR and the other socialist community countries. A point to note here is that world socialism has undertaken the historical mission of developing a new system of international division of labour based on the principles of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance. In contrast to its capitalist form, international division of labour on a socialist basis is established in a planned and balanced way, serving to boost the economy of each country and gradually to even out their development levels. It plays an important role in the socialist community's development as the most dynamic, stable and progressive economic force in the world.

The Soviet Union has been doing much to form the international socialist division of labour and to develop economic integration within the CMEA. That is due, on the one hand, to its immense production, scientific and technical potential and, on the other, to its deep interest in using the advantages of fraternal economic cooperation and ensuring the economic progress of all socialist countries.

The Soviet Union's place in the system of socialist economic integration and its role in the development and perfection of that system can be correctly assessed solely in the context of the new situation that has taken shape in the economy and mutual cooperation of the CMEA countries in the first half of the 1980s.

The present stage in the development of most European socialist countries is best characterised as a transition from the extensive economic development that prevailed in the past to a modern intensive economy.

This transition is fairly complicated as it is. Suffice it to recall that the 1970s not only marked the end of the age of cheap energy and raw materials, but also saw a sharp reduction in the influx of additional labour-power. Maintaining fuel and raw-material production at the present level, to say nothing of its expansion, are becoming more expensive; all the more so that the CMEA countries, with 10 per cent of the population of the Earth, are producing up to 30 per cent of the world's electric power, steel, oil, natural gas and coal.

Production has attained such a huge volume that to move forward it is necessary not so much to increase production assets as to renew them. However, modernising grown productive industrial apparatus, developing science, putting agricultural production on an industrial basis—all this is connected now with expenditures which are incomparably larger than in the past. It is not surprising that economic growth has become almost entirely dependent on the increase in labour productivity, the rational use of resources and the quality of finished products. This is the stage the economies of the Soviet Union and other European CMEA members entered.

The CMEA countries are still facing a whole series of consequences resulting from insufficient economic intensification and from lagging behind in rebuilding the structural policy, forms and methods of management. Among those consequences are limited resources, an imbalance in production and consumption, including consumer goods production and consumption. Some Council member-countries are still confronted with bottlenecks in agriculture and in other areas of the agro-industrial complex; they have insufficient development of the national economic infrastructure, especially transport, communications and the warehouse indu-

stry. All of this limited the possibilities for investing funds in the national economy and increasing public consumption, and in the final count slowed down economic growth. Gross industrial production by CMEA member-countries in the period 1976-1980 grew at an average annual rate of 4.8 per cent and in 1981 and 1982 this indicator was at about 2.2 per cent.

Meanwhile, the European socialist countries have the necessary prerequisites and reserves for a solution of their problems. That was confirmed in 1983 and 1984, when these countries were largely able to break the unfavourable tendencies in the dynamics of their economic indicators and increased their national income in 1983 by 4.1 per cent for the whole group of countries, which was 50 per cent up on 1982. In 1984, the increase was 3.6 per cent. The improvement resulted from measures to save fuel and raw materials and to eliminate certain bottlenecks in the economy. But a perfection of the mechanism of planned management has not as yet become the decisive factor of accelerating development, and that is one of the main reserves of economic intensification.

The development of this group of states largely depends on the state of their economic cooperation, which accounts for roughly 60 per cent of their total foreign trade. The annual value of mutually exchanged goods and services on average exceeds 18 per cent of their aggregate national income. In contrast to the European Economic Community, which has to import one-half of the fuel it needs from third countries, the CMEA's European member-states meet 90-95 per cent of their own needs not only in energy resources, but also in other vital raw materials. From 30 to 40 per cent of the machinery and equipment produced in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia is sold on the CMEA market.

Of course, the development level of external economic relations and their national economic effect differ from one country to another. Nevertheless, even today their further economic growth is determined by the outpacing expansion of their foreign trade and international scientific, technical and production cooperation.

But the dynamic expansion of mutual trade is being hindered by a number of structural barriers in production and export. In the present structure of the division of labour between the USSR and the other CMEA states, an exchange of Soviet fuel and raw materials for the finished products of the other CMEA countries is still the prevailing pattern. At the same time, the possibilities for a further increase in the export of many raw materials and fuel from the USSR are limited, and in most instances it is a matter of maintaining the present level. Deeper international specialisation and cooperation in the output of finished products, units and components has yet to become the main factor in dynamising mutual trade.

The late 1970s and early 1980s brought to the fore the problem of improving the economic terms of cooperation on the principles of mutual benefit and comradely assistance. The economic terms of integration-oriented cooperation hold out considerable advantages to every participant, enabling them, in particular, to meet the larger part of their import requirements in energy and raw materials on a long-term, guaranteed and planned basis, to form a progressive export structure (with a higher share of machinery and equipment than in their trade with the capitalist countries) in a planned and balanced way, to effect settlements without the use of freely convertible currency, to enjoy price and credit concessions, and so on. But the effectiveness of cooperation for individual partners is adversely affected by the low quality and technical level of many types of mutually supplied products.

The 1970s saw a decline in the role of the CMEA countries' mutual trade in meeting their import requirements in certain types of machinery

and equipment. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, there has been no increase in the share of goods being sold on the CMEA market that are up to world standards in quality and technical level, and the share of foodstuffs and consumer goods in the overall volume of mutual trade has tended to decline, which goes against the interests of many CMEA countries.

So, an intensification of the economic cooperation between the CMEA's European member-states in many respects depends on a perfection of its economic terms and mechanisms. That is necessary to ensure a valid distribution of the economic effects of integration among its participants and to offer greater incentives for the export of commodities which are in short supply on the CMEA market.

The whole course of development has brought the CMEA's European countries up to a point when a decisive breakthrough in raising the efficiency of social production and its growth dynamics has become a compelling task of immense importance. Its fulfilment implies the need to raise the economy to a qualitatively new scientific-technical and economic-organisational level. That entails essential changes both in the mechanism of economic administration and management and in the sectoral structure and technical base of the economy. Since economic life in the CMEA is interconnected, the closer the individual countries coordinate their action, the more successful will be their efforts to achieve the desired changes. A concerted economic strategy of the CMEA countries shows much promise of further common progress.

The Soviet Union has adopted a strategy for accelerating the country's socio-economic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Its purpose is not simply to raise the annual rate of national income growth, but to attain a new quality of economic development itself. More dynamic growth is to result from an intensification and balancing out of the economy, higher quality of goods, rapid advance along strategic lines, progressive structural changes in production, and a fuller realisation of the social advantages of the planned economy in improving the supply of food and other goods to the population, extending services, perfecting the public health system, developing education, science and culture. The task has been set to attain the highest level of labour productivity in a short historical period.

The acceleration strategy is seen as the only possible answer to the needs of internal development and the changes in the international situation. That strategy is written into the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, adopted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The CMEA's European countries think it highly important to balance out economic development and eliminate bottlenecks in the economy. The general view is that a balanced economy with the necessary reserves has additional opportunities for effective development and a fuller satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual wants simply because it is balanced. Among the economic proportions whose observance is seen as particularly important is a correct balance between the growth of energy consumption in the economy and the rate of general economic development, between the production of producer goods and that of consumer goods, between the population's rising money incomes and the expanding supply of consumer goods and services on the domestic market, and between external revenues and payments.

A considerable economic effect can be expected from measures to eliminate the lag of the production infrastructure and to improve the state of affairs in the agro-industrial sphere of the Soviet Union and some other European countries of the CMEA. The strategic task here is not only to increase agricultural production as such and reduce food imports from the West, but also to harmonise the development of the agro-industrial

complex in all its constituent parts (cropping and livestock breeding, storage and processing), so as markedly to raise the efficiency of that economic sector over a short period.

On the strength of their own and world experience, the CMEA's European countries have come to the conclusion that a significant acceleration of scientific and technical progress and, most importantly, broad and rapid use of its achievements in economic practice are the crucial elements in their economic strategy for the 1980s and the years beyond, the elements which will enable them to bring about a turning point in their economic intensification, to raise the pace of economic and social development.

That calls for vigorous efforts along various lines: concentrating one's energies and resources in the most promising areas, where a deep breakthrough can be achieved; restructuring sectoral and intrasectoral industrial structures; rationalising and modernising the available production capacities and technologies; raising the working people's skill standards and the level of their general and professional culture; perfecting administration and management. A major role here is to be played by the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-States up to the Year 2000, which is to bring these countries up to a high world level of technical development in five priority spheres and considerably promote the growth of social labour productivity.

The structural changes (intrasectoral and intersectoral) in industrial production should both agree with the main lines of the present stage of the scientific and technical revolution and meet the demand for greater complementarity of the national economic complexes and for reducing undue parallelism in their development. In most CMEA countries, the task of reducing the share of power- and material-intensive lines of production and technologies is coming to the fore. In ferrous metallurgy, for instance, this means orientation towards the output of more high-grade steel and rolled stock, rather than their conventional grades, and in the chemical industry—development of small-batch chemistry and the production of pure and superpure materials. "Second" and "third" tiers are to be added to other industries for refining and enriching their initial product, be it metal, oil or timber.

It will take huge capital investments to intensify and accelerate the economic development of the CMEA's European countries on the basis of a technical reconstruction of their national economy. These investments will be ultimately recouped, and that in a relatively short period, for the stake is being made on essentially new technologies, which can ensure a qualitative leap in raising social labour productivity. But these large investments have to be made right now. That is why the USSR and the other European countries of the CMEA are planning a manoeuvre that is to help concentrate the available investment resources along the key lines, with a sharp increase in the investments going to modernise existing enterprises as compared with the construction of new ones. But the main thing they expect to achieve over the next five to six years is to raise the efficiency of their national economy and accordingly to increase the accumulation fund through a resolute perfection of the mechanism of planned economic administration, a strict regime of economy, and an invigoration of the social factors of growth, that is, fuller expression of people's creative abilities, greater initiative and concern for their work.

As it accelerates its socio-economic development, the Soviet Union will by virtue of that circumstance be a dynamising factor in the process of deepening socialist integration and, in the final count, in the economic progress of the other CMEA countries, since faster economic growth will expand the export potentialities of the Soviet economy, raise the scientific

and technical level of Soviet exports and, at the same time, increase the need for the products of the fraternal countries, especially those which are turned out on the basis of international scientific, technical and production cooperation.

The Soviet Union plays an important role in socialist economic integration. It produces more than two-thirds of the CMEA countries' aggregate national income and gross industrial output. Most of the socialist community's mineral resources are known to be concentrated on its territory. That is why the Soviet Union's economic, scientific and technical potential has always played a significant role in the community's integration programmes.

The USSR's foreign trade with the other CMEA countries has been growing rapidly. In 1971-1985, foreign trade was growing 1.1 times faster (in comparable prices) than the national income, which indicated the USSR's ever more active involvement in the international socialist division of labour and economic integration. In 1971-1985, trade between the USSR and the other CMEA countries multiplied 6.3 times in current prices. Table 1 reflects the mutual exchange of material resources.

USSR's Foreign Trade with Other CMEA Countries
(1,000 million rubles)

Foreign-trade turnover, exports, imports	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
In current prices for the corresponding years							
Exports	6.3	13.4	24.3	28.6	31.1	34.5	38.2
Imports	6.0	12.9	21.5	23.6	27.6	30.8	34.6
Turnover	12.3	26.3	45.8	52.2	58.7	65.3	72.8
In comparable 1975 prices							
Exports	10.3	13.4	16.9	16.9	16.3	16.3	16.8
Imports	9.2	12.9	17.0	17.5	20.0	21.0	22.2
Turnover	19.5	26.3	33.9	34.4	36.3	37.3	39.0

The CMEA countries account for most of the Soviet Union's foreign trade. In 1984, their share was 52.1 per cent, whereas that of the developed capitalist countries was 29.3 per cent, and of the developing countries, 13.2 per cent. As for the USSR's share in the total trade turnover on the CMEA market, it reaches 40 per cent. But, of course, that is not only what determines the Soviet Union's place and role in socialist economic integration. The commodity composition of Soviet exports is more eloquent in that respect.

Fuel and raw materials remain the main item in the structure of Soviet exports to the other CMEA countries, making up roughly two-thirds of the total (see Table 2). The USSR has invariably been the main supplier of these products to the CMEA market, meeting the bulk of its partners' import requirements in oil, gas, electric power, ferrous raw materials, timber, etc.

In the early 1980s, almost 80 per cent of these countries' import requirements in oil and oil products were met by Soviet deliveries, 99 per cent in natural gas, and more than 70 per cent in coal.

Soviet exports to the CMEA countries were growing very fast. Whereas in 1950 only 1 per cent of the fuel and energy produced in the USSR was exported, in 1983 the figure was more than 17 per cent. In the recent period, however, the possibilities for a further expansion of the export of energy resources have been declining. In 1976-1980, such export was 47 per

cent up on the preceding five-year period, whereas in 1981-1985 it increased by 20 per cent.

Soviet Fuel and Energy Supplies to the CMEA Countries

Types of fuel and energy	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985
Oil and oil products, mln. tons	8.9	33.3	99.8	193.4	310.6	430	263
Natural gas, 1,000 mln. cubic metres	0.6	1.0	1.6	7.7	30.5	94	91
Coal and anthracite, mln. tons	8.1	29.1	61.8	61.6	73.6	—	—
Electric power, mln. kwh.	10.5	—	2,300	13,900	39,900	64,000	54,000

In the past five-year period (1981-1985), there was a particularly noticeable increase in the supplies of natural gas and electric power. These supplies enabled the CMEA countries to readjust the structure of their energy balance and to develop a number of modern industries (oil refining, petrochemistry, the production of mineral fertilizers, and others). In view of the difference between the world prices of oil and oil products and the prices at which these were bought from the Soviet Union in 1975-1985, the importing countries had much to gain from such imports.

The massive deliveries of fuel and energy are a result of the Soviet Union's use of its natural resources and its scientific, technical and production potential both in the national interests and in the interests of the economic growth of the whole socialist community. They are also a result of corresponding cooperation among the socialist states particularly in the field of investment.

Soviet oil is exported to these states through the Druzhba oil pipeline, and natural gas through a system of jointly built cross-country gas pipelines, including the high-power Soyuz pipeline which starts in the vicinity of Orenburg. Gas also reaches the socialist countries along the new pipeline which runs from Urengoi through Pomary to Uzhgorod (and then on to Western Europe).

The Soviet Union also takes part in solving the energy problem by helping to develop fuel and energy production in the fraternal countries themselves. As of the beginning of 1984, the CMEA's European countries had built, were building and were due to build with Soviet technical assistance electric power plants with a capacity of 64 million kw and enterprises for extracting 58.6 million tons of coal, producing 16.9 million tons of coke, and refining 55.5 million tons of oil a year. Soviet assistance in developing the fuel and energy industries of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia has also been growing.

Although the USSR plays an important part in solving the fuel, energy and raw-material problems of the fraternal countries on the basis of cooperation, its growing role in the development of integration is primarily due to the achievements of Soviet science and technology. In the USSR's exports of engineering products to these states, the share of technically progressive items (power-generating and electrical equipment, electronic goods, etc.) has increased to 20 per cent of its total exports to these countries, with a simultaneous reduction in the export of traditional machinery and technical goods (simple machine tools, railway transport facilities, etc.).

The USSR has been expanding its deliveries of products which are in high demand in the fraternal countries (vehicles, some types of farming machinery, material-handling equipment).

In the 12th five-year period, electronic goods, computers and communication facilities are expected to make up about 15 per cent of all the mutual supplies of engineering products between the USSR and the CMEA countries. On the whole, as a result of the realisation of more than 80 multilateral and about 100 bilateral agreements on international specialisation and cooperation of production in engineering, the share of specialised deliveries in the Soviet export of machinery and technical goods has gone up to 20 per cent, as compared with 11.5 per cent in 1971.

The USSR in our day has many achievements in science and technology which have won world-wide recognition. Take its gigantic hydro-electric power plants and long-distance power lines, its cross-country pipelines, or its unique types of metal-working, metallurgical, mining and welding equipment, aerospace technology and instruments.

With its highly developed fundamental research and large backlog of inventions, the Soviet Union is interested in using the experimental base and other facilities of the CMEA countries for making prototype models of new machinery, rigging and equipment in order to organise its serial production as soon as possible. The engineering industry of a number of European states of the CMEA is known to have many enterprises with a high standard of technical culture and a universal profile, well-suited for flexible small-lot production of sophisticated goods. The record of direct contacts on the "Soviet research institute or design office—integrated work in the GDR" pattern shows that new technology can be introduced in a short period.

For many CMEA countries, the Soviet market is the largest and most reliable market for the sale of machinery and equipment. In 1984, 62 per cent of the CMEA countries' engineering exports went to the USSR. That makes up roughly two-thirds of the USSR's total engineering imports (35 per cent of its capital investments in equipment, tools and stock). Clearly, integration-oriented cooperation with the CMEA countries is highly important for the Soviet economy. In 1976-1980, for instance, supplies from these countries met up to 40 per cent of the USSR's requirements in seagoing and river vessels and loaders, up to 26 per cent in passenger cars, 13 per cent in buses, roughly 30 per cent in rolling equipment, and about 50 per cent in equipment for automatic telephone exchange. The farming machinery imported from these countries comes to 13 per cent of the USSR's own production of such machinery. Forty per cent of the USSR's canned fruit and vegetables, 30 per cent of its sugar and confectionery, and 15 per cent of its dairy products are turned out with equipment received from the CMEA countries.

The USSR has been expanding its imports of such high-technology goods as teleautomatics and communications facilities for railways, numerically controlled machine tools, refrigerating equipment, programme-controlled manipulator robots, etc.

In the structure of Soviet imports from the community countries, engineering products are followed by consumer goods and foodstuffs. The import of consumer goods from the fraternal countries is highly important in meeting the Soviet people's requirements. In 1981-1985, the USSR imported from these countries 40,000 million rubles worth of consumer goods. These are mostly goods which are either not produced in the country at all or whose production does not fully satisfy the people's requirements. In the 1980s, up to 43 per cent of their consumer goods for export and 45 per cent of the foodstuffs and raw materials for their production being exported by the CMEA states to other countries have been going to the USSR. Deliveries from these states account for about 20 per cent of the Soviet Union's retail-trade stocks in footwear and 15 per cent in furniture, ready-made clothes and canned food. Imports from the CMEA countries also account for more than 30 per cent of the country's domes-

tic consumption of sugar, 7-8 per cent of the berries and grapes, and 2 per cent of the meat. In that way, they contribute to the realisation of the Comprehensive Programme for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and the Services for 1986-2000, and also of the USSR's Food Programme.

As it is said in the new edition of the CPSU programme, "the CPSU stands for a further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material foundation for drawing the socialist countries closer together. It attaches special importance to a consistent uniting of efforts by the fraternal countries in key areas of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technological progress in order to accomplish jointly a task of historical significance, namely, that of advancing to the forefront of science and technology with the aim of further improving the well-being of their peoples and strengthening their security."

The USSR sees its international duty in doing its utmost to develop the system of integration-oriented cooperation within the CMEA framework and realise the joint plans and programmes in that field.

The central place here belongs to a concerted structural reorganisation (intrasectoral and intersectoral) of industrial production in the CMEA countries in accordance with the main lines of the present stage of the scientific and technical revolution and the demand for greater complementarity of the national economic complexes and for reducing undue parallelism in their development.

In proposing international coordination of economic strategy as the main method of transforming the structure of the international socialist division of labour and joint application of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, the CMEA countries' Economic Summit of 1984 aimed to increase the influence of socialist integration on the dynamics, efficiency and balance of economic development in the fraternal countries. Coordination of economic policy will increasingly serve to tie in the vital requirements of economic intensification in the individual countries, to harmonise national and international economic interests.

Soviet science and industry play a central role in carrying out the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-States Up to the Year 2000, adopted in December 1985. That highly important political and economic document embodies the CMEA's concerted strategy in developing and using fundamentally new types of machinery and technology through concentrated efforts and organisation of complex scientific, technical and production cooperation within the CMEA framework. The Soviet Union not only initiated the Programme, but coordinated its development. It has been put in charge of organising work in the five priority fields that lie at the basis of the ongoing revolutionary changes in science, technology and production. That is why most of the topics are headed by Soviet organisations.

All of that not only implies recognition of the Soviet Union's scientific and technical achievements and its powerful research potential, but also indicates its international responsibility for the success of the joint endeavour. After all, the participants in the Programme believe that its realisation will largely enable them to attain the highest level of science, technology and production in the main areas of scientific and technical progress, to double, at the very least, social labour productivity for the whole group of countries by the year 2000, and sharply to reduce energy and raw-material expenditures per unit of the national income. So, the fraternal states expect considerably to facilitate the solution of their socio-

economic problems, to attain a qualitatively new state of integration-oriented cooperation.

A special accent in the further development of the USSR's external economic activity has been made on using the potentialities of cooperation with the CMEA countries in developing and introducing advanced machinery, technology and materials. The market of the CMEA countries, including the USSR, is ever more demanding as regards the technico-economic level and quality of mutually supplied goods. In putting forward as a criterion for assessing imported machinery and equipment their actual correspondence to the highest world standards, and seeking to perfect international standardisation and unification within the CMEA, the USSR is actively promoting general technical progress, stimulating its partners to step up their technical reconstruction and modernisation. Naturally, the latter have also been raising their demands to Soviet goods, inducing Soviet industry to renew its output and maintain its competitiveness.

The question of expanding the export facilities of Soviet manufacturing is also very important from the standpoint of the perspectives of socialist economic integration and injecting greater dynamism into mutual trade. The point is to have more enterprises which would export from 20 to 40 per cent of their output, instead of the 3-4 per cent or even less that is fairly typical today. In such conditions, export activity will no longer be a sideline, but will undoubtedly become a major factor determining the results of the enterprise's work and its financial status.

The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development envisage the USSR's joint measures with the CMEA countries to meet their requirements in energy resources and raw materials. Together with the CMEA countries, it is to carry out a number of large-scale projects: to build a cross-country gas pipeline from Yamburg to the USSR's Western border, an integrated mining and dressing combine at Krivoi Rog, to develop oil and gas fields in the Caspian lowlands, and to continue extending the community's joint power grid.

The USSR's plans for the future offer the other CMEA countries good perspectives for increasing their exports to the Soviet market of foodstuffs and consumer manufactures, especially those of a high quality. The USSR is interested in joining its efforts with the other CMEA countries in order to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture and to modernise the light and food industry.

The USSR's import policy will help to deepen the international division of labour in the CMEA, promote rational and sufficiently stable export specialisation of the other community countries.

A rapid expansion of external exchange will remain an imperative task for the USSR right up to the year 2000. That is a major prerequisite for enhancing the positive impact of external ties on the intensification of economic development, although a great deal also depends on a perfection of their structure. Over the next five to six years, however, more dynamic foreign trade with the CMEA countries will be held back by a number of circumstances.

Provided that the USSR's exports of fuel, energy and raw materials remain at the level of 1985 or show a marginal increase in some items (like gas or electric power), the growth of its exports of machinery, equipment and other finished products will have to be at least trebled or quadrupled in order to maintain the desired dynamics of its trade with the other European countries of the CMEA. Subsequently, perspectives for more dynamic trade will be opened by the realisation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-States Up to the Year 2000, and also by an accelerating growth

of the volume of transport, building and other services, and a further development of tourism.

It is still hard to measure the influence exerted on the growth rate of mutual trade by the CMEA countries' deepening specialisation and cooperation in engineering and chemistry, particularly in the production of parts, units, components and semimanufactures. There is no doubt, however, that it is a virtually unlimited source of ever broader and more efficient exchanges.

The transition to an intensive type of integration envisaged by the economic plans of the USSR and other CMEA countries involves not only regular harmonisation of economic policies at different levels and better coordination of plans, but also broad involvement in external economic activity of the immediate developers, producers and consumers of the mutually exchanged products, that is, the enterprises and associations. As it is known, the CMEA countries have been extending the economic independence of their enterprises, raising the role of the work collectives in running them, and creating such conditions of economic calculus (*khozraschyot*) as would make the enterprises themselves responsible to the society for efficient use of the resources allocated to them. That makes it easier to establish direct contacts between enterprises in different countries. At the same time, there is a tendency to strengthen centralism in planning and administration on a national level, which enhances the effectiveness of the inter-state coordination of economic policy and plans.

A perfection of the national systems of economic administration and their conjugation are a major prerequisite for the development of CMEA integration. Hence the interest in a collective discussion of these questions, in an exchange of socialist economic experience, an interest which is ever more intense and effective. It is common knowledge that the socialist states do not impose upon each other their own practice of administrative and organisational relations in the economy. But a more profound mutual study of that practice and a joint assessment of collective experience help to apply the general principles of the socialist economy that have already justified themselves to the specific conditions of individual countries. The Soviet Union has always favoured and continues to favour a mutual study and use of the experience of socialist construction, and is always willing to share its own results.

In that sense, establishment and development of effective direct links between enterprises in the CMEA countries are not only meant to raise the efficiency of their cooperation, but also to promote a mutual enrichment of economic practice with new forms and methods of work. The experience of such cooperation is so far insignificant, and its economic and legal mechanisms have yet to be adjusted. There is no doubt, however, that by developing direct operational links and setting up joint firms it is possible to bring into play large reserves of international specialisation and cooperation of production.

The tasks of expanding and perfecting the USSR's external economic activity being formulated by the CPSU dictate the need to restructure the administrative mechanism in that sphere. Naturally, such restructuring can yield the necessary results only if it is closely tied in with the logic of the drive to perfect the economic mechanism in the Soviet Union.

In improving the quality of centralised economic planning and administration and extending the economic independence of the enterprises on the principles of economic calculus, the Soviet state takes due account of external economic tasks as well. The internal economic mechanism is meant to stimulate integration-oriented cooperation and raise its efficiency.

SDI—INSANE POLITICAL THINKING IN THE NUCLEAR AND SPACE ERA

M. S O M O V

The 27th Congress of the CPSU analysed the main tendencies and specifics of present-day world development, drew very important conclusions reflecting the dialectics, logic and dynamism of this development and the modern philosophy of world security, and came up with a practical action programme. The 27th Congress noted a turning point in international affairs demanding to come over from the policy of balancing on the brink of war to normal civilised forms of interrelationship of countries with different social systems, to a policy capable of safeguarding peace.

Everything considered, the struggle in the coming years is going to be mainly over these issues. This struggle is expected to be complex for the two socio-economic systems differ a great deal in their preparedness and ability for assessing these issues.

Without dramatising the present situation, socialism, nevertheless, soberly assesses the current moment as one which requires taking serious responsibility when mankind is faced with a crucial choice between survival or self-destruction.

In the capitalist world, unbiased analysis of the current events can make its way with great difficulty through the solid rock of prejudice in the thinking of the ruling elite, but it is still unwilling to soberly assess the realities of the world and its future and to draw serious conclusions. This response, noted the 27th CPSU Congress, is an indication of the wear and tear suffered by its internal "systems of immunity", of its social senility, which reduces the capability to perceive new ideas and augments its degree of recklessness.

One relatively new element of this symptom is the "strategic defense initiative" (SDI), dubbed "star wars" programme in the United States itself, advanced by the US President on March 23, 1983.

The deranged political thinking which conceived the SDI and is now forcing its implementation is revealed above all in the reliance on the force of arms with the use of the latest achievements of science and technology, with the purpose of imposing one's will on others.

Back in 1918, almost 30 years before the first atomic bomb was exploded, Lenin warned that, due to the use of the newest powerful breakthroughs in science and technology, war "might, ... in fact, it inevitably would, undermine the very foundations of human society".¹ Mankind today has enough weapons for self-destruction. The scientific and technological revolution in the last quarter of this century gave rise to a rapid improvement of both the productive forces of mankind and the means of destruction, for the first time enabling man to destroy all life on earth.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965 p. 422.

The scientific and technological revolution has different effects in different socio-political systems, but in all cases it greatly increases the demands placed on the entire organisation of international activities.

The SDI acts in a diametrically opposite direction, destabilising all international activities, and has already begun to change the course of events in a direction which can become irreversible. The thinking and actions of the SDI authors betray their inability to get away from habitual but long outdated views.

Addressing the Americans late in February this year, the US President again alleged that the unrestrained buildup of the US military muscle was conducive to the success of the talks with the Soviet Union. Strength, he said, is the best argument we have to persuade our adversaries to negotiate in earnest. We shall not, he said, leave America without its trump card now that we are sitting at the negotiating table with the Soviet Union.

In technological terms, the idea of the SDI is to hit intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) all along their flight trajectory. This is what makes the SDI different from the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) schemes envisaging defence measures only in the final section of the flight trajectory, which were considered and adopted at the turn of 1970s.

This SDI concept is well in keeping with the goal it set—to create an almost total ballistic missile defence. The fact that the new system is multi-layer is expected to make it far more effective.

New types of weapons are required under the new programme, primarily those operating on new physical principles. Among these are chemical and excimer lasers, free-electron lasers, X-ray lasers with nuclear blast radiation pumping, particle beam accelerators, electromagnetic guns, homing interceptor projectiles, etc. It looks as if space strike weapons being developed in the United States are designed not only for hitting the satellites and ballistic missiles at the post-boost stage, but also for preemptive first strikes at a number of ground targets. Accurate and powerful enough for destroying part of ballistic missiles in flight, space weapons can be used for hitting other strategic weapons, as, for instance, aircraft in the airfields, before take-off.

The development of space strike weapons and space combat stations requires new detection, identification and targeting subsystems, and also subsystems to control a large-scale anti-ballistic missile system with space-based echelons. Such a system would most probably be put into operation automatically, for too little time, thirty seconds or so, would be left for decision-making, in the event the attacking side launches a large number of fast-boost missiles simultaneously.

Furthermore, it is impossible to test the whole ABM system completely in combat-simulating conditions. A space-based ABM system should function without a hitch right from the start and cannot operate according to the usual warfare scheme. It should work for decades running without fail, which is not feasible and is fraught with most damaging consequences. What is worse still, in this case there would eventually appear two opposed automated systems in outer space, not coordinated with one another. Normally, such systems should be tested jointly in natural conditions. This would be logical with any civilian international project. But not in this case. The USA would not allow the Soviet Union to adapt its counter-measures to the American automated system, nor would the USSR allow the USA to do this with such a system of its own.

A series of studies conducted by the Soviet Scientists for Peace Committee give us every reason to conclude that a few combinations of anti-SDI means would actually rule out a unilateral upsetting of the military strategic parity, and in a cheaper way at that. In one such study the cost

of the set of means to counter the SDI is estimated at merely a tiny per cent of the cost of a large-scale anti-ballistic missile system with space-based elements.

Numerous experts and scientists, including American ones, are of the opinion that the much publicised "star wars" programme is both impracticable and inexpedient. The space "shield", as the calculations have shown, cannot be totally impenetrable. Even if it could neutralise 99 per cent of the strikes delivered with the use of the nuclear arsenal accumulated to date, the remaining 1 per cent would be quite enough to paralyse world civilisation.

Yet, the authors and advocates of the SDI advertise this programme—against common sense—as a perfect shield for knocking off Soviet missiles. This is alleged in the press and in daily TV broadcasts, including those meant for children. But these reports and broadcasts, deliberately oversimplified to mislead ignorant people far removed from politics, forget to mention the "sword" and the fact that the SDI would provoke a destabilisation of the strategic situation as a whole.

The introduction by either side, or by both, of yet another new component, such as a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements, would confuse the whole procedure of evaluating the strategic balance and would make it still more difficult to calculate the balance of strength. Besides, the two major nuclear powers would most probably develop these systems each in its own way, as was the case with the strategic offensive arms. This would add to the imbalances in the strategic forces of the sides, making them less comparable. The imbalances may appear still greater, considering possible measures to counter space echelons of an ABM system and also the response to these measures. The adoption of space strike weapons would be dangerous in a situation when nuclear weapons, which would not yet grow "obsolete" and be upgraded, would, together with space weapons, reach a point at which crucial decisions would have to be made entirely by computers and automatic devices. What this can lead to was demonstrated once again by the tragedy of the US spacecraft Challenger on January 28 this year (the spacecraft had been repeatedly tested to the extent possible today). With the SDI the situation would be far worse because its advocates and executors are for the most part representatives of the US military, political and academic quarters who have the most biased, negative ideas with regard to the USSR's intentions and who are most inclined to use armed force in a conflict.

It can be imagined, of course, that some day a system can be created with the help of new types of weapons that would quite effectively hit missiles existing today. But these missiles, too, would be modernised accordingly. An absolute weapon, on which the stake is made today, cannot exist, for scientific and technological progress, which is a creative process, rejects anything absolute. The main thing, however, is that no technology, however perfect, can provide either security, or disarmament, for these are political problems and they cannot be solved by technical means.

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Modern weapons don't give any country the chance to protect itself solely by technical military means, even by a most powerful defence system. For this reason reliable security is becoming increasingly a political problem to be solved by political means only. What is needed is the will to ensure security through disarmament. And the complete absence of such will on the US side is, no doubt, abnormal.

From the outset the SDI implied rejecting the coordination of international legal commitments guaranteeing the prevention of an arms race in outer space both at multilateral meetings and on a bilateral basis.

Incidentally, the US Administration displayed opposition to preventing weapon deployment in outer space already before the SDI was launched, in particular, in 1981, when the USSR proposed at the UN the Draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Stationing of Weapons of Any Kind in Outer Space. In 1983, the USSR went further and proposed that an understanding be reached on a prohibition of the use of armed force in outer space, and also from outer space with regard to Earth, by placing for discussion at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly a relevant draft treaty. The new draft envisaged a complete ban on the testing and deployment in outer space of any space-based weapons designed for hitting targets on the earth, in the air, or in outer space. On top of that, it suggested a radical solution to the problem of anti-satellite weapons, that is, that the development of new systems of this type should be given up, that existing systems of this kind be scrapped, and that testing and use for military purposes of manned space craft should be altogether prohibited. The USA came out against these Soviet initiatives but failed to block the debate in the United Nations and at the Conference on Disarmament on preventing the arms race from spilling over into outer space. It became obvious that the way the situation was forming at the time could place Washington in isolation on this issue. The US Administration drew no appropriate conclusions and kept ostensibly ignoring a political solution. It did not respond either to the USSR's unilateral commitment, which it assumed in August 1983, not to be the first to orbit in outer space any types of anti-satellite weapons so long as other countries, including the United States, would refrain from doing so. Moreover, the US side did all it could so that Soviet-American talks on preventing the militarisation of outer space, proposed by the Soviet Union to be held starting September 18, 1984, would not be held at all.

As it could well be expected, as a result of the US blunt refusal to have the problem solved through negotiations, the United States was the only country not to back the resolution on preventing the arms race from spilling over into outer space adopted by the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly which had discussed, on the USSR's initiative, the question of using outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind; 150 states voted for the resolution.

Pressured by the world community, Washington accepted the Soviet proposal on holding new Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms. Most important in this context is that the prevention of an arms race in space is among the goals of the talks agreed upon in January 1985. These talks, which started on March 12, 1985 in Geneva, offered a good chance for freeing mankind of the further arms race escalation and preventing its spread to outer space. In order not to let this chance go by, the USSR, in October 1985, on the eve of the Soviet-American summit meeting, advanced new constructive proposals aimed at reaching a mutually acceptable agreement as soon as possible.

The US leadership did not agree to give up the "star wars" programme, which prevented a concrete agreement on real disarmament, above all, on the central issue of nuclear and space arms, at the Geneva summit meeting on November 19-21, 1985.

It was agreed at the same time to speed up the talks on nuclear and space weapons, and the January 1985 formula on the goal and subject of the talks was confirmed at the summit level. Besides, the joint Soviet-American statement on the outcome of the meeting stressed for the first time: "Having discussed the key issues of security, the sides, aware of the special responsibility of the USSR and the USA for safeguarding peace, declare that a nuclear war must never be unleashed and that there can be no winners in that war. Admitting that any conflict between the USSR and the USA can have catastrophic consequences, they also stressed the im-

portance of averting any war between them—nuclear or conventional. They will not seek military superiority.”²

The understandings reached prompted this question: if the Soviet Union and the United States have jointly declared the inadmissibility of nuclear war, of any conflict between the USSR and the USA, and of a striving for military superiority, then why the arms race at all and, still more surprising, an arms race in space? Besides, to speed up the talks on nuclear and space arms, they must be conducted more effectively with regard to all such weapons, including space arms. The developments that followed showed that the fanatical drive to get the SDI approved at any cost prevailed over rational political considerations, including those agreed upon by the leaders of both countries in Geneva.

In this situation the Soviet Union came up with the Statement of January 15, 1986 in which it proposed, among other constructive measures, that space strike weapons be banned. During the first stage of the USSR-proposed nuclear disarmament programme the USSR and the USA would cut by half the nuclear arms capable of reaching the territory of each other, while both countries would refrain from developing, testing and deploying space weapons. At the second stage, a Soviet-US agreement on banning space strike weapons would become multilateral, to be necessarily joined by major industrial powers.

The development of space strike weapons, as it was again pointed out by the Soviet Union, will leave no chance for reducing nuclear arms on earth. The USSR has always believed that outer space should be kept peaceful, and no strike weapons should be placed there. Such weapons should not even be developed, and a ban on their development should be monitored most strictly. To that end, corresponding laboratories should be open for inspection.

The Soviet delegation at the current Soviet-American talks in Geneva put forward concrete proposals on the basis of the January 15 Statement. The 27th Congress of the CPSU reaffirmed the USSR's preparedness to solve the issue of medium-range missiles in the European zone separately, not directly in the context of problems related to strategic arms and space.

President Reagan's answer to this Statement has shown that no positive change has occurred in the US stand. The demand that the Soviet Union, instead of working to prevent a space arms race, should agree to an understanding not affecting the implementation of the SDI was again among the numerous “linkages” and “terms”.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU assessed in a principled way the US destructive course in international affairs and again spoke for holding effective, honest and businesslike talks. The new proposal advanced at the Congress envisaged the setting up of a universal system of international security, including measures to prevent an arms race in outer space and to pool efforts in the exploration and peaceful uses of space. These issues were included in the new edition of the CPSU Programme and the Congress's Resolution.

To all appearances, Washington has failed to realise that security, as regards Soviet-US relations, can only be mutual and, viewed in the context of international relations as a whole, it can only be universal. It is significant to note that proposing the SDI, whose implementation would mean a radical change of the NATO doctrine, the US President did not consult his allies.

² *Pravda*. Nov. 22, 1985.

The FRG was among the first to join the "star wars" programme and took a most active part in the series of US measures extremely damaging to the cause of international security, peace and cooperation. One of the first in the series of these actions was the receiving of US medium-range missiles on West German territory. The next step—joining the SDI—was followed by another. The reference here is to Bonn's efforts to give effect to the idea of a "European defence initiative" (EDI). All this clearly reveals the FRG's wish to obtain the more up-to-date military technology and to have a special role to play in charting the NATO strategic line. This drive does not tally with the declarations issued by the Kohl Cabinet in favour of "achieving greater security with less weapons", or with its "adherence to the Ostpolitik" of the FRG.

The SDI sponsors themselves admit now and again that they had set out to solve an equation with many unknown quantities and, what is more, have a fairly vague idea of the end result. But despite all this, they insist that the SDI will render nuclear arms "redundant and obsolete" and will solve the security problem for the USA, and also for the whole world. At this stage it is yet to find out whether the ABM system works at all. When this becomes clear (hardly before 1993 under the current plans), a decision will be made whether to deploy such a system and what should be done about the US-Soviet Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. Prior to that space weapons are not to be discussed. The SDI should not be "bargained over" during the talks. The sides at the talks should only consider how offensive systems can be replaced with defensive ones. After a large-scale US anti-ballistic missile system with space-based components is built (probably in a few decades), it would be possible, they say, to agree on cutting back, or even eliminating, nuclear arms. During all this period it is for the USA, according to the American scheme, to make the ultimate decision. The belief in the exclusiveness and supremacy of all that is North American, abnormal as it is, develops into pathological chauvinism in security matters in the concept set forth earlier. Only someone lacking common sense can expect that the other great power—the USSR—would sacrifice the interests of its own security and that of its allies and shut its eyes to the aggressive nature of the "star wars" programme.

The SDI is a stake on ensuring security for the USA alone by the superior space "shield"—nuclear "sword" combination. In practice, writes R. Bowman, President of the US Institute for Space and Security Studies in the newspaper *Christian Science Monitor*, the SDI is spearheaded precisely at the strategic weapons which allow the Soviet Union to maintain parity. The Americans, as it were, tell the Soviet Union: "We are tired of this equality business. The only way we can regain our political leverage... is to regain absolute military superiority."³

The goal of the SDI is to make the USA invulnerable and place the USSR in an unprecedentedly vulnerable position; to build a shield against a retaliation strike dealt by Soviet strategic missiles and guarantee the USA the opportunity of delivering a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union from behind that shield with impunity. This approach requires a prior buildup of offensive strategic weapons designed for a most effective first strike, and the USA is speedily developing five new types of strategic missile delivery vehicles and is deploying other nuclear weapons systems.

The planned US anti-missile system is regarded as a first-strike means also because the United States refuses to assume a commitment on refraining from the first use of nuclear arms and keeps building up the first-strike potential. An important element of such policy is the deployment of

US medium-range nuclear missiles, above all Pershing-2 missiles, in Europe.

The US concept of security is, and this is confirmed by the SDI, too, that security should be ensured primarily by military-technical means, in this case with the help of new "superweapons", a technological trick which is believed to help find the way out of the nuclear impasse. But despite the vague assurances about willingness to share the "wonders of technology" with other countries (with the USSR as well) "in due time", the USA wants to get out of the impasse alone in order to achieve absolute security for itself, placing all others in a position of "absolute danger".

The Soviet concept is that of equal security for all on the path towards arms reduction and disarmament, up to a complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. In its policy the USSR has always given preference to ideas of collective security based on a thoroughly weighed balance of the interests of all countries. But while previously collective security was just preferable, today, the USSR is firmly convinced, it is the only way. In the nuclear age, the security of states is only possible as security for all. From this point of view, a lower level of security, say, that of the United States as compared with the Soviet Union, would even be disadvantageous to the Soviet Union, for this would mean strategic instability and would therefore stimulate the arms race. The USSR does not have two standards—one for its own security and the other for the rest of the world.

The fact that the US and Soviet concepts are opposites cannot but cause concern, all the more so since security matters should be central at the next Soviet-US summit. The USSR believes that this meeting should yield practical results and mark considerable progress in the directions that are vital for the cause of peace, any other outcome rendering it senseless. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to that end.

The course of events will largely depend on whether the US Administration comes to realise that it is time to give up the approach which is described in the Soviet Statement of January 15, 1986, as "Stone-Age mentality, the time when the main thing was to get a bigger club and a heavier stone"; that humanity should enter the third millennium not with "star wars" but with large-scale projects of space exploration by the joint efforts of the whole of mankind.

Going over to a qualitatively new level of regulating interstate relations requires a democratisation of all international activities. The degree of democracy of foreign policy in one or another country is gauged by the extent to which its actions on the world scene tally with the standards and the will of the overwhelming majority of the world community, with the strict observance of international law. There is not a grain of foreign-policy democracy in the SDI.

On December 12, 1985, the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on prevention of an arms race in outer space, which reflected the essence of the Soviet proposal on international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in the conditions of its non-militarisation. At the Session, 151 delegates voted for the resolution, not a single vote was cast against it; the USA and Grenada abstained. Thus Washington again demonstrated complete disregard for the profound concern caused in the world by the military-political, economic and psychological impact of the SDI implementation.

To this day, Washington has not thoroughly analysed the possible effects of implementing the SDI. Instead, it has been making repeated attempts to mislead public opinion and to push through its "star wars"

programme as soon and as smoothly as possible. Special stress in these attempts is on misinterpreting the true meaning of the understandings underlying the open-ended 1972 Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM). The Treaty says clearly that "effective measures to limit anti-ballistic missile systems would be a substantial factor in curbing the race in strategic offensive arms and would lead to a decrease in the risk of outbreak of war involving nuclear weapons". To that end, both sides committed themselves "not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." It was not without reason that the treaty banned the deployment of a large-scale ABM system, though its provisions pertained to really defensive weapons systems incapable of delivering strikes at the territory of the other side. The point is that the oversimplified view that defensive weapons were always good had to be discarded. In our day and age, the term "defensive weapons" is not synonymous with a "defence doctrine".

The present US Administration poses the question quite differently, careful to provide some camouflage, however. It motivates the "admissibility" of the SDI by alleging that it does not yet mean the development of space arms, but merely research designed to find out whether it is possible to build such weapon systems.

When the SDI programme was first announced in 1983, its true purpose was disguised that way, but later, for instance in a White House publication on January 3, 1985, referring to the work already done, the purpose of the SDI was formulated not as finding out the possibilities for creating a space-based ABM system but was to determine how this could be done. In the Pentagon documents presented before Congress the work done under the SDI programme was unequivocally placed within the category of "advanced R&D". This goes far beyond the "finding-out" stage, which has, incidentally, been confirmed by the US President himself. He stated frankly in a nationwide TV address in February this year that the Administration was not going to confine itself to "research" related to the "strategic defense initiative" and was planning, already now, to immediately start the development of real space weapons systems. The USA should turn its "superiority" on the laboratory level into superiority in specific armaments, he declared.

The very task of creating a space anti-ballistic missile defence, no matter at what stage, runs counter to the spirit and the letter of the 1972 ABM Treaty.

To confuse this clear matter, reference is sometimes made to the supplement affixed to the ABM Treaty concerning agreed upon statements allegedly allowing the development of ABM systems based on physical principles other than those limited under the Treaty. But since such entirely new means as lasers, particle beam accelerators, and so on, are being developed under the SDI programme, this is alleged not to be in disagreement with the Treaty. True, one of the statements affixed to the Treaty does not rule out the possibility of employing means based on other physical principles. But this possibility is envisaged only for the limited ABM areas permitted under the Treaty, only to stationary ground-based systems.

In the case of the SDI, too, opponents to disarmament again resort to the flyblown verification "issue". Scientific research, they assert, cannot be banned because it is unverifiable and, in general, the flight of human thought cannot be cut short. But the Soviet Union suggests nothing of the kind. Fundamental space research can and must go on for the benefit of man. Yet it is quite possible to prohibit research aimed at the development of space strike weapons and to verify the prohibition effectively. If anyone would venture to sidestep the ban on the development of space strike arms, this would ultimately come out because such development requires extra-laboratory testing, which cannot be conducted covertly.

That the "research aspect" of the SDI is far from being really a research programme but is the first stage of developing a new ABM system banned under the 1972 Treaty is evidenced not only by the scope of the work being done, which is unheard of in the event of pure research, but also by other facts, including the testing of space strike weapons by the United States. As much as \$70,000 million is planned to be earmarked for what is called the research aspect of the SDI, the sum exceeding, in terms of current prices, the expenditures on the programme of developing nuclear weapons by over 300 per cent, and the spending on the Apollo programme which envisaged the development of astronautics for a whole decade, including the landing of a man on the Moon, by 150 per cent. The calculations done by US scientists to estimate the cost of a manned space journey to Mars have shown that its cost would be only a half of what is planned to be spent on the SDI until 1993.

The SDI concept is yet another manifestation of political hypocrisy. Even in Washington's official quarters, as Mikhail Gorbachev put it, there are at least ten cynics per every "believer" in this surrealistic plan of eliminating the nuclear threat under the SDI programme, and what the cynics really have in mind is far from what evidently President Reagan speaks and dreams about. Some of them, for instance, aware that an "impenetrable shield" cannot be built, agree to an anti-missile defence on a smaller scale, which, together with weapons designed for a preemptive strike against the retaliation forces of the other side, would provide possibilities for launching a nuclear attack with impunity. Others just want to line their pockets. And still others want to draw the Soviet Union into a space arms race and thus to hamstring its economy. And still others hope to widen the technological gap between the USA and Western Europe, thereby making Western Europe dependent on the USA. And so on.

The unsound political thinking of SDI advocates is manifest also in the fact that it does not enjoy the support of the majority of the Americans. According to the selective opinion poll carried out by *The New York Times* jointly with the CBS company on the eve of the Soviet-US Geneva summit, 53 per cent of those polled believed the USA should forsake the SDI in favour of arms reduction talks and a mere 33 per cent insisted that the work under the SDI programme be continued.

The policy of all-out confrontation, including military confrontation, which the SDI is geared for, is an escape into the past and not a response to the challenges of the future; it is an act of desperation, but this does not make it less dangerous. When this is realised in Washington, and to what extent, will be seen from practical actions, particularly those designed to prevent the arms race from spilling over to outer space.

The Soviet Union is resolved to continue to do everything in its power to prevent this spillover and to preserve space for peaceful activities. "We believe," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, "that in this way we express the wish of the overwhelming majority of states, of all who have common sense and a sense of responsibility."⁴

The USA with its military-industrial machine still running at full speed is the locomotive of militarism. This, of course, must be taken into account. But it is commonly known that the interests and goals of the military-industrial complex differ a good deal from those of the American people, from the true national interests of this great country. Like the in-

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⁴ *Pravda*, Oct. 4, 1985.

BUSINESS TIES AND POLITICS

(The Experience of East-West Relations)

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The interconnection between trade and politics is not a new phenomenon. It is an old saying that when trade is being conducted, guns fall silent. But neither in the past nor now has there been any absolutely direct dependence between the two. History knows many instances of conflicts over trade leading to armed aggression and of wars waged with the aim of seizing new markets, protecting some particular trade interests, carving and recarving the world market.

As is known, the biggest military conflicts in the era of imperialism were connected with the external economic expansion of the Western powers, their intent to recarve the world capitalist market in "proportion" to the amount of capital or strength. But at the same time, especially in the present international situation, good trade and economic ties and the mutual interest of partners to sustain and develop them can serve and actually do serve as a restraining factor promoting the formation of goodneighbourly relations between states, including those with different social systems.

The section of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress dealing with international relations puts the task of fundamental significance: without neglecting social, political, and ideological differences to master the science and art of restraint, to live in a civilised manner, in other words, under conditions of civil international intercourse and cooperation. "But to give this cooperation wide scope," notes the Report "there has to be an all-embracing system of economic security that would in equal measure protect every nation against discrimination, sanctions, and other attributes of imperialist, neocolonialist policy."

From the very beginning the development of relations between countries with different social systems, including the trade and economic ties between them, was of a complex and contradictory nature. This is quite understandable because this process is taking place in conditions of the competition and confrontation of the two world systems when purely economic interests become intertwined with military-political and ideological factors. It goes without saying that this exerts a strong and, given a drastic deterioration of international tension, sometimes, decisive influence not only on the formation and development but also on the very possibility of normal economic exchanges between socialist and capitalist countries.

Immediately after the October Revolution of 1917 the capitalist countries made outright military and political pressure the principal method of dealing with the world's first socialist state—Soviet Russia. Using the force of arms they had hoped to alter the natural course of history, to strangle the young Soviet republic with the noose of hunger and an economic blockade that ruled out any business dealings with it. But even in that exceptionally difficult situation, proceeding from the logic of world economic life, Lenin prophetically outlined the prospects of the

future development of trade and economic relations between the two systems. He said: "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us."¹

Political considerations, it was pointed out by the founder of the Soviet state, can deform the world economic ties only for a certain period of time, impede their development, but in the final analysis objective necessity paves the road for itself through all conceivable artificial barriers. While stressing that "*the bourgeois countries must trade with Russia*", Lenin added at the same time that "we must trade with the capitalist countries as long as they exist"². What Lenin meant is that international trade and economic ties between the countries of socialism and capitalism are a form of the coexistence and struggle, competition of the two systems. But this is a struggle on the economic front when new productive forces are being created and not destroyed.

The entire history of relations between the two world systems confirms the correctness of Lenin's foresight. More than once capitalism tried to use the economic weapon against socialism hoping thus to liquidate socialism still in its cradle. Later, it tried to "roll back" socialism, to localise it within the USSR, to undermine the socialist community from within and set its member countries at loggerheads. However, every time these schemes of the imperialists have always failed, and it could not have been otherwise because ultimately all attempts to oppose the objective, natural historical process are inevitably doomed to failure.

In the first postwar years, when the peoples of a number of East European countries chose the socialist road of development, the US ruling elite deciding it was destined to rule the world tried to prevent them from following that way by imposing the notorious Marshall Plan to tether them to the world capitalist economy. But when the designs of the reactionary US politicians ended in failure, the United States resorted to economic embargo against the young socialist countries and forced the other Western countries to follow suit.

Lists of so-called strategic commodities prohibited for export to the USSR and other socialist countries were drawn up on the basis of an export control act that was adopted in the United States in 1949. At the same time the export of other commodities of Western origin to these countries was drastically curtailed while their export to the SRV, North Korea, China and later to Cuba was banned altogether. In 1950, a special Coordinating Committee (COCOM) was set up by NATO on Washington's initiative to regulate the prohibitive practice of members of the NATO bloc. Later on, these NATO countries (with the exception of Iceland) were joined also by Japan.

In its desire to further toughen the discriminatory measures introduced by it, Washington employed the 1951 Battle Act to make the granting of military and economic aid to American allies dependent on their most rigorous observance of all these restrictions. In accordance with an act on trade agreements, that was adopted in the United States at that time, it was prohibited to apply the generally accepted in international practice most-favoured-nation treatment in trade to socialist countries.

However, the artificial barriers put up in the way of East-West trade

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 33 p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 215.

could not significantly impede the vigorous efforts of the fraternal socialist countries which had pooled their resources within the CMEA framework to tackle the main tasks of their social and economic development. At the same time the policy of the antisocialist embargo, which international reaction used to rally the capitalist West under the banner of anticommunism, generated friction and difference within the capitalist camp itself. The West European countries and Japan no longer wanted to sacrifice their economic interests in the promising trade with socialist countries for the sake of satisfying the hegemonistic ambitions and selfish considerations of their American partner. Besides, in the United States itself the business community was becoming increasingly displeased with Washington's policy that was undermining its interests and the competitiveness of American commodities on the world market.

At the turn of the 1960s there began a "defreezing" of East-West trade and economic relations, especially between socialist countries and the West European states, as well as Japan. The United States, too, undertook a number of steps in this direction but with the reservation that "politics come first and trade later". In other words, preference was given to political rather than commercial considerations. Washington moved to the first place the concept of undermining the socialist community from within, of imposing on socialist countries disadvantageous terms of trade so as to put the brakes on their progress.

The exponents of this concept reasoned as follows: since the socialist countries are allegedly more interested in trade and economic ties with the West, the development of these relations should be closer linked with the political interests of the Western powers. In other words, these ties should be used as a means of putting pressure on the socialist countries and demanding of them "behaviour" suitable to the West in exchange for separate "concessions" in commercial matters. The political doctrine of "linkage" worked out by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger, became Washington's official policy and it tried hard to foist it on its NATO allies.

By differentiating the application of this method to individual socialist countries the United States hoped to get a lever enabling it to manipulate their home and foreign policy and, ultimately, to make these countries depart from the coordinated course of the socialist community states. By making speculative references to the "national peculiarities" of some country, to its "specific" interests the strategists in Washington hoped to pit the fraternal countries against each other. They resorted, for instance, to a selective granting of the most-favoured-nation treatment and guaranteed state credits, to the deletion of some commodities from the list of banned exports to socialist countries or, on the contrary, to refusals to grant "privileges", to a general toughening of the terms of mutual exchanges, up to their total termination.

As to the West European countries, during that period they kept mostly to a policy of maintaining trade and economic ties with socialist countries. (However, here, too, there were exceptions, for instance the abortive attempt by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to make the conclusion of a trade treaty with the USSR dependent on concessions to the FRG on the so-called German issue.) This line of the West European countries brought with it the removal of a number of artificial obstacles that were created in the years of the cold war to hinder trade with the socialist countries—a reduction of the COCOM black lists, expansion of crediting, etc. The growing elements of realism in the policy of the West European countries in combination with the strengthening of their economy resulted in a weakening of the once undisputed leadership of the United States in business ties with the East, and a decline in the competitiveness of American monopolies in international trade.

The continuing process of the expansion of East-West trade and economic ties reached its peak in the first half of the 1970s when the mounting policy of detente ensured a particularly visible growth of their mutual trade. This became the most dynamic trend in the entire world trade. At the same time co-production and other promising forms of business cooperation between countries of the two systems began to take shape, and economic exchanges between them began to acquire an increasingly more stable, long-term and large-scale nature.

The positive experience of such cooperation found its reflection in numerous treaties and agreements between European countries and in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The 35 countries, including the United States, that signed it expressed their conviction that "their efforts to develop cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, science and technology, the environment and other areas of economic activity contribute to the reinforcement of peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole".

At the same time there is no reason to say that the 1970s were a sort of golden age of East-West business cooperation and the more so to subscribe to the view of some Western political scientists that it will never happen again. The discriminatory practice in respect to socialist countries did slacken in those years but not more than that. Besides, the West retained its differentiated approach to determining the trade and political terms of mutual exchanges. It was in that period that the West European EEC member states adopted a uniform trade policy regulated on the level of the Common Market leadership. Thereby the trade and economic ties of the CMEA countries with individual members of the Community were deprived of their legal basis while the CMEA's proposal to settle these relations on the CMEA-EEC level was actually blocked by the Common Market.

At the same time the United States refused to grant the USSR the most-favoured-nation treatment because the US Congress had linked the granting of such treatment to socialist countries and the settlement of questions of crediting with unacceptable concessions in the field of emigration policy. Such demands had nothing to do with trade and were attempts of gross interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries under the false pretext of "defence of human rights".

The ruling circles of the United States, striving to regain their former world leadership in the military-strategic and economic fields and viewing the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence as the main obstacle to worldwide "social revenge", launched an offensive at the turn of the 1980s against all the gains of the period of detente, including those in the economic sphere. Under the Carter Administration, the USA took a number of steps to limit the export of high technology commodities to the USSR, and after the Soviet Union brought a limited contingent of its troops into Afghanistan it laid an embargo on grain deliveries to the Soviet Union. (It shall be recalled that in the first place the American farmers were hard hit while the USSR found other grain suppliers.)

When the Republican Administration, expressing the interests of the most reactionary part of the US establishment connected with the military-industrial complex, came to the White House early in 1981, the USA set forth on a course of scaling down all East-West economic ties. Serving as a pretext for this were slanderous allegations about the alleged aggressiveness of the Soviet Union's policy, its use of Western technology to build up its arms and about the infringement upon the interests of the United States and the West as a whole in the years of detente.

In the 1980s the United States is using questions of purchasing high technology and credits for its acquisition as the principal means of put-

ting political pressure on the USSR and other socialist countries. The above methods were also used rather extensively in the East-West relations in the preceding decade but later on it was contended in official circles in Washington that this allegedly benefited the socialist countries alone and harmed the interests of the NATO countries. Officials in the Washington Administration and Congressmen closely linked with the Pentagon stated that it was thus that the Soviet Union had acquired high technology which it supposedly could not create itself and, moreover, that having surpassed the United States in the field of armaments it began menacing its "vital interests" everywhere.

Contrary to the generally known facts about the USSR's achievements in the field of scientific and technological revolution, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and the "hawks" from Capitol Hill allege that almost all of the Soviet Union's achievements, including in the military field, are a direct result of the utilisation of Western, first of all US, technology. That is why, these people say, in order to safeguard the strategic interests of the Western Powers, it is necessary to block the access by the Soviet Union to the latest technology.

The ruling elite in the United States clearly intends to use the present, especially intensive stage of the technological revolution not only to "re-industrialise" the American industry but also to attain world hegemony, including in the field of technology. By foisting new dangerous and costly spirals of the arms race on others, in particular the allied NATO countries, by strengthening the technological and, therefore, the competitive positions of the American monopolies, by stepping up the neocolonialist expansion in developing countries, the United States' ruling circles hope to change the existing alignment of world forces in favour of American imperialism.

With this aim in view Washington is toughening in every way the system of monitoring the export of high technology and expanding COCOM's activities, supplementing these with bilateral agreements with neutral countries on strict observance of the restrictive measures. The United States is fighting for the creation of an "Eastern branch" of COCOM for Asian and Pacific countries and is setting up a special police service ("Operation Exodus") to block access to new technology not only by socialist but also by some other countries that are "unreliable" from Washington's point of view.

The revised US act on export controls, that entered into force in 1985, introduced an even more stringent system of restrictions on export to the socialist countries (except the PRC). Actually this system is being given an extraterritorial nature because it provides for the application of American trade acts abroad and the banishment from the American market of any firm that has violated them either as a seller or a buyer. Its actual aim is to restrict the export not so much of commodities as of technologies, especially "critical" ones, so as to ensure ultimately a "controlled technological lag" of the socialist countries. Under the pretext of a possible leak of American technology to socialist countries, rigid limitations are imposed on technology transfer to other countries, including the allies of the United States.

Besides COCOM, other Western international organisations of an economic and political nature are being drawn by the United States into the regulation of East-West trade and economic relations. In this field the role of NATO and its bodies is being stepped up under the pretext of protecting the West's "strategic interests". The same tasks, in effect, are being fulfilled also by the OECD. For instance, it increased the interest rates of credits granted to socialist countries and differentiated them not only according to economic but also obviously political criteria.

In recent years conferences of the so-called Big Seven are playing an ever more noticeable role in the coordination of the West's economic and political strategy. Since 1980 these annual meetings, on Washington's initiative, are devoting much attention to the questions of East-West economic relations as well. At the conferences in 1982 and 1983 the USA tried hard to persuade its allies to stop the export of high-tech commodities to socialist countries, to refuse them credits, and also tried to prevent the realisation of major joint projects, among them the construction of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline. However, Washington's strenuous efforts to "harmonise", under its guidance the foreign economic policy of the leading Western countries were futile because they ran counter to the interests of the other centres of present-day imperialism, in particular the West European one, which are the USA's rivals. This was patently demonstrated by the total failure of Washington's attempts to block the construction of the trans-European gas pipeline. Under pressure from its West European allies at the Big Seven meeting in Williamsburg in 1983 and at subsequent meetings the United States had to remove from the agenda its proposal to toughen limitations imposed on East-West economic relations.

Thus the attempts by the United States to politicise to the maximum the East-West economic ties, if not to torpedo them altogether under the pretext of "protecting the strategic interests" of the West, are encountering the resistance of other countries, including its allies in aggressive blocs. Actually this American policy contradicts the general trends of the internationalisation of economic life and the logic of development of the scientific and technological revolution at the present stage, that is, contradicts both the interests of the West and of the United States itself.

Although the United States is taking a minor part in East-West business ties as compared to the other two centres of imperialism, Washington would like to dictate to the other capitalist countries the limits within which they should develop these ties. On their part, the other Western countries cannot ignore the fact that Washington thus hopes to weaken not only the socialist countries but also to undermine the positions of its competitors, specifically Japan and the West European countries, and it is trying to do this in conditions when rivalry on the world capitalist market is becoming increasingly sharp. This rivalry revolves mostly around the structural changes in the economy and foreign trade of the Western countries which are taking place in the complex conditions of mounting crisis contradictions.

A considerable role in this process is played by the East-West economic exchanges, especially along the new directions of the scientific and technological revolution. And it is on their development that the United States wants to place a taboo. Washington's allies, in particular the West European countries, have justified fears that by restricting cooperation with socialist countries in these fields they will weaken their positions on the world market, first of all in respect to new science intensive commodities, and at the same time it will increase their dependence on the United States which has advantages in a number of key aspects of the scientific and technological revolution.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Washington's new steps in the "technological war" which it has unleashed against the socialist countries are met in the West European capitals with dissatisfaction and sometimes with open resistance. There is no doubt that many sober-minded Western European leaders realise that the United States is thus trying to impose its hegemony in respect to its NATO allies as well.

At the same time there is a certain inconsistency on the part of the West European countries concerning the entire range of the East-West

problems. For instance, they gave in to Washington's persistent demands and agreed to an expansion of COCOM "prohibitive lists" in the field of modern electronics and means of telecommunications and also to the inclusion in its staff of military specialists to identify technologies, the "leakage" of which could allegedly damage NATO's "strategic interests".

It goes without saying that the socialist countries, first of all the CMEA member states, are giving a worthy reply to this notorious "technological challenge", to the attempts by the United States and NATO to undermine the mainstays of normal mutually advantageous East-West trade ties, to politicise them in accordance with Washington's hegemonistic plans and its dangerous militaristic course. These countries adopted concerted measures to strengthen the socialist community's technical, economic and technological invulnerability, and switched over a part of the trade influx from the West to their own integrated market and to the markets of the more reliable partners from among other states.

Parallel to this the socialist countries intensified the integration process in science and technology, first of all using the latest scientific and technological achievements, and took other effective steps to consolidate their external economic positions and to assist those fraternal countries, in particular Poland, which had suffered most from the Western policy of economic blackmail and sanctions. As a result, the principal aim of the Western embargoes and sanctions—to inflict substantial harm to the socialist countries, to weaken their domestic and international positions, to undermine their cohesion and unity—was not attained as it should have been expected.

The total groundlessness of the conjectures by American politicians that the USSR uses imported Western technology for military purposes was convincingly exposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech on December 10, 1985 at an annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council. Indeed, the USSR is interested not more than the United States and the West as a whole in scientific-technical and other exchanges with them, and is making its equal contribution to these exchanges, including in the field of technology. In the era of the scientific and technological revolution and the accelerated internationalisation of scientific-technical progress there is hardly any sense in tallying who has acquired more and who less from the treasure chest of world experience, which belongs to all of humankind and is a result of world civilisation's lengthy development.

It must be said that none other than the USA, both in the past and today, clearly demonstrates its ability to make extensive and skilful use (and here justice must be done to it) of the world scientific-technical experience for the solution of its own problems—the experience not only of its NATO allies, but also of neutral countries, and Soviet experience as well. It is not by chance that even such a conservative American magazine as the *U. S. News & World Report* described as important the contribution made by the socialist community countries to the technology of the United States and other non-communist countries.

The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000 of the CMEA countries, adopted at the 41st (extraordinary) meeting of the Council's session in December 1985, provides for concerted actions by these countries to develop and utilise fundamentally new types of equipment and technology along the five priority lines which are the basis of the present-day revolutionary shifts in science, technology and production. The programme sets the task of achieving the highest level on the key directions of scientific-technical progress,

more than doubling the productivity of socialist countries by increasing the energy and material inputs. This will result in a substantial strengthening of socialism's positions in the peaceful competition with capitalism, the practical merging of socialism's advantages with the achievements of the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution and a broadening of the spheres of the multifaceted and mutually advantageous cooperation of the socialist countries with other states.

The CMEA countries have expressed readiness to coordinate their efforts in implementing this programme with other interested countries on an equal and mutually beneficial basis, including within the framework of their programmes of international scientific-technical cooperation that have a humanitarian, peaceable trend and accord with the aims of the United Nations. Having confirmed their belief in the necessity to impart a global character to international scientific-technical cooperation, they confirmed their readiness to make a weighty contribution to the mapping out and fulfilling of a uniform global programme in this field.

The fraternal countries also resolutely came out again for a normalisation of international ties in the sphere of economy, science and technology, for the removal of all artificial barriers and restrictions, for confidence-building measures in international economic relations, for the elimination of all forms and varieties of economic aggression, including in the field of technology, for restructuring the entire system of international economic and scientific-technical relations on a just democratic basis.

It is noteworthy that during the present restructuring of the Western countries' economy with an eye to utilising the possibilities of the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution (roughly with the same priorities as the CMEA countries) use is being made in a number of instances both on the state and interstate levels of forms and methods borrowed from the theory and practice of socialist countries' economy. This broadens the economic prerequisites for the interaction and blending of these programmes, experience and resources, for a fruitful trade and scientific-technical exchange between the East and the West in traditional and especially new forms, the latter actually amounting to co-production.

As is known, in the present complex of East-West trade and economic ties the main difficulties exist in the relations of socialist countries with the United States. At the same time it is here that the biggest potential reserves of cooperation exist, considering the possibilities, resources and requirements of both sides. However, throughout recent years official Washington viewed the East-West trade and economic ties mostly as an instrument of political pressure.

No denying it, the United States has a big domestic market and is a mighty industrial power, this making it, just as the socialist community countries, relatively independent of the development of the East-West ties. But by now the American export possibilities have visibly shrunk and the deficit of the USA's balance of trade is steadily growing. Moreover, not only on the world market but also on the domestic market the US monopoly capital is losing ground to ever stronger rivals, first of all Japan and to a certain extent the EEC countries.


All this goes to show why interest in trade with the socialist countries has grown lately in the US business world and in the US Administration. Some measures have been taken to alter somewhat the existing legislation and also the trade practices of the United States. On his part the US President has repeatedly voiced intention to expand trade with

the USSR in the context of the overall development of Soviet-American relations. However, even now obstacles not of an economic but of a political nature continue to stand in the way of the development of business relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

In particular, this includes the refusal to grant the most-favoured nation-treatment to the USSR, which drastically restricts the possibilities of Soviet exports to the United States. This also includes restrictions in the field of credit although world experience bears out that extensive trade, especially in machinery and equipment, cannot develop without credits. Finally, there are restrictions on the export of so-called strategic commodities, which make it virtually impossible for the Soviet side to buy modern equipment in the United States. Meantime the need for such imports is constantly growing taking into account the large-scale modernisation and intensification of production in the USSR on the basis of the latest accomplishments of scientific and technological progress. It stands to reason that the growing Soviet economic potential and export possibilities create preconditions for expanding the commodity flow in both directions.

The trade and political relations of the United States with the socialist countries exert a substantial influence on the business relations that the other Western countries have with the world of socialism. When Washington resorted to economic sanctions against the USSR and Poland in connection with the crisis events in Poland it demanded that its allies follow suit. Under strong pressure from the United States the latter had to obey, although their discriminatory measures were of a more limited nature.

The unsettled nature of the CMEA-EEC relations and also the West European Community's protectionist policy, its differentiated approach to developing relations with each country of the socialist community remain a certain obstacle in the way of the development of East-West business relations, in particular, European cooperation. So while there exist real prerequisites and the desire of a considerable part of foreign business circles to expand mutually beneficial East-West trade and economic ties, in practice this is blocked by the discriminatory policy pursued by the United States and the NATO countries, by the West's economic groupings and organisations. This policy contradicts the objective requirements of expanding and deepening international division of labour and the equitable participation in it of all countries and regions.



The above-stated, I believe, patently confirms the direct interconnection of the East-West trade-economic and political relations. As a rule, an improvement of the political climate in these relations usually brought with it an intensification of economic exchanges, the creation of more favourable conditions for their development and vice versa. It seems that the reverse process of the influence of trade on politics appears to have manifested itself to a lesser extent so far. This can be explained not only by the preponderance of political interests and factors in relations between countries of the two opposite systems but also by the comparatively modest overall scale of their trade and economic ties.

It is also evident that the possibilities of further expanding such exchanges are far from exhausted. More than that, these possibilities are increasing with the growth of the economic potentials of both sides just as with the growing complexity of the global problems confronting mankind and lending themselves to solution only on condition of an appropriate contribution to this by every single country. The most important of them is the problem of peace and disarmament, of averting new dangerous spirals of the arms race and its transfer to outer space. It would

be an unforgivable mistake not to see and not to use for the solution of this and other global problems the tremendous possibilities inherent in a large-scale equitable international cooperation directed at creative aims, the good of the peoples.

The question of choosing the road to follow has never been more urgent—will there be a further fanning up of mistrust and fear, a continuation of the sliding down to the line of doom, or at long last a turn will be made from confrontation to detente and peaceful coexistence. The latter presupposes not only the absence of war but constructive international cooperation, fruitful and mutually advantageous exchanges in trade, science, technology and culture, joint fulfilment of major economic and other projects. Of course this also presupposes a firm commitment not to use such ties for purposes of discrimination, of putting pressure on partners and impinging on their legitimate interests.

As it is rightly stressed in the Soviet government's memorandum International Economic Security: An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations, that was recently distributed as an official document of the United Nations, interstate intercourse should be free of arbitrariness and unlawful embargoes, boycotts, trade, credit and technological blockades, of the use of economic ties as an instrument of political pressure. The memorandum quite rightly qualifies the economic security of states as an inseparable part of the entire problem of international security. Acquiring particular importance now is the idea advanced at the 27th CPSU Congress to convene a *World Congress on Problems of Economic Security*, where everything aggravating international economic ties could be discussed comprehensively.

By their very nature trade and scientific-technical exchanges are called upon to strengthen the material fabric of accord and trust among states. When stressing the importance of establishing and developing economic ties between socialist and capitalist states V. I. Lenin termed them as "an indirect guarantee of peace", "an economic and political argument against war".³ The relevance of Lenin's thesis is especially obvious in the present situation that is developing under the sign of the competition and confrontation of the two world systems.

The turn for the better in international affairs, that is expected and demanded by the peoples of all countries of the world, dictates the necessity of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente backed up by a mutual economic interest and mutual dependence within the framework of equitable and mutually beneficial international cooperation. Such a policy has now become an imperative. There is no reasonable alternative to it.

³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, Vol. 31, p. 427.

USSR IN THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

(Continued from page 80)

As it is evident from the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "the Party proceeds from the belief that integration is designed to contribute to an ever increasing extent to progress in the sphere of social production and the socialist way of life in the countries of the socialist community, to evening out more rapidly their levels of economic development and to strengthening the positions of socialism in the world".

The USSR is prepared, in accordance with its international duty, responsibility and potential, to make a real contribution to the success of the common cause.

THE ASIAN PACIFIC REGION: CONFRONTATION OR COOPERATION?

I. GAVRICHEV

Lowering tensions in the Asian-Pacific Region (APR) is an important challenge of international life today. Indeed, the 33 littoral states in the Pacific are the home of about half of the world's population. Here the interests of many countries, including economic interests, intersect and interweave.

By estimates, the floor of the Pacific Ocean contains about 30-40 per cent of all the potential offshore oil and gas deposits in the world, and billions of tons of iron and manganese concretions. The countries of the region possess 56 per cent of the known world deposits of lead, 47 per cent of zinc, 41 per cent of nickel, 37 per cent of cobalt, 32 per cent of copper, as well as tin, rare metals and other natural resources.

The Asian-Pacific region is the most rapidly developing zone of the capitalist world today. The capitalist states there already account for about a half of the capitalist world's total industrial output and for over 30 per cent of the world trade. The total trade turnover is estimated at \$1,280,000 million. Numerous forecasts say that the share of the region in world capitalist economy will steadily rise.

The USSR, being an Asian and a Pacific power, has its friends and allies in the region and its own interests stemming from its particular responsibility for the destinies of international peace and security. Therefore, it cannot but feel worried that imperialists are whipping up the arms race in the Asian-Pacific region and are trying to "programme" the future developments in that vast part of the planet along the lines of confrontation and military muscle buildup, and to erect barriers in the way of mutually beneficial cooperation of Pacific states. As the Soviet government pointed out in its Statement on April 23 this year, "unless a stop is put on such a course of development in the region where the interests of many countries converge and intertwine, a serious aggravation of tension in the Asian-Pacific region may ensue."¹

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Lately, the idea of a Pacific Community (PC) has gained wide currency in the political circles in the Pacific countries. Emissaries from the United States have frequented these countries, numerous seminars and meetings have been arranged with the aim of selling the idea of a new grouping to the business and academic communities, politicians, and the public at large in these states. The grouping would include the USA, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and six ASEAN countries (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Brunei). Subsequently, the group is to be enlarged by the admission of South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong and, under certain conditions, of China.

The main advocates of the Pacific Community (PC) are the ruling circles and big business in Japan. In 1967 the Pacific economic council was set up which included businessmen from Japan, the USA, Canada,

Australia and New Zealand. Its aim was to work out recommendations to the respective governments on the development of economic relations between them.

In the early 1980s the emphasis on economic, technical and cultural cooperation was shoved into the background, obviously under Washington's influence. Instead, prominence was given to the political and military aspects of the imperialist alliance. The basis of the community was to be the Tokyo-Washington axis. In exchange for agreement and support for stepped up American military preparations Tokyo clearly hoped that the United States would exhibit "favourable neutrality" with regard to Japan's economic expansion in Eastern and Southeast Asia.

The shift of accents in policy was favourably received in Washington which had by that time made the Asian-Pacific policy one of the top priorities and promising areas of its strategy. The failure of the Vietnam adventure had demonstrated that the USA is unable to preserve its dominance in the Pacific and to dictate its will to the capitalist countries of the region single-handed. So Washington has decided to involve in its strategy its allies in the APR among whom Japan has been ranking first. In this sense the American policy-makers have benefited enormously from the growing hawkish trends in the Japanese establishment after Yasuhiro Nakasone came to power. The helm of state veered sharply to the right under Nakasone as a result of which Japan, which previously confined itself to moral and political backing of the USA, became directly involved in confrontation with world socialism. One must also bear in mind that in giving the go-ahead to the creation of the PC the Americans hoped that it would to some extent slacken the inflow of Japanese goods to their markets.

The common ground between the United States and Japan was their desire to change the balance of social forces in their favour, to take revenge, in class terms, in that region of the world, and to see the struggle between different social systems on the regional and global scale develop into a military confrontation. These ideas, however, have failed to gain the support of many prospective members of the Community, some of whom flatly rejected them. The Labour governments of Australia and New Zealand declared their disagreement with the American-Japanese version of the PC. The ASEAN countries have firmly stated that they do not want to see ASEAN transformed into a military bloc because they fear that this group is going to be dissolved in a larger organisation, deprived of a say in world politics, and that its plans of creating a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia would be undermined.

ASEAN foreign ministers at their Jakarta conference in July 1984 unequivocally rejected the idea of a Pacific Community. The Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, stressed that the Pacific Community as proposed by Japan and the USA was unacceptable if it were to take the form of an international organisation. Malaysia's Minister of Trade and Industry Razaleigh Hamzah speaking on behalf of ASEAN countries, stressed that "if the prosperity of the Pacific Basin is to be shared by all within its economic zone, the era of superpower economic hegemony [of USA and Japan] must give way to a more mature and equitable partnership."

In 1984, in Peking the special US Ambassador-at-large to the Pacific Basin was clearly told that "political and strategical considerations should be vigorously excluded from the Pacific initiatives."²

In this situation Tokyo, with Washington's tacit consent, resorted to a tactical move and decided to temporarily separate the economic aspects of integration of the capitalist countries in the Pacific from military and

² *Asia Pacific Community*, Fall 1985, No. 30, p. 8.

political activities and to pursue efforts in the two areas in parallel, with Japan concentrating on the economic field and USA—on military and strategic matters.

In accordance with this distribution of the roles, Nakasone in January 1985 proposed a "new" concept of a PC which laid emphasis on the economic, nonmilitary and equitable character of the future grouping. According to the Japanese Premier, cooperation within the PC would cover only economic, scientific, technical and cultural area.

As far as one can judge by the concrete moves of Tokyo and Washington this cooperation is perceived not as a change in the existing inequitable pattern of relations between the developed and developing capitalist states in the APR, but as institutionalisation of collective neocolonialism. The Japanese and American orchestrators would like to perpetuate the present "division of labour", a situation when the developing countries in the APR are not so much the subjects of policy as objects of exploitation and economic expansion, crude pressure and interference in the system of regional relations. The advocates of the PC would clearly not like to see their brainchild to be a real forum for discussing and resolving outstanding, moreover, pressing economic problems of the capitalist countries in the Pacific, such as external debts, protectionist barriers, trade discrimination, diversification of the more backward countries' single-crop economies, and countering the trend for these backward countries to become agricultural, mining, tourist and other appendages of the economies of the imperialist states.

Asia and Pacific Review, published in Britain, writes that the countries of Asia and Oceania are aware of the growing counteraction of the USA which is trying to undermine their positions on the world market by various economic sanctions. Thus, as a result of US actions, the countries of Asia and Oceania have sustained one billion dollars in damage and lost some one million jobs in 1984.

It is far from accidental that those who now enlarge on the subject of Pacific Community tend to ignore the time-tested UN mechanism of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific which has justified itself. Nor do they have much regard for other UN organisations which allegedly attach too much importance to "formalities" and impose rigid legal constraints. Why? Apparently because neither Washington nor Tokyo would be happy if the economic integration in the APR developed along the lines envisaged by the UN resolutions on the creation of a new, just and democratic international economic order. The attempt to create a new economic mechanism, "independent" of the constraints imposed by the UN resolutions, is clearly intended to give a free hand to those who would like to further step up the exploitation of many APR countries, to give scope for the activity of transnationals, for structural changes imposed by the West-controlled banking system, to those who would like to impede the links between the developing countries in the region and the world market, including the socialist countries.

There is a huge gap between the pledges of the advocates of the PC about adherence to economic cooperation and development and their practical actions. In practice the zealots of Pacific economic regionalism oppose equal and mutually beneficial economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries. This is evidenced by their attempts to involve both the developed and the developing countries of the region in their policy of "sanctions", restrictions on technological exchange, hectoring of those states which seek to foster cooperation with the Soviet Union in the trade, fishing, navigation and other fields.

It is significant that those who like to talk about "economic cooperation" and "co-prosperity" of the Pacific countries are reaching out to unceremoniously grab the mineral deposits on the floor of the world's

biggest ocean thus challenging not only most of the Pacific countries, but also the whole international community, flouting the law of the sea convention.

The economic screen of the PC cannot conceal the true goals Washington and Tokyo pursue in the region. According to the Chinese international affairs expert, Xie Wenqing "the USA is actively pursuing a strategy of creating a bloc of many countries, is trying to unite its Asian allies on the basis of an American-Japanese military alliance to create a NATO-type system in the Asian-Pacific region."³

It is notable in this connection that the PC, as it is interpreted at present, embraces only those states and regimes with which the USA has extensive military cooperation and "security" treaties (Japan, South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines and the ANZUS countries). Nor is it accidental that the present version of the PC is aimed at strengthening the positions of the imperialist countries in those parts of Asia neighbouring on the socialist states which they have proclaimed to be spheres of their "vital interests" and where they have unleashed armed conflicts in the postwar years. One speaks, most notably, of the Korean Peninsula and Southeast Asia, but also to a large degree of Taiwan and Hong Kong which are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

The Story of the Pacific, published in the USA on the eve of the Second World War divides the ocean into the "American half" and the "Japanese half". It looks as if the USA and Japan are striving to update that pattern by making the whole of the world's largest ocean a joint possession of the Washington-Tokyo bloc. The United States is engaged in a sustained effort to build up its military presence in the Pacific. It is the Pacific military group that enjoys priority in attaining the latest weaponry. The first-strike capability is being moved closer to the borders of the socialist countries. In this, the four "unsinkable aircraft carriers" of the USA (South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and the Philippines) are assigned a special role.

To cover up this policy, the threadbare myths of a "Soviet threat" and the "aggressiveness of Pyongyang" are trotted out. And most recently, the bogey of "Vietnam hegemonism" and a "Soviet threat to the security of Southeast Asia" have been actively used to influence the ASEAN countries. The true worth of such statements were thus assessed by Tim Huxley, an Australian authority on Pacific problems: "The United States provides an offshore military presence that by far outweighs the Soviet minor air and naval deployments in the region."⁴ Echoing this opinion, Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mochtar Kusumaatmadja has stated that in reality the Soviet presence in the region stands no comparison with that of the United States.

In addition to claiming that they want to save the Asian peoples from an alleged "Soviet threat" American politicians and the military have occasionally made more candid admissions about Washington's goals. Thus, US Deputy Secretary of State, Kenneth Dam, declared in August 1984 that the Far East has now become America's Mid-West. And Assistant Secretary of Defense, Richard Armitage, addressing a conference of the Asian community in July 1985, went as far as saying that the US border is now extended more than 5,000 miles west of San Francisco's Golden Gates.

The United States is pursuing its rapid deployment strategy not only in the Indian Ocean, but also in the Pacific basin by creating supply dumps on the US bases in Japan, South Korea and other countries. The buildup of forward-based supplies is accompanied by a strengthening of

³ *Guoji wenti yanjiu*, No. 4, 1985, p. 17.

⁴ *Asia Pacific Community*, Fall 1985, No. 30, p. 36.

the "second echelon" infrastructure of bases and strongpoints (Belau, Guam, Saipan, Midway, etc.). Washington's "empire of bases" is thus being strengthened all round.

Meanwhile Japan, as has been noted above, is pursuing economic expansion in the Asian-Pacific region and building up its own military potential. The signs are that revenge seekers in Japan would like to go on strengthening their military might in the shadow of Washington's military preparations without evoking concern among Asian nations. Although official Tokyo tends to cover up that issue, Japan is already the biggest capitalist military power in Asia which spends more on defence than all ASEAN countries combined. The process of its militarisation is assuming an ever broader character.

American and Japanese hawkers are at pains to advertise their brain-child—the PC—trying to lure developing countries by promises of economic benefits and hinting that they would become "privileged partners" in trade. However, the world remembers only too well how many times the imperialists have used the cover of economic "aid" and objective processes of internationalisation and integration of the world economy in order to advance and bolster their plans of creating military groupings, "joint defence treaties", etc. In this instance, too, the spurious words about the benefits of economic cooperation are strikingly at odds with the selfish trade policies of the USA and Japan within the PC. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the recent meetings on Bali (Indonesia) of the US President with the representatives of the ASEAN countries revealed once again their negative stand on the establishment of a Pacific community along the American-Japanese lines as a means of stepping up neo-colonialist expansion.

The Soviet Union's policy in the Asian-Pacific region is totally different in character. Its aim is to prevent a slide towards confrontation and the formation of blocs. In this troubled international situation all the states must exert active efforts in order to build trust and to reverse the course of events from confrontation to dialogue, to ensure peaceful, independent and free development of the APR states. These noble goals are met by the ideas contained in the Soviet government's Statement of April 23, 1986 which realistically and clearly outlines the Soviet strategy in the Asian-Pacific Region and marks a concrete step in the pursuit of the fundamental course for improving the situation in the world and strengthening global security.

The Statement points out that "the basis of friendly relations, greater trust and mutual understanding among the peoples in that part of the world, as indeed in other regions can and must be the development of equitable cooperation open to all, rather than pitting some states against others. Given this approach—and this is precisely the approach in which all peoples have a stake—there can be no room for knocking together blocs and counterblocs, the creation of all kinds of 'axes' and 'triangles', the formation of closed groups, cultivation of protectionism and discriminatory measures in mutual trade and economic ties."

The USSR does not only make appeals but is demonstrating its readiness to contribute to building the edifice of Asian-Pacific security that would provide a peaceful home for peoples. The numerous Soviet initiatives that fully apply to the Asian-Pacific region include the proposal of the 27th Congress of the CPSU on the creation of an all-embracing system of international security, the Soviet Union's commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and not to use nuclear weapons under any conditions against states which do not have these on their territories,

the proposal of a declaration condemning nuclear war, the proposal of a quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear weapons, the proposal not to extend the sphere of the activities of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty to the regions beyond Europe, the Soviet initiative on restricting naval activities, the proposal on spreading confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially those areas where the busiest sea lanes pass, and the proposal to dismantle all military bases on foreign territories. The Soviet proposal on confidence-building measures in the Far East remains in force.

The Soviet proposal on a comprehensive approach to the problems of Asian security must be seen as an important step directly connected with the interests of the APR countries. It is by no means the aim of the comprehensive approach concept to offer a set or code of principles, let alone specific recipes for settling this or that subregional situation in Asia. Such decisions have yet to be worked out by all the states of the continent through equal joint efforts.

In embarking on the challenging project of turning the Asian-Pacific region into a region of peace and cooperation, one could make use of the experience accumulated by the European states. There is no question of uncritically transposing that experience to another soil. This experience should be reinterpreted and adjusted to the realities of the Asian-Pacific region. On the whole, however, the idea of concentrating attention on a range of basic and fundamental problems at a certain stage seems to be promising.

The time is obviously ripe to discuss, in the context of regional problems, the above-mentioned Soviet initiatives, as well as such issues of military detente as the spread of non-nuclear zones to cover wider geographical areas and use the three "non-nuclear principles", dismantling of foreign military bases, refusal to support subversive terrorist groups in other countries, and the non-use of their territories as a base for aggression and subversion against the neighbouring countries.

It is not the Soviet Union's intention to "excommunicate" any state or group of states from building the edifice of Asian security. The USSR would like every country, large or small, to play its part in the extensive work to strengthen peace in the Asian-Pacific region. Attempts to interpret the Soviet proposal as aimed against any country, and at gaining certain unilateral advantages or pitting one group of states against another can only be described as unscrupulous falsification. At any rate, the Soviet Union does not seek the solution of Asian-Pacific security and cooperation problems in the establishment of a closed and exclusive system. In this matter what is needed is the efforts of all sides prompted by goodwill and a new way of thinking.

In setting the task of a more vigorous search for ways to improve the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, the Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that the model of peaceful relations of equitable and harmonious cooperation to be jointly worked out by the continent's states could include the ten Bandung principles and a whole range of provisions put forward by the nonaligned movement.

The Soviet Union's steps to normalise and establish good relations with Japan, China, the ASEAN countries, South Asian states, etc., contribute not only to the solution of specific issues in the relations between the USSR and this or that country, but to the interests of regional security as a whole.

A concrete contribution to the foundation of the future edifice of peace in this part of the world is Mongolia's proposal to elaborate a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the states of Asia and the Pacific, and the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Ko-

rean Peninsula, negotiations between the DPRK, the USA and South Korea, the drawing up of a security declaration, the creation of a confederative democratic republic of Koryo, the turning of Korea into a nuclear-free zone, and the unilateral decision not to carry out major military exercises as of February 1, 1986.

The states of Indochina have come up with a whole programme of removing tensions in Southeast Asia and turning it into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation. The conception of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia proposed by the ASEAN countries could be of considerable service to the cause of peace in the Asian-Pacific region. The task in Southeast Asia then is to settle disputes existing between two groups of states and to ensure that guns fall silent and blood is no longer spilled in the area.

The Soviet Union believes that the intention to turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone expressed by the ASEAN countries follows the right direction. This is in keeping with the fundamental Soviet position in support of nuclear-free zones. Three Indochina countries—Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea—have supported the proposed nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

India's peaceful actions in establishing relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation between the states of the subcontinent deserve high praise.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has taken an active and constructive position prompted by concern for regional and Asian peace at the talks through the mediation of the UN Secretary General's envoy.

The Soviet Union has greeted with understanding and approval the initiative of the South Pacific Forum (SPF) states on turning the southern part of the ocean into a nuclear-free zone, as was plainly stated to the delegation of the SPF states which visited Moscow last February. The New Zealand government has banned nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships from calling at its ports.

The initiatives repeatedly put forward by the Chinese leaders have been prompted by a desire to ensure peaceful conditions for the reunification of Taiwan with the PRC.

All these components could combine to form a solid foundation of security for all the Asian-Pacific countries. However, the first priority is to advance the important work of eliminating flashpoints from the continent, disrupting the imperialist policy of pitting Asians against Asians, bringing down the level of confrontation and, settling conflict situations.

The way to start on this important work is obviously to activate dialogue among the Asian countries, bilateral and then regional and then perhaps at larger and more authoritative forums. That would make it possible to carefully weigh and more fully examine all the constructive ideas from whatever quarter they originate. It is equally important to develop trade and economic cooperation, exchanges of people and ideas, and to foster a feeling of community among all these nations.

Such an exchange of opinions would not only go some way towards solving the existing problems but would help to build up confidence. Wide channels of communication, exchange of people and ideas would create a fabric of relations of peaceful coexistence that could form the basis for efforts of the Asian countries to build a peaceful future for all their peoples. In other words, a broad forum of the Asian states is seen not as a starting point for the work to bring peace and security to Asia, but as the crowning of a complex process of improving the situation in that vast region of the world, a process that would take years.

As for trade and economic cooperation, the Soviet Union already has stable mutually beneficial relations with many countries in the APR. As the Soviet government's statement of April 23 points out, "the growth of

the industrial and agricultural base, the completion of the Baikal-Amur trunk railway, the development of rich oil and gas, coal, and other energy deposits, the bringing into the economy of new timber and raw material resources of the region objectively creates important additional material prerequisites for the active participation of the USSR in the international division of labour, trade and economic, and scientific-technical cooperation with the countries of Asia and the Pacific."

The USSR proposes to initiate wide-ranging exchange of opinions among all the interested countries in that part of the world on the matter of establishing equal, mutually beneficial and stable trade, economic, technological, scientific and cultural cooperation. Areas for such cooperation could be provided by the development of productive forces, personnel training, greater use of manpower resources, the application of new energy sources, including nuclear energy, improvement of transport and communications, identification of new forms of trade, economic, and financial cooperation taking into account the interests of the region's developing countries, exchange of scientific and technological information, elaborating measures on environmental protection and rational use of biological and mineral resources of the sea, peaceful space exploration in common interests, joint work in the field of medicine and health care, in combating natural disasters and their consequences, etc. The Soviet Union is ready to take the broadest and most active part in looking for new forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, in developing and realising major long-term projects and programmes, and to commit its economic and scientific-technical potential to the cause of peace and consolidating confidence among the people.

The USSR was and is an Asian and a Pacific power, and any attempts to "oust" it out of the region by economic sanctions or otherwise restrict its extensive links with the Pacific states are doomed to failure. Moreover, as the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress pointed out, the significance of the Asian-Pacific area in world politics and the USSR's foreign policy is growing. The Soviet Communists' forum had this to say on the tasks of Soviet foreign policy in that vast region of the planet for the coming period: "Here it is necessary, without postponement, to find the relevant solutions and paths. Evidently, this has to begin with the coordination and then the pooling of efforts in the interests of a political settlement of painful problems so as, in parallel, on that basis to at least take the edge off the military confrontation in various parts of Asia and stabilise the situation there." The efforts to turn the Pacific Ocean into someone's "inland lake" will be resisted not only by the USSR but by dozens of the littoral and island states.

SDI-INSANE POLITICAL THINKING IN THE NUCLEAR AND SPACE ERA

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terests of the whole world community, they insistently demand that all should learn to act on the international scene with tact and discretion, and live in a civilised way, that is, in the conditions of correct international intercourse and cooperation. This means that everybody should understand that not only nuclear war but also preparations for it, that is, the arms race, and the striving for military superiority can, objectively speaking, bring political benefits to no one.

THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF MILITARISING LATIN AMERICA

P. YAKOVLEV

The situation in Latin America is becoming increasingly tense: new foreign military bases and facilities have cropped up, hot spots have appeared, and the arms race has been stepped up there. The United States goes out of its way to get the Latin American countries involved in its military preparations, seeking their collaboration in the notorious "strategic defense initiative".

Imperialism provokes tensions among some countries on the continent, intimidates them with a non-existent "Communist threat", and encourages their militarisation. Enormous funds, so needed for overcoming the economic difficulties confronting Latin American countries, are wasted on military preparations. Unemployment, inflation, and decline of the living standards are the ever-present concomitants of the arms race in Latin America.

In the 1980s, power politics, including direct armed interference, are again given priority in the course pursued by US imperialism with regard to Latin American countries. As was once noted by Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, Colombia's former Minister of Foreign Affairs and a well-known scholar and journalist, "the policy of the Reagan Administration spells regression for Latin America and is the harshest version of the Monroe Doctrine."¹

The toughening of the policies pursued by imperialism with regard to Latin American countries, being part of its course of confrontation on the international scene, has been "justified" in ideological terms in a number of documents, as, for example, in the Santa Fe document and the report of the Kissinger Commission on Latin America, and also in numerous speeches and statements by the US President and Vice President, by US Secretaries of State, US representatives in the United Nations and other high-ranking Washington officials. The analysis of the upswing of political rhetoric and of the pseudo-scientific studies prompts the conclusion that the propaganda backing of the USA's Latin American course is based on two main postulates.

First, Latin America is declared to be a "battlefield" between the East and the West, while the liberation movement in Latin American countries is labelled "international terrorism" and the result of "communist subversive activities". In this way Washington attempts to divert public attention from its own neocolonialist and interventionist plottings on the continent. Second, the USA claims to have a "right" to dictate its will to sovereign states, to wage undeclared wars and launch overt and covert sabotage against them, that is, briefly speaking, to pursue a policy of state terrorism.

¹ *Relaciones internacionales en la Cuenca del Caribe y la política de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1982, p. 85.

This approach has been manifest in more specific terms in the concepts of "new globalism" and "low intensity warfares", which the USA is going to continue to use as a pretext for interfering in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries. This was stated quite clearly by US Secretary of State George Shultz in a speech at the National Defense University in Washington in January this year. "To combat terrorism", he said (meaning the liberation movement—*P. Ya.*), "we have created the Delta Forces; we have created the Special Operations Forces for a multitude of tasks; the Army is forming new light divisions; the Marines are developing new capabilities; the Air Force and Army are developing new concepts and doctrines. The courage and skill of our armed forces have been proven time and again—most recently in Grenada"....

The Secretary of State mentioned the October 1983 invasion of Grenada because it is namely in the Caribbean that the interventionist policy of imperialism in the 1980s was most clearly manifest.

Having declared that "important US security interests are at stake" in the Caribbean,² Washington set out to expand its military presence in that region. Already from August through October, 1981, naval exercises, the largest in the postwar period, were held in the Caribbean Sea. Washington had involved the naval forces of a number of NATO member states and Latin American countries in the exercises. All in all, 120,000 men and officers, 250 ships and 1,000 aircraft took part in the exercises during which troop landing on an island similar in many ways to Grenada was practiced. This was, in fact, a dress rehearsal for the disgraceful imperialist intervention in Grenada. Since then US military exercises in the Caribbean practically never ceased.

At present the USA has there 5 naval and 2 air-force bases, 7 bases for the land forces and 7 other military facilities, all of which are constantly improved and modernised. Thus, about \$50 million have been set aside for expanding such facilities in Puerto Rico, with a major US naval base, Roosevelt Roads, being there³.

Imperialism has created a most dangerous seat of international tensions in Central America where the USA is waging an "undeclared war" against revolutionary Nicaragua with the hands of mercenaries. Besides, the Pentagon is preparing US troops, too, for combat actions in Central America. In 1982-1985, over 72,000 US servicemen took part in the exercises in the territory of Honduras.⁴ Washington is using every means available for pressurising the Sandinista government: trade and economic blockade, political pressure, attempts at diplomatic isolation, and "psychological warfare".

Getting ready for armed action against Nicaragua, the USA does its utmost to internationalise its aggression in Central America so that the Pentagon's actions look "multinational". To that end, it announced a resumption of the activities of the Central American Defense Council on October 1, 1983. It was set up in 1963 and actually ceased to exist after the "football war" between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969. The Council has been resurrected under the US aegis, to include Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Panama. Already at its first meeting in November 1983 the question of joint actions against Nicaragua was raised.⁵

Imperialism has not given up the idea of forming so-called inter-American forces. In December 1985 this proposal of the Pentagon was again debated during the Brazilian visit of John March, a high-ranking official of the US Department of Defense. According to the Brazilian press, the

² *The Department of State Bulletin*, May 1981, p. 71.

³ *NACLA Report on the Americas*, New York, 1985, Vol. XIX, No. 4, pp. 31-32.

⁴ *Barricada*, Managua, Jan. 8, 1986.

⁵ See *International Herald Tribune*, Nov. 12-13, 1983.

purpose of forming "inter-American forces" is to provide an international "cover-up for US military actions in Central America"⁶—a method used quite often by imperialism. Interventionist actions against the Dominican Republic and Grenada were launched under similar slogans.

The situation in the South Atlantic remains tense, though about four years have elapsed since the end of the war between Argentina and Great Britain over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. The USA, it should be recalled, rendered Britain every type of support during the conflict. "The British operation to recapture the Falklands in 1982 could not have been mounted, let alone won, without American help", admitted the well-informed London weekly *Economist*.⁷ Therefore the war in the South Atlantic was an operation effected by the joint forces of imperialism. The West, with the USA at the lead, decided to teach Latin America "a lesson" and to intimidate the countries of the continent.

Large-scale public outcry in Latin America has been set off by the militarisation of the Malvinas. Foreign press reports say Britain is turning the islands into a huge military base which it plans to equip with nuclear warhead missiles.

The Malvinas militarisation projects are part of imperialism's efforts to step up its military presence in Latin America. This is seen from the US intention to build an air-force base on Chile's Easter Island. According to the foreign press, the Pentagon plans to use that base also as a landing ground for US multi-launch spacecraft, that is, for the preparatory stage in the implementation of the "star wars" programme. These matters were discussed with the Chilean authorities in May 1985 by Nestor Sanchez, formerly a top-ranking CIA official and now Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense. The talks resulted in an agreement on modernising the landing strip at the Mataverí aerodrome and expanding the seaport on the island. In the opinion of the Mexican *Visión* magazine, the equipment the Pentagon is going to install on the Easter Island is capable, among other things, of correcting the flight trajectory of missiles launched from US nuclear-powered submarines.⁸ The Peruvian *Caretas* magazine says the island's militarisation is planned by the USA to make up for the difficulties caused by New Zealand's decision to bar ships armed with nuclear weapons from its ports.⁹

Thus, a series of extremely dangerous imperialist plans are being carried out in Latin America. The countries of the continent, which was proclaimed a nuclear-free zone under the Treaty of Tlatelolco, are planned to be drawn into the arms race and be squeezed in a grip of military bases, so becoming targets of nuclear strikes.

Imperialism, said Lenin, leads to "further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones".¹⁰ What is going on in Latin America today bears out these words. Pursuing an aggressive policy with regard to the states on the continent, imperialism is at the same time drawing them into the arms race. In many Latin American countries military budgets have swollen, and there has been a rapid expansion of arms purchases abroad. Up-to-date and costly arms are preferred and a number of the countries negotiate the development or acquisition of nuclear arms.

In the 1970-1982 period alone the total military spending in Latin American countries (calculated in terms of constant prices) have gone up

⁶ *Folha de São Paulo*, Dec. 22, 1985.

⁷ *The Economist*, March 3, 1984, p. 23.

⁸ See *Visión*, Vol. 65, No. 2, 1985, p. 18.

⁹ See *Caretas*, No. 852, May 27, 1985, p. 21.

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 82.

from \$5,000 million to \$20,000 million, that is, have quadrupled, and the purchases of heavy arms have shot up sevenfold—from \$154 million to \$1,076 million.¹¹ A number of Latin American countries are developing military production of their own, building their own small military-industrial complexes. Thus, Brazil became one of the biggest arms exporters during the rule of the military regime there. In 1984 it sold arms to the tune of \$3,000 million. But it is the Pinochet regime that is the most zealous arms dealer. The Chileans signed contracts for arms deliveries to a large number of Arab and Southeast Asian countries at the arms fair in Amman early in 1984. In October that year Chilean firms participated in the arms exhibition in Washington and offered for sale, among other things, armoured vehicles and cluster bombs used in the Iran-Iraq war and also against the patriots of El Salvador.¹²

The military-industrial complex of imperialism has played a decisive role in the building and expansion of Latin American military industry. Therefore most of the military hardware is manufactured in Latin America either under foreign licences or in cooperation with Western firms. In the situation of international tensions the Western monopolies find it a lot easier to sell new and costly weapon systems to Latin American countries. The arms barons of the USA and some other Western countries, for instance, have signed big contracts for arms deliveries to Venezuela, a country which has never in its history waged a war against its neighbours. Among the deals made at the time was an agreement on purchasing 24 of the latest US-built F-16 fighter-bombers.

By dragging the Latin-American countries in the arms race the imperialist states pursue far-reaching political and strategic goals. In this way they seek to bind Latin America closer to the West and increase their influence on the military who played, and still do, a major, and sometimes decisive, role in the political activities in many Latin American states. In all appearances, the USA is not going to abandon the practice of using the services of the local reactionary military in the struggle against the liberation movements in Latin America. And, last, but not least, by expanding the arms supplies to that region of the world, anti-popular dictatorial regimes being among the recipients, Washington is trying to keep its puppets in power. By building up tensions and provoking an arms race, the USA hopes to force socialist Cuba, revolutionary Nicaragua and other freedom-loving countries to divert big funds from economic development and spend them on defence to ensure their security. In this way imperialism expects to slow down progressive social and economic transformations in Latin America.

One of the worst consequences of drawing Latin American countries in the arms race is that the political situation on the continent is being destabilised and the national, regional and world security is being undermined. Their participation in the arms race gives rise to difficulties in relations among the Latin American countries, aggravates the disputes among them and diverts immense manpower resources, above all, skilled labour of which there is an acute shortage in many Latin American countries: from 1978 to 1983 the number of servicemen in the region increased by 180,000, to reach the 1.3-million mark.¹³

Militarisation has not helped to solve the unemployment problem in Latin America. The military industries, requiring greater inputs than the civilian ones, offer far less opportunities for increasing employment.

Besides, by spending heavily on the manufacture and purchase of arms, the countries in the region in fact finance the arms race taking

¹¹ *World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook 1983*, pp. 161, 290-291.

¹² See *Defensa, Madrid*, No. 71, March 1984, p. 74; *Cono Sur, Santiago*, Vol. II, No. 5, 1984, p. 19.

¹³ *Visión*, Vol. 64, No. 10, 1985, pp. 7, 8.

place in the centres of imperialism by paying back billions upon billions of dollars annually to acquit themselves of foreign debts. According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, the countries in the region lost over \$105,000 million in 1983-1985 in profits and interest on foreign loans, more than the cost of all their annual export.¹⁴ The arms race, in turn, causes the growth of Latin America's foreign debt. For example, about 20 per cent of Argentina's foreign debt—\$50,000 million by the end of 1985—had accumulated due to the policy of rapidly increasing military spending (from \$3,900 million in 1980 to \$8,800 million in 1982), which had been pursued by the reactionary military regime that ruled the country until 1983.

"The pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development," said the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986. "The noose of the trillion-dollar foreign debt, which is now strangling dozens of countries and entire continents, is a direct consequence of the arms race. Over \$250,000 million annually siphoned out of the developing countries is the amount practically equal to the size of the mammoth US military budget. Indeed, this coincidence is far from accidental."¹⁵

Numerous facts and the world developments of recent years have furnished convincing proof that the Latin American countries cannot put an end to backwardness and solve their most acute social problems, including the foreign debt problem, unless the arms race is stopped.

The peoples of Latin America, increasingly aware of the danger of militarisation, are stepping up their actions for peace and disarmament. The anti-war movement in Latin America is led by the working class and its Communist parties and progressive organisations. The advanced working class of Latin America demonstrates growing independence in international politics and, to quote Karl Marx frequently acts "as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war."¹⁶

Latin American Communists regard the struggle for peace and against the war menace as their top priority and are constantly building up their efforts to that end. The Argentine Communists have come out for an active policy of peace and detente, for ending the arms race and effecting disarmament. The United Socialist Party of Mexico has stressed the need for stepping up the campaign for reaching an agreement on limiting nuclear arms, disbanding military blocs and making progress towards complete prohibition of nuclear arms, towards complete and universal disarmament. The Colombian Communists stress that a world war can be prevented if all the peace forces become united and if due backing is given to the policy of peace pursued by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.¹⁷

The consultative meeting of representatives of Communist, Workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and organisations of the Caribbean, held in August 1985 in Georgetown, Guyana's capital, examined the in-

¹⁴ *Notas sobre la economía y el desarrollo*, CEPAL, Santiago, December 1985, No. 424/425, p. 16.

¹⁵ *Pravda*, Jan. 16, 1986.

¹⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 157.

¹⁷ See *Platforma nacional del Partido Comunista*, Buenos Aires, 1983, p. 29; *Así es*, Mexico, Aug. 19, 1983, p. 9; *Punto de vista*, Bogotá, No. 15, 1984, pp. 3-4.

ternational situation and adopted a joint declaration denouncing Washington's militaristic course, specifically the "star wars" programme, and sharply attacked the aggressive actions of the imperialists against Cuba, Nicaragua and other Latin American countries.

The peace struggle in Latin America today has been joined not only by the revolutionary forces but also by the public at large, by members of different political trends, and by major statesmen. National peace organisations, such as the Cuban Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of the Peoples, the Venezuelan Peace and Human Rights Council, the Bolivian Peace and Democracy Committee, the Argentine, Brazilian, and Colombian peace councils, and other peace organisations, which are so numerous in Latin America, have stepped up their activities of late. Large international meetings of peace fighters become ever more frequent in the region. For instance, the International Conference on Latin America and its Role in Preventing a Nuclear War, attended by delegates from 50 countries, was held in Buenos Aires under the aegis of the World Peace Council in September 1985. The delegates at the Conference spoke of the relationship between the peace movement and the struggle carried on by the peoples of Latin America and other developing nations against imperialist oppression, for the solution of pressing social and economic problems, and unanimously pointed out that the US ruling elite was to blame for continuing the extremely dangerous nuclear and other arms race.¹⁸

A clear indication of the growth of the antiwar movement in Latin America and of the emergence of new forms of the peace struggle was the Appeal of One Hundred In the Name of Life issued in Argentina in 1984. "We," says the Appeal written by outstanding Argentine politicians, public figures, scientists and people of the artistic world, "believe it to be the duty of leaders, public figures and politicians, labour movement leaders, workers in the field of culture and intellectuals in general to lead the common struggle for a nuclear-free world. Time must not be wasted now. The future of civilisation and the life of humankind are at stake. Let us combine our apprehensions and concerns, and our desire for life and the wish to see our children alive."¹⁹

The Appeal of One Hundred was signed by over 1.5 million Argentines within less than a year, after which it was handed over to the UN Secretary-General. In 1985 a petition campaign for this appeal spilled over to Brazil and Uruguay where it was signed by hundreds of thousands of people.

The peace march in Central America, held from December 1985 to January 1986 and in which 300 representatives from 25 countries of America and Europe took part, caused wide repercussions not only in Latin America but all across the world. It demonstrated the firm determination of the antiwar forces to work for the settlement of the Central American conflict by peaceful means and to prevent direct US armed intervention against Nicaragua. The defence of revolutionary Nicaragua has become a number one task for all the peace forces on the continent.

The situation in Latin America is still influenced considerably by the Tlatelolco Treaty, the 20th anniversary of which will be marked next year. The treaty has always played, no doubt, a positive role in keeping the region nuclear-free, and has become a major element of the world movement for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, since incessant attempts by imperialist states are being made to violate the provisions of the treaty, the peace-loving Latin American public and many statesmen insist on its strict observance.

¹⁸ See *Que pasa*, Buenos Aires, Sept. 11, 1985.

¹⁹ *Llamamiento de los 100 para seguir viviendo*, Buenos Aires, 1984.

The anti-war public movement has a growing impact on the positions of Latin American governments, many of which have been stressing, more frequently in recent years, the need to pursue a policy of peace and disarmament. In particular, peace actions of the Group of Six, in which President of Argentina Raul Alfonsín and President of Mexico Miguel de la Madrid are taking part have become widely known.

The Contadora Group comprising Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama staunchly supports a peaceful settlement in Central America. In 1985, Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay set up a "support group" to the Contadora process. The foreign ministers of the above-mentioned eight countries met with US Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington in February this year. Again they spoke for a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict, including a cessation of US military interference. No constructive understanding was reached, however, because of the US representative's obstructionist posture.

The proposal on signing a regional agreement for cutting back military spending, put forward by Peruvian President Alan García last summer, evoked wide interest among the public and politicians of Latin America. To set an example for other Latin American countries, the Peruvian leader announced his government's decision to unilaterally reduce arms purchases.²⁰

The growth of the antiwar movement in Latin America is facilitated by the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The Latin American people and official quarters in the region's countries closely follow the Soviet peace initiatives and increasingly support them. For instance, Jose Fragelli, Chairman of the National Congress of Brazil, commenting on the Soviet programme of eliminating nuclear weapons in the entire world by the year 2000, said: "This is a remarkable initiative reflecting the dynamic character of the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union." "The 27th Congress of the CPSU," wrote the *Guyana Chronicle*, "has again demonstrated that socialism and peace, peace and creative endeavour are indivisible and that the chief purpose of Soviet policy, as before, is to achieve reliable and fair peace for all nations."

The official visits in 1985 and 1986 to the USSR by the foreign ministers of Brazil and Argentina, the two largest Latin American countries, showed that the views of our states on today's main issues were close or coincided. The Soviet-Argentine Communiqué on the results of the Soviet visit by Dante Mario Caputo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion of the Argentine Republic, stressed in particular: "The Ministers have expressed a firm belief that in the present international situation, complex as it is, all states, big, medium or small, display responsibility and exert great efforts to really improve the international climate and prevent a nuclear war. Effective measures must be taken to limit and reduce arms and to effect disarmament."

In other words, both the population and members of the ruling circles in Latin America are aware that the arms race and militarism are incompatible with the vital interests of their countries, for they cause a lowering of the living standards and encourage attempts to install terrorist-type dictatorship and eliminate democracy.

Having taken in the beginning of the 1980s the course of rapidly building up the military muscle, expanding their military presence in

(Continued on page 121)

²⁰ *Caretas*, Oct. 7, 1985, pp. 44-45.

STRUGGLE FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

V. D M I T R I Y E V

Eva Nordland, a well-known activist of the Norwegian antiwar movement, has recently stated that today the peoples of Northern Europe keep wondering what they can do in their own countries, how those living in the North can help alleviate tensions; and what they as electors can demand from their politicians since the latter, being representatives of the people, hold sway over those countries.¹ According to Nordland, the answer to the above questions should be a demand to contractually formalise a nuclear-free zone embracing the countries in the northern part of the European continent.

The discussions which have flared up around that proposal in the countries of the region have resulted in a common understanding that the formalisation of the denuclearised status of Northern Europe in a treaty and legal form should include both an undertaking of the countries participating in the zone not to produce, acquire or deploy nuclear arms and a guarantee on the part of the nuclear powers to respect and not to violate the status of the zone and to refrain from the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the countries indigenous to the zone, irrespective of their belonging to military blocs.

The current broad scope of the actions undertaken by the public forces within the region in favour of the nuclear-free status of Northern Europe is undoubtedly linked with the recent aggravation of confrontational trends in the policies of Washington and its closest NATO allies, the trends which pose a direct threat to the stability and security of the Nordic countries. It is no secret that in the militarist plans of the United States and NATO Northern Europe is viewed above all as a military and strategic advance post adjoining important defence areas of the Soviet Union. In particular, construction and modernisation of US and NATO heavy weapons storage facilities, air fields, harbours, and electronic reconnaissance and tracking stations are under way in the territories of Denmark and Norway, with NATO military exercises held there becoming a regular fixture of their life. According to foreign analysts, those and other forms of expanded cooperation between Denmark and Norway, on the one hand, and the USA and NATO, on the other, result in a gradual erosion of the former's "bases" and "nuclear" policies (in joining NATO, the governments of those countries are known to have won reservations to the effect that they renounce the deployment of foreign troops and nuclear weapons in their territories in peacetime).

This circumstance is highlighted, in particular, in an article authored by William Arkin and Richard Fieldhouse from the US Institute for Policy Studies. While stressing the significance for the United States of the nuclear infrastructure facilities being constructed by the Pentagon in Denmark

and Norway and serving the global network of the US strategic forces, the scholars indicate that the well-known "bases" and "nuclear" policies of the two states are thereby infringed upon. Besides, the article draws attention to the addition of Iceland, in accordance with American plan, to those countries in which nuclear weapons would be fielded in the event of an international military and political crisis.²

Such trends in the evolution of the strategic situation in Northern Europe, exacerbated by the deployment of new US Pershings and cruise missiles in some West European states, the missiles whose flight paths to the targets in the Soviet Union lie over the territories of Nordic countries, are causing well justified anxiety among sober-minded political and public quarters in those countries. Hence, their persistent efforts to hammer out regional security concepts that would permit to save the region from dangerous consequences of the nuclear arms race.

Notable in this connection is that as far back as 1978 Finland's President Urho Kekkonen linked the necessity to activate discussions on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe with the growth of the threat evoked by American plans to produce neutron weapons and the appearance of American cruise missiles on the European continent. Speaking in May, 1978 at the Foreign Policy Institute in Stockholm, he noted that "under conditions when disarmament negotiations are stalled and the development of military technology increases the danger of a nuclear conflict in Northern Europe, the Nordic countries should, in their own interests, begin, between themselves and together with other countries, negotiations with corresponding powers on arms control. Their goal would be the creation of a separate stipulated system for isolating to the highest degree the Nordic countries as a whole from the influence of the nuclear strategy, in particular from new nuclear military technology. Paavo Väyrynen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland, stated in November 1983, that "the threat related to the stationing of cruise missiles in Europe adds to the significance of a denuclearised zone in the European North."

New Soviet initiatives aimed at solidifying international security and translating the concept of a denuclearised world into reality elicit broad support of the peace-loving democratic quarters in Northern Europe. North European political and social figures directly link the announcement made by the leaders of the USSR and the USA at the Geneva meeting on the inadmissibility of nuclear war and on renouncing military superiority with the necessity of taking actions directed at barring nuclear weapons from the North European region. In particular, former Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden, in addressing the conference of the Swedish Peace Forum of the Workers' Movement held in December 1985, emphasised that "in a situation in which the leaders of the two great powers state that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and that there can be no winners therein, it is only natural for all people throughout the world to declare that they do not wish to have nuclear weapons either... While the leaders of the USSR and the USA have agreed that nuclear weapons cannot be used from the military viewpoint, we could probably come to a unanimous opinion as to how to shield our region from those weapons of mass destruction."

As the most all-embracing mass form of the socio-political movement for peace in the North European countries, the struggle for establishing a nuclear-free zone there has drawn in the broadest strata of general public, involving representatives of the most diverse political trends: Communists,

² See *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June-July, 1985.

Social Democrats, and sober-minded representatives of bourgeois parties. The activity of women's and youth organisations and of trade unions has noticeably risen in pitch. The actions in favour of Northern Europe's denuclearised status have also attracted a number of churchmen and numerous groups of peace champions formed on a professional basis (physicians, engineers, actors, teachers, etc.).

In fighting for a nuclear-free North, the leaders of major organisations of peace champions within the countries of the region see their most immediate task in uniting and coordinating the actions of the forces of peace and thus creating a powerful public movement, whose demands the parliament of any Scandinavian state would not be in a position to ignore. Working along these lines, the antiwar forces of Northern Europe have equipped themselves with various forms and methods of action such as mass manifestations, signature collection campaigns related to various appeals, seminars and conferences, petitions to the parliaments, and so on.

Judging by the public opinion polls, the denuclearisation proposal has to date won support of the overwhelming majority of the population in the Nordic countries. The movement for declaring nuclear-free zones in towns and individual regions of the North European countries has acquired a truly broad dimension.

Over a relatively short span of time, the antiwar forces of Northern Europe have managed to go from separate, nationally restricted actions to major moves on a regional scale. Their search for a realistic solution to the denuclearisation issue is known for its carefully considered and balanced approach, taking into account both the international situation as a whole and ways to ensure national security of individual Northern countries.

The peoples inhabiting that part of the European continent impressively raised their voice in favour of a nuclear-free zone in April 1985 when a People's Riksdag (Parliament) of the Nordic countries for peace, disarmament and development was convened in Sweden, gathering together representatives of major public organisations of the Scandinavian states. The forum took a unanimous stand for establishing a denuclearised zone in the North of Europe. According to its resolution, such a zone would be a very important confidence-building measure that would alleviate the threat for the security of the respective countries arising from the huge piles of nuclear weapons accumulated in the world.

As has been stressed by the participants in the forum, the North free of nuclear weapons above all means opening up a road leading to a nuclear-free Europe. The North European peace initiative is consonant with other similar initiatives advanced on our continent, for example, with the proposal concerning the denuclearised Balkans and the plans for establishing a corridor free of theatre nuclear weapons in Central Europe.

Having declared that the nuclear-free zone in the European North could be viewed as the region's most important contribution to the efforts at establishing a denuclearised world, the delegates to the People's Riksdag called upon their governments to take necessary measures to thoroughly examine the issue of the zone and to move over to specific talks on related matters and consultations concerning guarantees as to its nuclear-free status. The delegates to the forum called upon all public organisations further to intensify efforts with a view to transforming Northern Europe into a denuclearised zone.³

An increasingly organised and mass character of the actions undertaken by the peace-loving Nordic public, naturally, focuses the attention of the politicians in their countries on the question of establishing a nuclear-free zone. It stands to reason that the impact of the antiwar movement on the parliaments and governments of the Nordic states or, more exactly, the

³ See *Uttalande från Nordiska Folkriksdagen*.

mutual influence of those forces varies in each of those countries. It is quite understandable, for instance, that the peace-loving public in Finland supports the consistent foreign policy of its government, aimed at maintaining peace and consolidating the process of detente. A major direction within the framework of that policy is practical assistance to translating into life the idea of a denuclearised Northern Europe.

In their actions, the Swedish peace champions lean on the decision taken by the Riksdag which approved in June 1981 the recommendation to the Swedish government to maintain close contacts with the governments of other Nordic countries with a view to identifying possibilities of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the region as a phase in creating a nuclear-free Europe.⁴ A substantial impetus to the antiwar actions in Sweden was imparted by the vigorous foreign-policy moves in recent years by the Social-Democratic government in the sphere of disarmament and as a result of its statements in favour of creating a nuclear-free zone.

Not only does the Swedish social-democratic government provide moral support to various actions in defence of peace but it also renders considerable material aid to the antiwar organisations (for instance, this year it will amount to over 10 million kronor).

Different conditions for a broad public movement in favour of the nuclear-free zone have been evolving in the three Nordic countries—members of NATO, i. e. Norway, Denmark and Iceland, in which the positions of the right-wing conservative quarters, which perceive a threat to the militarist plans of the Atlantic bloc in any legal and contractual formalisation of the denuclearised status of the North European region, are still quite strong. In those countries, the growth of the antiwar movement has been going hand in hand with the sophisticated brainwashing campaign launched by the bourgeois mass media to influence their public opinion.

While declaring the issue of a denuclearised zone unfeasible, they have, in particular, called for considering that possibility only within "a broader European context". In the face of a vigorous attack by the forces of peace, the adherents of the NATO strategy of "nuclear deterrence" have tried cruelly to blackmail the peace champions. While charging them with "betraying national interests", they have alleged that the establishment of a nuclear-free zone would ostensibly jeopardise the very membership of Norway, Denmark and Iceland in NATO.

Yet, the pro-NATO forces have failed to paralise, by threats and blackmail, the antiwar movement in those countries, whose participants have strongly rebuffed them. For their part, the movement's leaders have noted that in their activities undertaken on all levels in order to turn the North into a nuclear-free zone they do not raise the issue of Denmark's or Norway's membership in NATO.⁵ Rejecting all the accusations of wishing to jeopardise Denmark's continued presence in the North Atlantic alliance, the Danish peace champions, in the words of L.-B. Nilsen, a leader of the Social Democrats Against Atomic Weapons and Militarism, have set themselves the task to "terminate Denmark's participation in the NATO nuclear planning and review the agreements on inter-ally commitments so as to prevent the appearance of nuclear weapons on the Danish territory under any circumstances."⁶

While the conservative parties of Denmark and Norway use every pretext to shy away from advancing the denuclearisation idea, Social Democrats in those countries, influenced by the mass public actions and taking account of the realities emerging in the North, have, in the long run, actively joined the movement for the practical realisation of that proposal. In

⁴ See *UD informerar En kärnvapenfri zon i Norden*, Stockholm, 1984.

⁵ See *Fred & Solidaritet*, No. 3, 1985, p. 6.

⁶ *Fredsavisen*, No. 1, 1984.

particular, the programme of the Norwegian Labour Party has been adjusted with regard to that problem. The Danish Social Democrats have come out against stationing nuclear weapons in the country both in peacetime and in the times of war or in a crisis situation.

Referring to the issue of a nuclear-free zone, the chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, Anker Jorgensen, stated in his interview to the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* that what was involved there was a "specific confidence-building measure designed to strengthen peace and security. The zone guaranteed by the great powers would be a major step towards building security, deepening detente and improving East-West understanding. The zone would mean a possibility to hold off threatening developments in the world beyond the borders of the North and would serve as an example designed to bolster global security."⁷

Because the Danish Social Democrats have moved over to the positions of all-round support for the proposal to make the North nuclear-free and due to the increase in the Danish parliament of the proposal's advocates from other political parties important political decisions have been taken which found their reflection in the resolution adopted by the Folketing in 1984. The resolutions, in particular, make it incumbent on the Danish government to come out in favour of freezing nuclear arsenals and establishing a zone free of nuclear weapons in the North of Europe.

Social Democrats who traditionally play a prominent part in domestic and foreign policies of the North European countries as well as the movement of peace champions in the region strive to coordinate and harmonise their actions in the interest of implementing the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. In April 1981, the social democratic parties and major trade union associations of the North European countries in principle agreed with the proposal providing for the formalisation of the region's nuclear-free status in a treaty and legal form.⁸ The process of involving Social Democrats more actively in the peace movement has also begun approximately at that time. In an attempt not to lose contact with broad strata of the peace-loving public, the Social Democrats, for their part, count on influencing them in the spirit of foreign policy guidelines of the social-democratic parties.

It is also symbolic that a number of organisations and associations coming out in favour of stronger peace but sticking to their own specific positions have been set up under the auspices of the social-democratic parties and trade unions, inter alia, the Peace Forum of the Worker's Movement in Sweden, the International Center of the Labour Movement in Denmark, and the Peace Union in Finland which has become noticeably more active. Through similar alliances Social Democrats have established cooperation with democratic social organisations in countries of this region.

Recently, their desire to take initiative in carrying out some actions and to coordinate efforts with a view to turning the North into a zone free of nuclear weapons has been manifesting itself ever more graphically. In particular, Anker Jorgensen, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, took the initiative of convening the conference of peace champions of the Nordic countries in favour of the idea of a nuclear-free zone, which was held in Copenhagen in November 1984, while a leading role in preparing the meeting was played by the participants in the Swedish Peace Forum of the Workers' Movement, who joined the ad hoc working group comprising activists from the public organisations of the Nordic countries.

The leader of the Danish Social Democrats also took the initiative of convening a conference of the parliamentarians of the countries of Nor-

⁷ *Dagens Nyheter*, Nov. 24, 1985.

⁸ See O. Groth, G. Lassinantti, *Nordkalotten—en granslös utmaning*, Lulea, 1985, p. 136.

thern Europe on the question of a nuclear-free zone, which was held in Copenhagen in November 1985. The conference, which drew together 105 parliamentarians from Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden and Iceland representing 45 parties of different political leanings, reflected the growing popularity of the broad campaign for a nuclear-free zone, launched by the North European public.

The statements by the participants in the conference vividly demonstrated that, in expressing the will of their electors, the parliamentarians of the North European countries in their majority were supportive of the idea of the zone and were willing, according to *Dagens Nyheter*, to "undertake more vigorous joint actions to comprehensively examine and elaborate necessary preparatory measures". This was attested to by the joint appeal of the representatives of the social democratic parties, who called for setting up an interparliamentarian working group and a North European group on the governmental level, called upon to jointly tackle the issues related to the establishment of the zone.⁹

Having positively assessed the outcome of the Copenhagen conference, the leaders of major antiwar organisations of the Northern countries noted that even Conservative parliamentarians from the NATO countries of the region dared not openly to oppose the proposal related to the zone. According to the widespread view held by the local peace-loving quarters, the Copenhagen meeting of the parliamentarians has imparted a considerable impetus to the movement for making Northern Europe a zone free of nuclear weapons. Yet, it is also acknowledged that the road to establishing a nuclear-free zone is not easy and that it requires overcoming many difficulties and artificial pileups and logjams.

Given political will, realism in thinking, and a responsible approach to the destinies of the world, the governments and legislators of the North European countries, called upon to fulfill the aspirations of their electors, could probably in the near future undertake specific moves with a view to translating into reality the idea of a nuclear-free zone. In all likelihood, this is precisely the approach on the part of North European politicians and statesmen that Prime Minister of Finland Kalevi Sorsa had in mind when in his interview to the Swedish telegraph agency TT in December 1985 he expressed a hope that such a zone would be established in the 1990s.

An important stimulus to fighting for the establishment of the zone is provided by the position of principle held by the Soviet Union which not only declares its support for the idea but also is ready to grant appropriate guarantees. In particular, this country is willing to consider the issue of taking certain measures, and quite substantial at that, with regard to its own territory adjoining the zone, which could help strengthen the latter's nuclear-free status. The USSR would also be ready to discuss with the parties concerned the question of giving a nuclear-free status to the Baltic Sea area as well. Moreover, the Soviet Union does not make those moves contingent on the Western powers' positive attitude to the nuclear-free zone although the significance of establishing the zone for all its participants would certainly be greater if the NATO nuclear powers also assumed similar obligations.

On April 8th of this year the Warsaw Treaty states published an Appeal to the European states, the USA and Canada to create nuclear-free zones in Europe. Proceeding from the necessity of freeing Europe from the nuclear threat, working for completely eliminating nuclear weapons from peoples' lives, taking into consideration the experience accumulated in the area of

creating nuclear-free zones as well as the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and striving to develop the all-European process, the Warsaw Treaty states have called on all European states, the USA and Canada to undertake vigorous actions for realising the proposal on creating a zone free of nuclear weapons in the European continent and support the efforts of states calling for its creation, including at relevant international forums.

Having expressed their readiness to take part in an in-depth and concrete debate between the states concerned to promote steps towards creating nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe and in the Balkans, the socialist countries have called as well for commencing talks between states concerned on creating a corridor free of theatre nuclear weapons in the centre of Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty states are convinced that the creation of nuclear-free zones and their effectiveness depend also to a great extent on the attitudes of other states, above all nuclear ones, to such zones. Thus, states possessing nuclear arms should take on the obligation of strictly respecting the status of non-nuclear zones, abstain from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against states included in such zones. The allied socialist countries have announced that the creation of nuclear-free zones on the European continent should become an important step towards ensuring security for the peoples of this continent and ridding Europe of nuclear arms.

Gaining momentum and raising its voice for all to hear, the movement of the peace-loving democratic public of the region for establishing a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe joins the mainstream of powerful antiwar movements of the broadest masses of people on all continents who demand that an end be put to the militarisation of society and to the policies of aggression and war. The struggle for nuclear-free zones, which is being waged in various regions of the world, constitutes a positive development in present-day international life and reflects the longing of the common people for peace, cooperation and detente.

THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF MILITARISING LATIN AMERICA

(Continued from page 114)

Various parts of the world, including Latin America, the imperialist powers have again shown the world that precisely these powers are to blame for the continuing arms race and for drawing developing countries into it. Washington's reliance on strength in world affairs has directly affected Latin America; it has become a source of tensions in the region, causing many negative political, social and economic developments there.

But in Latin America there are powerful public and political forces capable of resisting imperialism's aggressive policies, guarding the national interests in the region, and preserving peace. The future belongs to these forces.

GUARDIANS ON THE POTOMAC

M. B E G L O V, S. B E G L O V

When the world learned about the large-scale Soviet programme for a gradual, stage by stage, elimination of nuclear weapons in the whole world, US Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, could not conceal that he had quite different ideas. In a half-an-hour speech at a press conference he admitted that in the coming months he would be mainly preoccupied with preventing Congress from slashing the Pentagon's budget for the coming fiscal year.

It is commonly known that the huge US war machine influences every aspect of the country's life, its domestic and foreign policies. Those who implement and vindicate these policies have their hands full: fierce rivalry over the lucrative contracts for developing and manufacturing "star wars" weaponry; concern over what influence the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva may have on the prospects for plans to rearm America; and alarm of moderate conservatives in the Establishment over the series of exposure of fraudulent acts committed by military contractors to jack up the prices of the new types of weapons manufactured for the Pentagon.

In recent decades California has been the main seat of the US military-industrial complex's operations. California specialises in the strategic means of warfare, said Josef Wahed, Vice-President of the Wells Fargo Bank.¹ But California began to specialise in something else as well. It became a nursery of the administrative and political elite furthering the interests of the military-industrial complex at every level of power—from local self-administration bodies to the President. The millionaire club in California or "California Incorporated" has created and nurtured the present presidential team.

THE BOSSES ARE JUST THE TIP OF AN ICEBERG

Banks and corporations which control the facilities for the US gigantic arms manufacture are just one component of the US military-industrial complex. Its other components are the bosses, ideologists and administrators. The bosses are just the tip of an iceberg.

The ideologists, or "guardians of faith", are organisations and individuals generating ideas, doctrines and political guidelines. One purpose of their activities is to provide the theoretical basis for the social and economic policies in the country and to further military-strategic interests abroad. The other purpose is to ensure that representatives of big business in Washington strictly adhere to the "new Gospel" of ultra-conservative America.

When in the autumn of 1976 the signboard of the Committee on the Present Danger was put up on the wall of an office building in the heart of

¹ *Der Spiegel*, Nov. 14, 1983. p. 194.

Washington, few people could know then that the first reports attacking the Soviet-American SALT-2 talks and pointing out "vulnerability windows" in the US defence system would be followed by powerful strikes at the entire policy of international detente. Right after the advent of the new Administration, Tyroler, one of the founding fathers of the Committee, boasted that the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the President's National Security Adviser—all of them had once been members of the Committee.

It is these "ideologists" that set out to justify "the thoughts about the unthinkable", that is, the doctrine of the admissibility of nuclear war and the possibility of winning it. Summing up his impressions of the meetings and talks with these people at the start of the incumbent President's term in office, US journalist, Robert Sheer, wrote that he was "struck by this curious gap between the bloodiness of their rhetoric and the apparent absence on their part of any ability to visualise the physical consequences of what they advocate".² The author portrays Eugene Rostow, the founding theorist of the Committee on the Present Danger, who later became the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Richard Perle, the ultra-right hand of the Pentagon chief in matters of providing a political backing for military programmes; Richard Pipes, the ideologist of the "crusade" against communism and of a nuclear war until a victorious end, who worked in the National Security Council.

The "administrators" or "executive coordinators" as they are also called, form the headquarters of the military-industrial complex in Washington. They worm their way into the entire machinery of political power, from the presidential office to ministers and heads of agencies and political peddlers of military programmes in Congress—senators, congressmen of the House of Representatives and numerous lobbyists operating behind the scene.

WHO HAS GREATER LEVERAGE?

While the "administrators" operate in the open, the "ideologists" have control of backstage levers and hidden connections. But this does not mean that the former have greater leverage than the latter. In the widely publicised "battle of two Richards"—Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State in recent past, and Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense, a disciple of the late Henry Jackson, "senator from Boeing", the balance was not always in favour of the man from the State Department. And not least important is that those who try to maintain a balanced approach to problems are vulnerable before ultra-conservative critics.

It is no accident that on the eve of 1986 the State Department leadership instructed one of its high-ranking officials to perform the functions of a permanent representative at the Heritage Foundation, the think tank of the "new right", the movement of right-wing radicals, which grew active in the first half of the 1980s. The radicals demand, with the alleged purpose of improving the conditions of the "middle class", that the political institutions and traditions in the country should be cardinally revised. The purpose of the State Department is obvious enough—to register accurately any changes in the mood of the "ideological surveillance group", know all about its recommendations and instructions and introduce appropriate corrections (more rapidly than this used to be done) in its activities.

The activities of the Heritage Foundation have long commanded a good deal of attention. But we should like to add the following to what is alrea-

² Robert Sheer, *With Enough Shovels. Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*, New York, 1982, p. 120.

dy known about it. Its president, Edwin Feulner, says: "Our role is trying to influence the Washington public policy-making community... most specifically the Hill, secondly, the executive branch, thirdly, the national news media."³ Apart from the guidelines—such as the Mandate for Leadership prepared on the eve of the Republican Administration's advent to power, or Mandate for Leadership 2 drawn up by the time the President was re-elected for the second term—the Heritage Foundation issues comparatively brief memoranda on topical issues. Feulner and his associates publish such memoranda on any subject which may be of interest at present or in the future.

For example, if the US President is preparing for a tour of Asia, the Heritage Foundation has information briefs ready on this region's main countries and on their problems to be immediately distributed among legislators, officials and newsmen. Or if a reputable research institution propounding conservative views has published useful but voluminous work, Feulner's staff immediately produces a digest of it. Burton Pines, Research Director of the Heritage Foundation, once remarked ironically: "We like to write our stuff so even a congressman can understand it."⁴ The Foundation issues up to 150 such briefs a year, that is, about one piece in every two days. It not only publishes them but checks by telephone and personal meetings to see that the most important of them have reached the main congressmen or their aides, or the press. Besides, the Foundation has computerised lists of some 1,000 pro-conservative scientists who are ready at any time to deliver a lecture or provide evidence on some or other issue in congressional committees, or to organise numerous seminars. It has gone so far that Congress requests the Foundation to provide eyewitnesses for its hearings.

THE "NEW RIGHT" ON THE POTOMAC

The Heritage Foundation is, of course, not the only reactionary organisation in the United States working to influence the country's Administration and public opinion. *The Washington Times* recently published a list of over fifty of the largest conservative organisations which, in the opinion of the newspaper, are the backbone of the US "conservative movement". Apart from the Heritage Foundation, the list includes the Centre for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, the Lincoln Institute, the Ethic and Public Policy Centre and the Public Service Research Council, to mention just a few. The newspaper subdivided them into Citizen Action Lobbies, Political Action Committees, Coalition Strategy Groups, Legislative Strategy Groups, Youth Groups, and Legal Groups. Many of the coalitions comprise about fifty smaller organisations.

The scope of their activity can be judged by their names. There are organisations for exerting pressure "from below" or, plainly speaking, large lobbies bribing congressmen, legally and illegally, and "conditioning" members of the Administration; all kinds of conservative headquarters drawing up recommendations for Washington and the country as a whole; "prompter" groups working for Congress; and "think tanks".

All of them are elements of a smoothly running machine and have not only a common ideological basis but are united organisationally and financially. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), one of the few "liberal" organisations which has retained its influence on Washington, said in a recent publication that the conservatives in general, and the "New Right"

³ *The Washington Post*, Oct. 3, 1983.

⁴ *Ibid.*

in particular, are well-organised groups acting "in close concert".⁵ They, in the opinion of the ADA, have created a centralised fund-collecting machinery, support each other financially, pursue a thoroughly coordinated policy and launch political campaigns.

"Information" is prepared not only for use by the Administration and legislators, but above all for dissemination nationwide through the press creating an atmosphere in which it is just unthinkable to make a decision without a right-wing formula. This machinery has been tested out in Washington and has long been operating without a hitch. Widely advertised press conferences on a published report, luncheons and dinners in which key experts participate, are held for "selected journalists" and lectures on policy making—these are only the main lines of their propaganda campaigns to set the stage for adopting decisions on political actions. The rightist centres organise two, three, four and even more actions in Washington practically every day. Such an action must necessarily involve topical issues and at least some of the speakers should make the news, so that the action would be unmistakably covered by the media.

WHO'S WHO ON CAPITOL HILL

Persons who suit the military monopolies occupy key posts in the major government departments, above all the Department of Defense. The well-known economist, John Galbraith, commenting on the way the defence is run in the United States under the present Administration, writes that "the Reagan Administration has abandoned any effort at such control by according major authority on the Defense Department and over the armed services to executives from the weapons firms or recruits from their Washington representatives or lobbyists, now politely called consultants. This is not civilian control but rather incestuous administration of the military-industrial complex by the military-industrial complex for the military-industrial complex".⁶

A large and solidly united nucleus in Congress is made up of persons who are hard to place politically, unless the term "hawk" or "ultra-right" is used. They have been elected with the money of the military-industrial complex in the states where it enjoys support with the sole purpose of furthering its interests. The latest estimates say that almost half of Congress—232 senators and congressmen—belongs to the ultra-rightist Coalition for Peace Through Strength headed by Jack Kemp and Samuel Stratton, both congressmen.

The Coalition for Peace Through Strength is by far not the only ultra-reactionary organisation in which legislators feel quite at home. No less popular with them is the American Conservative Union headed by Republican congressman, Mickey Edwards. A few dozen like-minded congressmen set up the Conservative Opportunity Society headed by Republican Vin Weber and this society sees its main task in combating "liberal tendencies" in the country's domestic policy.

Another 150 congressmen have formed a coalition called the House Republican Study Committee with William Dannemeyer of California as its chairman. A similar role in the Senate is played by the 30-member Senate Steering Committee headed by Jesse Helms. The last three of the above-mentioned organisations are not just a club for like-minded persons. Their purpose is to draw up and push through Congress a conservative agenda, and to see that the conservative issues set by the conservative movement as a whole are solved the conservative way.

One cannot fail to notice that all these activities are possible due to the close ties between the senators and congressmen, on the one hand, and the

⁵ *A Citizen's Guide to the Right Wing*. Americans for Democratic Action, Washington, p. 7.

⁶ *The New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1984.

US military-industrial complex, on the other. "These days in Washington a moderate is someone who has mortgaged himself to only one industry or corporation", wrote *The Washington Post Magazine* on June 8, 1980. "Perhaps it's time that politicians were identified by the special interest they serve, rather than the state or district that elected them. And the Pentagon delegation in Congress would be more numerous than all the representatives from the state of New York."

The delegation from California is the largest in Congress. Most of the Californian senators and members of the House put themselves out, day or night, to prevent an infringement on the interests of the Northrop, Rockwell or General Dynamics, the latter having many legislative supporters in Texas as well. General Dynamics has large businesses in that state. The Ohio delegation cares for the Boeing's interests, and so on.

Many more examples could be cited here. *The Washington Post Magazine* calls John Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Litton Industries' best friend in Congress. Using his post, which enables him to control placing military orders, he does everything in his power to protect the interests of his favourite. John Tower, a senator from Texas, who until recently headed a group of the US delegation at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, entertained a tender affection for General Dynamics.

How effective the activities of these guardians of the interests of the US military monopolies is seen from the fact that every year they invariably approve, after a moment's hesitation, the Pentagon's swelling budgets. But one should not look upon Congress as an agency automatically rubber-stamping requests for greater military spending.

On the one hand, Congress itself has quite often pioneered the manufacture of the latest weapons systems, including nuclear ones. But, as distinct from the President who is elected for a term of four years, the legislators have, more often than not, to reckon with the voters' opinion, especially before off-term elections. This manoeuvring once resulted, for instance, in the adoption by Congress of the Graham-Rudman-Hollings Act on the eve of 1986, to balance the US budget. The heated debate over one more attempt by the Pentagon to receive the largest ever sum for the arms race, a dispute which erupted in Washington soon after that, bared the contradiction between the unreasonably great demands of the powerful war machine and the true needs of the country.

WAR BUSINESS PROMOTERS

To keep the military spending climbing fast and, consequently, to build up arms, the military-industrial complex created an appropriate regulating mechanism—lobbyism. Washington is full of lobbyists like Paris is full of home bakeries, writes *The New York Times*. By some estimates, the paper says, there are at least 30 lobbyists per every member of Congress; they influence government policies in order to further the interests of their clients. The lobbyists employ one and the same method which was well described by David Brinkley, an ABC observer, way back in the early 1970s: "Washington influence is in effect for sale. All it takes is money... If you give enough, Washington's favours can be yours..."⁷

Like most of the foreign embassies situated in a cozy little street in Washington, the lobby offices, with a few dozen former legislators and Pentagon men working in the bigger ones, are concentrated on K-Street, equidistant from the White House, Congress and the Pentagon. The lobby offices, located in the centre of this triangle tend not only to control the Administ-

⁷ Quoted from: Robert Winter-Berger, *The Washington Pay-Off*, New York, 1972, p. 9.

ration's actions that interest them, but actively influence them. Detailed proposals and plans concerning the manufacture of some or other types of weapons are drawn up for corresponding departments precisely in these offices, and it is from there that dollars are pumped into legislators' pockets to win congressional backing for the ideas of military corporations. "Lobbying can be defined as the fourth—and invisible—branch of the United States government", wrote one of the most widely known lobbyists, Robert Winter-Berger, complacently in his book.⁸

In the past lobbyists were occupied mainly with securing only the economic interest of their clients, that is, pushing military contracts through the Pentagon and Congress. But comparatively recently the Political Action Committees became far more active. Most of them are set up under the aegis of the Republican Party in alliance with all ultra-conservative forces, and their services are used by the major corporations of the military-industrial complex to expand their influence in Congress and to guarantee the election to Congress of only those who have proved their worth to the military-industrial complex.

The biggest military contractors financing these committees are McDonnell Douglas, United Technologies, Boeing, General Electric, Lockheed, Hews Aircraft, Rockwell, Rayton, and Martin Marietta, reported the Council for Economic Priorities.

These and other military corporations are in fact trying to secure full control of the entire "democratic process" in the United States—from Congressional elections to the adoption by Congress of "independent" decisions on one or another military programme. The Political Action Committees have succeeded in their shady deeds. Amitai Etzioni, former adviser to President Carter, analysed their activities and arrived at the following conclusion: "Let together evidence shows, those interest groups have penetrated national-security decision-making to the point where independent or professional decision-making... cannot prevail".⁹ It is hardly possible to more precisely define the dangerous interference of the reactionaries and militarists in the elaboration and pursuance of the US expansionist foreign policy.

WHEN AN ULTRA-RIGHTIST DISAGREES WITH A RIGHTIST

Why have the "new rights" built such powerful defences in Washington? Whom are they defending themselves from? From the White House with a man sharing their views sitting there? True, the present Administration has often been the target of their attacks, but their criticism is caused by its not being firm enough in confrontation with the Soviets, or by its "concessions to the liberals" in Congress, or by anything else for that matter. The leaders of the major US ultra-rightist organisations, who met at the Conference for Conservative Political Action held in February 1982 in Washington, did not stint their praise of the White House, but they also criticised it a good deal. The President was chastised, in particular, for the lack of "resolute enough actions" to break the "economic backbone of the Soviet Union". Conferences like that are quite frequent but any criticism of the Administration at them sounds more like a mild reprimand. At any rate, this is the way it is looked upon in the White House. "I think people in the White House understand", said David Gergen, White House communications director at that time, "that the criticism is constructive."¹⁰

In this context one should be aware of the difference between the positions held by the two major executors of the military-political strategy of

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹ Amitai Etzioni, *Capital Corruption. The New Attack on American Democracy*, New York, 1984, p. 102.

¹⁰ *The Washington Post*, Oct. 10, 1983.

the ruling group of US monopoly capital—Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz. Like the President, they had been delegated to Washington by the California Inc.. Both had occupied top posts in the Bechtel corporation which builds military facilities and manufactures nuclear arms.

For Weinberger, with his wealth of experience as a manager, the role of the chief of the US Defense Department is the continuation of the cause which he has on the whole always served. He never loses a chance to stress that it is far more important to him to squeeze out an extra billion dollars for the improvement and expansion of the war machine than to give US diplomacy any opportunity, even an illusory one, for making any progress in reaching an understanding with the Soviet Union. It is obvious also that George Shultz at the head of the State Department cannot act as the corporation's manager. Foreign policy springs from many factors. The key to success in international affairs is not to demand the impossible from one's partners.

To those who advocate the idea of guaranteed survival pragmatism is synonymous with realism. To the "new Apocalypse" fanatics pragmatism means heresy. The "pragmatists", protecting their unblemished conscience, are trying to convince the "dogmatists" that the reaching of understandings is a more practical and safer way of securing military superiority for the USA, provided talks are skilfully used for disarming the Soviet Union only. The "dogmatists" are adamant that no agreement should be reached and that everything should be geared to a "nuclear rearmament" of the United States.

As soon as an understanding was reached on a meeting to be held between the US President and the leader of the Soviet Union, Norman Podhoretz, editor of the *Commentary*, an ultra-conservative journal, and a most zealous guardian of the conservative credo, sounded the alarm. He did not spare the President himself. Reviewing the alarmist posture of Podhoretz, *The Washington Post* wrote on March 12, 1985 that Ronald Reagan's "pure conservatism" had given way to the practical political imperatives of the President.

Five days before the Geneva summit Weinberger sent the President a personal letter warning him that no concessions should be made which could slow down the additional armament of the United States. Still more symptomatic was that the confidential message was made public. The dispute that erupted over the message, mutual reproaches and suspicions of White House officials only showed that the struggle between the "dogmatists" and "pragmatists" did not leave the US Administration uninvolved. A fortnight before that, Senators Sam Nunn and William Cohen stated the fact of a veritable "guerrilla war" going on between those in the Administration who thought that talks with the Russians were useless and those who hoped to derive benefits from the talks.

The first victims of the new round of "guerrilla warfare" were soon to appear. Robert McFarlane was one of them. His retirement from the post of President's National Security Adviser, unexpected to many on the eve of 1986, revealed processes which had not been known to the general public. According to the press, the fate of McFarlane was decided in the autumn of 1983 but urgent political matters prevented the execution of the "sentence" then.

The suspicions did not, of course, extend to Donald Regan, new Chief of Staff of the White House, for he was one of the "President-makers", that is, one of the millionaire-businessmen (Regan is from Merrill Lynch, a major broker company) who backed Ronald Reagan in his power struggle both politically and financially.

The siege of the State Department by the ultra-rightists does not abate. All kinds of rumours circulated by the press more often than not concern

Shultz himself. At the end of last year the papers began to make references to convinced conservatives who demanded Shultz's replacement. The Associated Press stated on December 25, 1985, that "people are upset with Shultz across the board.... Some people fear that he is not in tune ideologically with the President." Among those "some" who fear are, according to the US press, "pure" conservatives like Caspar Weinberger and CIA director William Casey. It is they, reported the ABC television company, who do most of the fighting against the State Secretary.

Satisfied with R. McFarlane's removal, Reagan, to put an end to gossip around the Secretary of State, made a brief statement at the end of this January which was then widely publicised. "The foreign policy that Shultz is enunciating is Reagan's foreign policy", he declared.¹¹ The Secretary of State himself does not miss a chance to lessen his vulnerability to criticism from the extreme right wing. Whenever it concerns US interference in regional conflicts, he acts ostensibly as a "hawk".

And one more thing. The game of ultra-rightists and plain right-wingers plays into the hands of Washington diplomats, who resort to the same old trick: when you do not want to meet the other side halfway, the reason should be that the position of influential persons has to be reckoned with by the President or the Secretary of State.

The Soviet-American summit meeting held in November last year in Geneva set the stage for improving relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and for pooling the efforts of the two great powers and the world community as a whole to guarantee stable international security in the nuclear age. The specific programme to that end, in the first place the phased plan for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the whole world advanced by the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986, was justly regarded in the world as an outstanding Soviet contribution to the accomplishment of this historic task.

While the US leaders confined themselves to general phraseology about an "eternal dream about peace", the militarists in the United States launched a new propaganda campaign to maintain the unrestrained arms build-up. In a classified long-term directive to the armed forces, Caspar Weinberger laid stress on modernising the US nuclear arsenal and implementing the "strategic defence initiative" as US priority programmes. Demanding heavier annual military spending, the Pentagon chief made a rather peculiar attempt to whitewash the US military-industrial complex by saying it would be a "gross mistake" to think that military contractors alone would benefit from the five-year rearmament programme. The American people, he declared, would reap all the benefits of the arms race. Such is the absolute "logic" of militarism.

The influence of the US military-industrial complex has grown to unlimited proportions, expressing all the power of the class egoism of the ruling elite in the capitalist world. But the aggressive policy of imperialism is countered by the growing potential of the peace forces. As for the Soviet leadership, it is prepared, as was declared at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, to do everything in its power to improve the international situation.

¹¹ *Newsweek*, Feb. 3, 1986, p. 17.

WASHINGTON—TEL-AVIV MILITARY ALLIANCE

It is a well-known fact that Israel is the USA's main prop in the Middle East serving Washington and its NATO allies as a base for aggressive operations against the Arab peoples and the national liberation movements. That is why the Americans are not so stingy when extending military aid to Israel. Suffice it to recall that from 1948 to 1985 Israel has received over \$60,000 million from the USA for brigandage and plunder.

The agreement on strategic cooperation signed by the USA and Israel in Washington in 1981 serves the same goal. Both sides expressed unanimity in such matters as staging bilateral sea and air military games in the eastern Mediterranean and readiness to maintain each other's capability, including the USA's right to service and repair American hardware on the territory of Israel, to develop cooperation in R&D and trade in military equipment, etc. Therefore, the strategic cooperation treaty has reinforced the role of Israel as the bridgehead of American imperialism in the region.

In November 1983 Washington and Tel Aviv agreed to expand and consolidate the strategic cooperation. Apart from creating a standing US-Israeli military-political committee, the sides have provided for still closer coordination of the foreign policy of both countries, the supply of US weaponry to Israel, etc. The world press has reported that Tel Aviv is going to acquire Pershing 2 missiles from the USA.

It should be stressed that the present US Administration has radically altered the terms for granting military aid to Tel Aviv: since 1984 it has been granted gratis. As was noted in a *Washington Post* editorial, for the first time, "it [Israel] will not have to pay any of its [US] aid back."

In 1985, Tel Aviv received American military aid to the tune of \$1,800 million, and, to compensate for the inflation in the USA, Washington has recently decided to boost its military aid to Israel by \$100 million bringing it to \$1,900 million this year.

Such American weapons-making monopolies as McDonnell Douglas, General Dynamics, General Electric and others have made a weighty contribution to the creation and modernisation of the Israeli military-industrial complex. The Zionist rulers, on their part, spare no effort to attract foreign capital to the country and grant extensive privileges to foreign investors. Lower wages, compared to the USA, encourage corporations to invest there. As a result production costs of the American investors are only 30 per cent of similar expenses in the United States.

In this way the American war monopolies view the preservation of a mighty Israel as a guarantee of extracting superprofits. And it is the USA which has been supplying its ally with the most sophisticated weapons—Phantoms, Skyhawk and pilotless planes, tanks, helicopters, surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles, the latest electronic equipment.

Wide-scale supplies of modern American F-16 fighters-bombers to Israel **are calculated** to boost its offensive potential. Washington has already handed over 40 F-15 fighters and 75 F-16 fighter-bombers to Tel Aviv. The contract signed in August 1983 envisages that by 1989 Israel

will receive 75 F-16 planes and auxiliary equipment worth of \$2,700 millions.

It is planned to modernise the Air Force in the immediate future. Modern engines and equipment are to be installed on F-4 Phantom jets which are an important component of the Israeli aviation. The upgrading of the tank pool and artillery is scheduled already by mid-1986.

The USA already reinforces the Navy with new types of ships. In particular, the Navy is already receiving US-built hydrofoil speed-boats. According to the US Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman, Israeli and US specialists pooled their efforts in designing and producing new missiles, patrol boats and submarines. Recently a US-Israeli agreement was initiated on the joint elaboration of new missiles for the Navy. Israel has also requested Washington to supply another batch of more modern diesel submarines.

The fact that Washington politicians look the other way when Israel's attempts to acquire the nuclear arms, in violation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, vividly shows how dangerous the cooperation of these two states is not only to the cause of peace in the Middle East but also in the entire world. For instance, last year Israel illegally acquired in the USA 700 electronic instruments for nuclear explosion devices. It is quite understandable that many international analysts show concern that the Middle East conflict may become a nuclear one. *Middle East International* published in London noted that Israel possessed at least several bombs of the type that had demolished Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Paying particular attention to equipping its army with modern weapons, the Israeli leadership spares no money for weaponry, squandering tremendous sums of money. Suffice it to say that in the 1972-1981 period the military expenditures had grown in the annual count 25 times to reach more than two-thirds of the total budget allocations! This explains the fact that while the economy is in the grips of a crisis, the war industry of Israel is on the rise. The value of the wares made at military plants has grown from \$200 million in 1978 to \$1,500 million in 1984.

At present, 300,000 people are employed in the war industry and related branches. This is a quarter of the total work-force and, for instance, six times more than the people working in agriculture. Essentially, the Israeli industry has been turned into an appendage of the war machine and mostly fulfils its orders. According to the Western press, more than 800 industrial enterprises are producing death-dealing weaponry and are working on the orders of the military department.

Today Israel produces many types of the most modern weapons. In particular, the implementation of the biggest military industrial project in this country's entire history—the production of the Lavi military aircraft of the 1990s type—was finalised last year.

As was noted in the Palestinian journal *Al-Ard*, in effect the entire country had been turned into a big military camp and weapons arsenal. While in 1971 the country had only three armour divisions, there are eleven now. The Israeli army also comprises 15 infantry and five airborne brigades. The tank pool has been increased over the period from 1,075 to 3,650 machines, and the number of war planes has grown from 364 to 600, besides 88 transport planes and 188 helicopters. The army also possesses 8,000 armoured vehicles, more than a 1,000 of artillery pieces and many missile systems and other types of weapons. The strength of the regular army has reached 170,000 people and the number of the reservists has grown from 225,000 in 1971 to 370,000 at present. This means that all in all 540,000 people are under arms in Israel.

Israel is the only country in the world where women are conscripted in peace time. Already since 1967 the authorities have the right to call up young people from 16.5 and 17 years of age and, in any case, upon reaching 18 years. The military service for men is three years and for women—two years. All who have served in the army are enrolled into the reserve where the men are kept until the age of 49 and women until the age of 34. Each reserve member of the army is attached to a military unit and is obliged to undergo supplementary military training several days a month for a minimum of a month or two a year.

During the aggression of 1967 more than ten per cent of the population, or more than 300,000 people were mobilised. This is the highest mobilisation rate in the world. The former Israeli Minister of Labour and one of the leaders of the MAI (Israel Labour Party), I. Alinogi, boasted that if need be they can mobilise 810,000 people.

Apart from the regular military units Israel also has a number of full-fledged military organisations, actually a component of the armed forces. First of all, mention should be made of the NAHAL (Fighting Youth) units stationed in the border areas and the regions seized from the Arabs. NAHAL detachments are composed of pre-military age youth. They combine military training with colonising new lands and farming in military settlements.

The para-military organisation Gadna, comprising school children of both sexes in the 14-18 age bracket, is engaged in military training of the Israeli youth and infusing the young people with the spirit of militarism, chauvinism and racism, hate of the Arabs, and also animosity towards all really progressive forces. The combined efforts of the Israeli state apparatus, the Zionist parties and the mass media, as well as the activities of international Zionism, are geared to indoctrinating the Israeli youth and the population, to whipping up military psychosis and chauvinist-racist passions in the country.

The army is now fully in control of state power. The number of retired generals and officers working in the economy, particularly in the branches connected with the war business, is growing. According to an Israeli scientist, A. Perlmutter, 37.6 per cent of these former military men are working in ministries, and many of them hold key posts there. The interpenetration of the army and the industry is intensifying—12.2 per cent of the Israeli retired generals and officers are working in state corporations and 22.4 per cent in private companies.

At present, a closer coalescence of the military elite and the financial oligarchy can be witnessed. As a result, a closely-knit union emerged which is gaining in strength and diversifying. In particular, the number of generals working in banks is growing, and the military and the financial tycoons in the weaponry-selling agencies are working hand-in-glove. Ensuring the inflow of finances into the military industry and foreign currency needed to import necessary raw materials, the banks, in their turn, possess some sectors of the military industry. For example, the Israeli discount bank controls a number of companies supervised by retired generals. Finally, many officers maintain close links with trade union bureaucrats, are party functionaries and deputies of the Knesset. The generals have also managed to penetrate the upper strata of intellectual and artistic life.

As a result, the military elite enjoys extensive privileges and can, in certain cases, even curtail the rights of the government. In political crises the role of the generals is not reduced to tackling purely military issues: the top officers take the most active part in elaborating the home and the external policies and drafting basic directives used as a lever to put pressure on the government.

It would seem that the lessons of the Lebanese adventure should have made the Israeli rulers stop and ponder. However, this had never happened. The political platform of the ruling grouping is still based on expansion and holding the territories annexed from the neighbouring Arab states. In doing so the Israelis ignore the demand of the world community and the progressives in Israel itself to discontinue the aggressive policy. An American military observer, Drew Middleton, who had visited the country noted that Israel continued to regard its armed forces as the main instrument for settling disputes with the neighbouring Arab countries. That is exactly why the Israeli military-political leadership reinforces its military might.

At the same time, it should be noted that Israel, being Washington's main prop in the Middle East, for more than two decades has been playing the role of the vassal of American imperialism in the struggle against states and the national liberation movements in various regions of the world. According to data released by the London Institute for Strategic Studies and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the total volume of the arms supplies to Israel is valued at approximately \$2,000 million, which accounts for more than 50 per cent of the country's total export revenues. Israeli weapons can be found in the hands of the Afghan dushmans, South African racists, Pol Pot scum, the South Korean police.

Tel Aviv is particularly active in realising Washington's aggressive plans in Central America. In 1984 alone the local heads of the antipopular dictatorships and counter-revolutionary rabble received from the Zionists \$250 million worth of various armaments. For example, in the last year of the existence of Somoza's regime in Nicaragua Israel accounted for 98 per cent of the total arms imports by this Latin American country. Honduras, which has become the bridgehead of the undeclared war against revolutionary Nicaragua, receives Dabur patrol boats, the latest Kfir fighter-bombers, Arava transport planes, tanks, armoured vehicles and small arms.

The Libyan magazine *al-Hawadess* has reported that an agreement was concluded between Washington and Tel Aviv under which Israel will continue to supply counter-revolutionary bands acting against Nicaragua from the territory of the neighbouring state with a considerable amount of weapons and ammunition. A large contingent of Israeli military advisers is headed for Honduras where they will train Nicaraguan contras.

As is asserted by influential bourgeois press, 83 per cent of all military supplies to the blood-thirsty Salvadoran junta come from Israel. Finally, the butchers of the Guatemalan and the Chilean peoples are supplied with Israeli-made Galil rifles and Uzi sub-machine guns.

Tel Aviv's masters of unsavoury business in Central America have been handy in setting up several espionage centres for collecting information and spying on "suspects". Israeli military instructors flooding this region are teaching all sorts of cut-throats large-scale terror of the kind they unleashed on the occupied Arab lands.

In short, the forms of interaction between the Israeli leadership and the Central American dictators are multifarious, indeed. However, all of them contain the same denominator: Tel Aviv's intentions in Central America must be known beforehand by the White House and each and every step must be blessed by the mighty overseas patron.

Other regions of the world present a similar picture of the aggressors' alliance. For instance, it is no secret that Tel Aviv and Pretoria are cooperating in building nuclear weapons. Uzi sub-machine guns are made in South Africa on Israeli licence. Just one letter is added to the name: these guns are called Ruzi. Foreign press also reported on the sale of Gabriel missiles to the government of Taiwan to equip warships. Before

the revolution in Iran and the subsequent break of relations with Israel the total sum of the contracts of the Shah regime with Tel Aviv had reached \$225 million. The Israeli *Zo Haderech* newspaper, which published an article by Professor Chahak, Chairman of the League for Human and Civil Rights in Israel, wrote that wherever people are killed in their struggle for freedom, Israeli-made weapons can be found.

It is quite indicative that when the United States declared its intention to implement the so-called strategic defense initiative the Israeli Minister of Defence, Yitzhak Rabin, stated in reply to Washington's offer on cooperation, made by US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, that he was "inclined to favourably treat" the offer to take part in the "star wars" plans and appraised it as a further extension of strategic contacts between the two countries.

Prominent Israeli scientists also seconded the American proposal since it "can grant access to the latest technology" and "help put an end to the emigration of scientists whom the economic crisis in Israel threatens to deprive of work". And soon a UPI correspondent reported from Tel Aviv that 3 Israeli universities and 5 or 6 private companies has launched research programmes which could be used in the "star wars" undertaking.

The aggressive policy of the Israeli rulers following in the wake of the American military-industrial complex leads to the growing isolation of the country in the international arena. More and more often the world press describes it as a "garrison state", a "military camp", "Prussia of the Middle East", the "source of tensions". For example *Le Figaro* of France stressed that modern Israel is a "state of commandos" which stages attacks of "commandos" and conducts a policy of "commandos".

Life shows that the military uniform designed by the Israeli Zionist leaders and their Washington patrons poorly fits the country's working people. It had to be admitted even by the bourgeois mass media which just several years ago wrote about this state as a "symbol of prosperity and social harmony". As *The Financial Times* of London wrote, the aggressive expansionist course pursued by Tel Aviv had an increasingly pernicious effect on the situation in the country.

Indeed, as was noted by the Palestinian *Al-Ard* journal, the number of the Israeli companies which are experiencing serious difficulties and are on the brink of bankruptcy had increased from 328 at the beginning of 1985 to 1,332 at the close of the year. The slump in production is attributed to the reduction of state credits for the development purposes prompted by the "plan for improving the economy" and the hike of the bank lending rates. Israel's foreign debt has reached \$31,000 million by 1986. Inflation is now close to the 500-per-cent mark.

As it was stressed by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, at the 27th CPSU Congress, the militarisation of the economy and the state budget as a consequence of the policy of wars and occupation had led to an acute moral, social and economic crisis. Unemployment had acquired a mass character. The allocations for education and health services had been curtailed considerably. Real wages had fallen.

Therefore, Tel Aviv's military alliance with the USA and other NATO countries, its aggressive, militarist course, are detrimental not only to peace and security in the region but also to the Israeli people themselves. Despite all sorts of ruses resorted to by the Zionist propaganda, repressions and threats of the authorities, an increasing number of Israelis are coming to realise that the interests of the Zionists and the people of Israel are incompatible and that the problems of the Middle East can be resolved exclusively by political means, rather than by military terror.

G. MUSAELYAN

The Industrial Heart of Italy

Italy's economic and, to a large extent, political character have been chiefly defined by the state of development in its northern areas. This is the site of many of Italy's industrial enterprises, the headquarters of numerous firms and banks, scientific research centres, and the offices of principal Italian newspapers and magazines. The plants and factories of several large electronic and auto monopolies, for example, are concentrated in Piemonte. It has become a kind of testing grounds for Italian capitalism and its innovations in technology and in relations between proprietors, trade unions and workers.

From the top of Colle di Superga with its spacious viewing ground one gets a splendid view of Turin, Piemonte's capital city. Its streamlined streets and avenues break the city centre into a pattern of squares, rectangles and triangles, a geometrical layout inherited from the times of ancient Rome, when it had been the site of a large fortress surrounded by a square stone wall and turrets. Yet centuries before the advent of the Roman legionaries the vast stony terrace above the confluence of the Dora and the Po had attracted ox drivers—*taurini*, from whom the city derived its name.

Turin's location at the cross-roads of Europe's lively trade routes attracted foreign invaders since olden times. The city suffered the attacks of the Goths and Langobards, Burgundians and Magyars, and numerous feudal rulers and bishops had time and again stormed its fortifications. Between the late 17th and early 19th centuries Turin became an apple of discord in the relations between the European monarchs. When Napoleon annexed Piemonte he had to reckon with Suvorov and his hero-fighters. According to chronicles the people of Piemonte welcomed the Russian soldiers "with much friendly feeling, as their liberators."

In the mid-19th century Turin turned into a political centre of the struggle for Italy's liberation from foreign invaders and its unification. Between 1861-1864 it was the capital of a unified Italy and the first Italian parliament convened in the Palazzo Carignano. The pointed tower Mole that was built in those years is still the city's highest point and is to Turin what the Eiffel Tower is to Paris. At night, it highlights the skyline with myriads of sparkling lamps. When Italy's capital was transferred to Rome Turin seemed doomed to deteriorating into a dull provincial town, one of the many in the Apennines. This, however, did not happen.

The city's historical centre is girdled by a chain of plants and factories—Turin's "industrial belt". The city's industrial upsurge went hand in hand with the emergence of a militant contingent of the Italian proletariat which displayed its might with strikes and demonstrations. In August 1917 an armed workers' uprising broke out under the slogan: "Against War, For Social Justice!". For three days the proletarians held their ground on the barricades. Their battle triggered off a broad movement for the expropriation of plants and factories that enveloped Turin

three years later. And it was in Turin that the nucleus of the future Communist Party of Italy (present Italian Communist Party) emerged around the newspaper *Ordine Nuovo* founded in 1919 by Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti.

Automobiles were and remain the city's major industrial item. Turin's unique motor vehicle museum boasts one of the first ancestors of the automobile—a three-wheeled cart with a cumbersome steam engine dating back to 1769. The city's auto industry emerged at the close of the last century with the founding, in 1899, of the Italian Automobile Factory in Turin (FIAT) by a group representing the city's big bourgeoisie and members of its old aristocracy. From the start the company became oriented on mass car production. This was a challenge to prestigious firms among them Peugeot, Mercedes, and others, that manufactured cars in limited numbers for car racing which was then coming into fashion, and for sale to the money-bags.

A significant landmark in the history of the FIAT company was the building of a new up-to-date plant in 1922 with a special oval-shaped block that was to take care of large-serial and production-line output of motorcars. A circular test track was installed on the roof. The first year the plant produced 11,000 cars and for many years steadily doubled its output. Today, the FIAT firm with its affiliations annually manufactures 1.4 million cars, a noteworthy figure considering that in 1985 world car production topped 31 million, and of this number 10.5 million were manufactured in Western Europe. FIAT also owns Turin's newspaper *La Stampa* which in circulation and influence has long overstepped the city limits and is vying for leadership with the influential Milanese *Corriere della Sera*.

Nearly a quarter of a million workers are employed in this private company, Italy's largest, including its foreign affiliations. Half of what the company needs for its basic output is manufactured at its own plants.

Following the serious hardships which the company encountered at the turn of the 1980's it has prospered the last few years, although on the whole the auto industry in Western Europe is experiencing hard times. In 1984 the industry had a deficit of 1,000 million dollars in contrast to the 5,000 million dollars "earned" by U.S. motorcar corporations. We were told in the FIAT headquarters that the success of the Turin group was due largely to the firm's huge investments both in production and technological research which in the last five years totalled six trillion lire. It was possible to fully renew the whole gamut of FIAT and develop a new engine.

The engine assembly shop at the huge FIAT plant (which employs 30,000 workers) is the core of the entire production process. It manufactures five basic types of engines (modification 101). There is nothing of the usual production line in the shop, which was closed down in 1980 when FIAT went over to the "insular" assembly method: the engines are conveyed to the assembly points ("islands") along magnetic lines which form an intricate pattern on the shop's floor. Automation has essentially changed the nature of this work so that women now make up nearly a third of all assembly workers. FIAT's Turin enterprises are eloquent evidence of the impetuous advent of the age of automation. Half of all Italian robots are concentrated precisely in auto enterprises.

The initiative in producing industrial robots goes back to the mid-seventies and belongs to the relatively small engineering enterprises of the Comau type. In 7-8 years' time Italian robot-makers made a huge step forward in this highly sophisticated sphere of production. Automated

Comau machines quickly won recognition. FIAT started by acquiring 60 per cent of the firm's assets and in 1985 bought up the entire firm which was integrated into the FIAT group. Today Comau is among the world's leading designers and builders of automatic lines. Since 1980 it has manufactured over 1,700 robots, half of which were exported. At the end of 1985 Comau set up an affiliate Sesam, on a par with Digital Italiana (a branch of the US DEC, the second producer of computers in the capitalist world). It aims at becoming a leading manufacturer of industrial robots in the next four or five years.

An inventory of all of Italy's robots by the recently founded Industrial Robotisation Society and the Machine-Builders' Alliance revealed a total of 1,800 robots, i. e. as many as France, Britain and Sweden had apiece. Local specialists forecast an annual rise of their output by 25 per cent and their application alongside the motorcar industry in the aircraft, electronics, electromechanical and other industries. Specialists in Turin told me that Italy now holds forth-seventh place in the Western world in the number of robots. Japan is far ahead with a total of 16,500 robots followed, as *La Stampa* wrote, by the USA and the FRG with approximately 8,000 and 5,000 robots respectively.

West European countries are the chief consumers of FIAT production; the firm accounts for 12-13 per cent of all the car sales in this zone. Having taken the lead among the West European motorcar manufacturers the FIAT authorities keep a close eye on the activities of their chief rivals—the US Ford and General Motors with their branches in Western Europe, Volkswagen, Renault and other West European companies. In this sharp competition FIAT authorities bank on achieving utmost rationalisation, raising production efficiency and bringing down costs. Great hopes are pinned on cars powered by diesel engines.

Furthermore, along with other West European motor companies FIAT failed to attach due importance to the mounting competition of Japanese cars in the West European and Third World markets. Despite the significant growth of FIAT's production capacities in the late 70's-early 80's, yearly car sales increased by a mere 1.5 per cent instead of the forecasted 3 per cent. On the other hand since 1975 Japan has doubled its car exports to Western Europe which have reached an annual 1,000,000.

The application of technological innovations, and above all the robotisation of production, are responsible for changes not only in production technology and management methods; they bring down the number of jobs and thus promote unemployment. It is no secret that in Italy unemployment has acquired truly dramatic proportions. Data set the figure of unemployed somewhere between 2.5 and an odd 3 million. The last few years have seen both upswings and stagnation in industrial output, with unemployment steadily rising.

According to local economists 500,000 jobs must be created in the next few years to keep unemployment at the present level. However, in general opinion it is a highly unrealistic task. Socialist Gianni De Michelis, Italy's Minister of Labour and Social Security, forecasts that unemployment will grow to 4.5 million by 1990.

Whereas in the past chronic unemployment had been chiefly the scourge of the economically underdeveloped South whose surplus workforce had moved to the industrial North, today unemployment affects the northern areas as well.

Piemonte is no exception: the number of industrial jobs in the region goes down yearly by 50,000 which is double the average figure for Italy.

When the management of the Turin terminal put out a notice last autumn about vacancies for 10 unskilled jobs it drew 64,000 applications.

The frustration of the unemployed Turinians came to the surface during the meeting of Confindustria (alliance of Italian industrialists) leaders with prominent political figures in November 1985 when Italy's economic problems were discussed. A huge mass demonstration of the unemployed rolled through the city: the building where the meeting was held was besieged by the crowds. All traffic was paralysed. "We are Tired of Waiting! Give Us Jobs!" were the slogans inscribed on the huge placard.

The FIAT enterprises also face an acute unemployment problem. After a three-year-long trade deficit the FIAT administration sought a way out of the crisis by resorting to unemployment: in 1980 23,000 workers were laid off, and an unprecedented offensive was launched against the TU's. The proprietors' attempts to discredit them in the eyes of the public and to bring down their role at the enterprises led to a 40 day-long strike. In their attempts to split the workers the authorities tried to set shop stewards against the workers, to turn a part of the workers into scabs, and organised counter-demonstrations of white-collar workers.

After making a few concessions they succeeded in gaining the upper hand. The "redundant" employees began to lose their jobs. Under the threat of mass discharges the working people were forced to agree to many of the bosses' terms. Having made cuts in wages and production outlays FIAT completed 1983 with a positive trade balance. In 1984 its profits tripled, and in 1985 they reached the astronomical sum of one trillion lire.

The FIAT administration, however, failed to crush the trade unions in the auto plants. Despite the split in the single trade unions' front, in 1985, for the first time in six years, elections of trade union delegates to the factory committee were held at the firm's leading Mirafiori plant, with nearly 90 per cent of Turin's auto workers taking part in the voting. The majority vote was given to delegates from the highly militant organisation belonging to the National Confederation of Italian Working People. These results made naught of the administration's attempts to call into question the right of trade union delegates to represent workers at negotiations with the management. The administration has also failed in its attempts to transfer such trade union functions as control over the correct payment of wages to the technical staff.

The FIAT bosses also failed to lay off 7,000 "superfluous" workers, many of whom lost their jobs as far back as 1980. However, the Trade Unions managed to qualify them as temporary lay-offs. Nominally they are on the factory payroll and receive 80 per cent of their former wages through special state financed "integration payroll offices". The agreement concluded between the trade unions and the FIAT administration expired last December and the trade unions are now doing their best to prolong the agreement until the moment when the "temporary jobless" get back to their shops. They are also demanding the reduction of the working week so as to provide jobs for at least some of the dismissed.

The FIAT administration flatly refused to agree to these just demands claiming that of the firm's 83,000 workers no less than 7-8 thousand were redundant. Negotiations between the trade union representatives and management were exceptionally tough. In the end management was forced to back. In late March 1986 the two sides reached a compromise whereby more than 5,000 of the temporary layed off will gradually be rehired many of which will be re-trained. The growth of unemployment in Turin leads to a decrease of the city population. In the last 15 years, nearly 200,000 people have left the city bringing its population down to less than a million.

From a distance the massive rectangular steel and glass FATA building seems to hang in mid-air over a splendid green lawn. Coming closer one sees the narrow pillars that support the edifice. As I was told in the firm's international department, the building is suspended from highly durable steel chains linking these pillars, which are concealed in its inner structure. The original architectural solution belongs to the renowned Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer. This big Turin company has affiliates in several countries; in 1984 its turnover fund reached 350,000 million lire.

Di Rosa, the company's President, told me that FATA's growth has been greatly facilitated by cooperation with the Soviet Union: "It's first ties with the Soviet market go back to 1959, and in 1979 the firm set up a special group concerned with promoting cooperation with the Soviet Union; the largest and most technologically advanced Italian companies were drawn into its work." FATA also maintains ties with other socialist countries. According to the President, more business-like relations between the Common Market and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance would be highly conducive to the further development of mutually advantageous ties between Eastern and Western Europe.

FATA specialises chiefly in production technology. It provides Italian and foreign purchasers with complete plants as well as equipment for separate production units. Starting out exclusively as an auto producer, it has been of late steadily switching over to agricultural needs. FATA is making strong headway in its business relations with Soviet partners in the sphere of the development of the agro-industrial complex. A factory for manufacturing paper containers for agricultural produce has been constructed in Kiev in cooperation with FATA; its first units are already in operation. Related enterprises are being set up in Leningrad and Moscow. A contract has been signed for building a factory in Kharkov manufacturing insulation panels. Several other identical enterprises will be built whose products will be used for the construction of temperature controlled vegetable storehouses.

The firm's President noted that Italian business circles showed lively interest in the decisive turn of the Soviet economy to the lines of production intensification. He said that one could feel not only the new trends but a radically new approach to economic problems during contacts with Soviet specialists in the ministries and foreign trade organisations. In Moscow the President was asked what he thought of the prospects for the further development of Soviet-Italian business contacts.

These questions were also raised in the Industrial Union of Turin, one of the oldest associations of Italian industrialists founded at the beginning of the century. Several mutually advantageous agreements were signed following the visit to the USSR in 1978 of its delegation comprising 50 representatives of Turin's business world. Some of these agreements are still in force. In Italy no little hope is pinned on the deliveries of Soviet gas along the new gas main in keeping with the 1985 agreement signed in Moscow. My interlocutors told me that the increasing Soviet gas deliveries raised hopes for increasing Italian exports to the USSR—highly important in view of the hardships suffered by Italy's industry in the last 5-6 years. Giuseppe Pichetto, President of the Industrial Union of Turin, said: "Here in Piemonte, the volume of our industrial output has been virtually at a standstill these last few years. The growth of investments has been more than modest, so that with regard to this major index our region has slipped to the average Italian level. We are especially worried by the falling foreign orders, eloquent evidence of the poor competitiveness of Piemonte's enterprises. One can say that on the whole the

country's economic situation is far from hopeful, and many important problems are still waiting to be solved."

The further course of events in Soviet-Italian business relations confirmed the validity of these statements. In September 1985 an agreement was signed in Moscow with the Italmimpianti firm for building a plant manufacturing seamless pipes in the town of Volzhsk. This contract to the sum of two trillion lire is the biggest ever to be concluded between Italy and the Soviet Union and exceeds by far the well-known contract with the FIAT firm for building the Volzhsky Motor Works (VAZ).

Cooperation between the VAZ automobile makers and the Turin group is making good progress. In the last four years over 400 specialists from the VAZ works have been to FIAT plants where they have been working with their Italian colleagues on a new Zhiguli model. Italy's business circles widely commented on the visit by Giovanni Agnelli, head of the FIAT firm, to Moscow with a group of his associates in the summer of 1984. In connection with three Soviet-Italian agreements on scientific and technological cooperation signed at the time the Italian press emphasised that the business talks had opened prospects for a new stage in FIAT's relationship with Soviet foreign trade organisations. It was also noted that FIAT's range of interests extended not only to the motor industry, but also to tractor-building and the aircraft industry, manufacturing plant for metallurgical enterprises and nuclear-power plants, medical equipment and other industrial production.

No less fruitful is the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Comau firm, whose automatic machines have been installed at the VAZ works in Togliatti and at other Soviet plants. Among the latest agreements signed by the firm with Soviet foreign trade organisations is a large contract for the installation of a comprehensive production line for welding the bodies of the new Zaporozhets model. Altogether in the last three years Comau has provided the Soviet Union with equipment to the sum of 180 million dollars.

On the whole, Soviet-Italian economic relations have been making good headway. Trade turnover between the two countries reached 8,700 billion lire in 1985, putting Italy in third place among the Soviet Union's capitalist trade partners. Nevertheless the results of this trade and economic cooperation could have been even more satisfactory for both sides had not the Italian government under Washington's pressure resorted to acts like the "pause for consideration" which was introduced during the signing of a coordinated contract for additional Soviet gas deliveries between the Soyuzgazexport association and the Italian SNAM company. The "pause" was protracted for two and a half years.

Only after the signing of the agreement has Soviet-Italian trade resumed its progressive development. 1985 began with the conclusion of several large-scale contracts, and among them one for the construction of three shoe factories in Moscow, Kaluga and Togliatti in 1985-1987 by the North-Italian Cogolo firm. It was followed by a contract with the same firm for building two tanneries.

The factual newspaper of Italy's business circles *Il Sole/24 Ore* wrote, "1985 was characterised not only by extensive contracts but also by the growing presence of small and medium Italian firms on the Soviet market". According to the Moscow branch of the Italian National Institute of Foreign Trade, in 1985 short of 100 enterprises had for the first time concluded at least one business deal with the Soviet Union, and altogether 900 Italian companies maintain relations with Moscow. In most cases the initial 'acquaintance' is followed by a period of stable relationship." The newspaper's forecasts for the near future were quite optimistic.

ELECTRONICS AND NATIONAL ECONOMY * CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN * CZECHOSLOVAKIA: STEPPING UP ECONOMIC GROWTH * MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION ON THIRD-COUNTRY MARKETS

At the present stage in the development of the productive forces in the socialist countries the most important tasks to be tackled are the coordination of the scientific and technological potential these countries possess, the pooling of efforts and the means required for the solution of the key scientific and technological problems. To do so the CMEA countries, guided by the decisions of the Economic Summit held in Moscow in June 1984, have jointly elaborated the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the Member Countries up to the Year 2000. Under the programme, these countries will carry out concerted activities in five priority fields that lay the foundations for revolutionary trans-

formations in science, technology and production. These are: *the more intensive use of electronics in the economy, comprehensive automation, nuclear power production, new materials and technologies for their production and processing, biotechnology.* Their priority stems from the trends in the scientific and technological revolution and scientific progress and from an analysis of the experience accumulated in the socialist countries as well as in the rest of the world.

International Affairs plans to publish a series of articles dealing with each of the five main trends in scientific and technological progress. The current issue deals with the introduction of electronics in the economy.

Electronics and National Economy

The introduction of electronics is a decisive factor in accelerating scientific and technological progress in the national economy helping to radically raise labour productivity, to automate production processes and to reduce material inputs. It also plays a significant role in cutting the time required for scientific research, for implementing scientific programmes and technical projects, for qualitatively changing the processes of personnel training, the technical development of the non-productive sphere.

By carrying out the measures charted in the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress the technical and information foundation of the modern economy will be radically restructured through extensive and effective use of computers, informatics and telecommunications. Judging by the world practice maximum

benefit will be derived from microprocessor applications which in the traditional industries raise the quality of products by ensuring greater precision of technological processes, cut down the time of the production cycle and reduce the work force (by 30 to 50 per cent), increase the productivity of equipment (1.5 to 2 times), reduce energy consumption (4 to 5 times), save on raw and other materials and increase equipment reliability (5 to 10 times).

Taking into account the growing role of electronics the socialist community states are stepping up their large-scale concerted activities drawing on a vast store of experience.

More than a million people in the CMEA countries are engaged in the development and production of microelectronic elements. A number of countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland) have drawn up comprehensive pro-

grammes for the introduction of electronics in their economies to accelerate the development of the production of microelectronic elements, to fully use the opportunities offered by cooperation within the CMEA and to reduce their dependence on the imports of electronic products from capitalist countries. For more than 15 years now the CMEA countries have been co-producing compatible computers—the universal machines of the Unified Computer System *Ryad*, mini- and personal computers distinguished for their wide range of external memory devices, increased reliability and a better system of control and diagnostics. Today, 30 R&D bureaus and more than 70 plants of eight CMEA countries are engaged in this production.

In recent years particular attention has been paid to the production of mini- and micro-computers. For instance, they have started the production of the first personal micro-computer Elektronika BK 0010, designed in the USSR. The mini-computers produced within the community are already in high demand on the world market, and some of them are superior to those of the leading firms of the capitalist countries.

The participating countries are successfully implementing the 1981-1982 agreements on multilateral cooperation in the establishment of the Common Unified Basis for Electronic Products, the development and extensive use in the national economies of the CMEA countries of microprocessor technologies, special technological equipment and high purity materials for microelectronics. The programme of cooperation provides for a clear-cut division of labour in the development of the electronics industry. For instance, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are specialising in the production of computerized design systems, Hungary—in measuring and testing equipment, the GDR—optical and mechanical equipment, Poland—the assembly of integral micro-circuits, Romania—processing of semi-conductor materials, the USSR—the production of the structures of large and super-large integrated micro-circuits, Czechoslovakia and the GDR—research and measuring equipment.

In most of the countries development rates in the electronics industry are far ahead of those in other industries. At present, practically all Czechoslovak production associations use a computer model, including 1.5 thousand large and more than two thousand specialised computer systems. Forty

per cent of Hungarian state farms and agricultural cooperatives and more than 300 medical establishments have computer centres. All secondary and many primary schools have personal computers. Other CMEA countries have also made tangible progress in this field.

The multilateral cooperation of the CMEA countries in electronics is designed to produce revolutionary shifts in the entire national economy and to provide for more comprehensive solutions to social problems. To achieve these goals it is planned first of all to create a new generation of super-computers with a speed of 10,000 million operations per second, which will result in serious technical and social changes connected with the nature of relations between man and machine. Its growing intellectual properties are increasing the possibility of relegating to the machine the solution of complex scientific problems and the processing of large volumes of information for managing the economy. It will be also necessary to arrange large-scale output of unsophisticated computing devices, personal computers with diversified software. The improvement of micro-electronic technology will allow production of extremely small micro-computers which are only slightly inferior to big machines in productivity but are economical, handy to use and service.

Computerisation extends the possibilities and raises the efficiency of personal computers for every-day use and for solving research and production problems, and, what is especially important, in the field of education. Many CMEA countries have already drawn up and are fulfilling the long-term plans for providing schools with educational micro-computers, for establishing school and inter-school computing centres, which will improve substantially the teaching process. It should be also noted that recent achievements in the field of micro-electronics open real prospects for creating computers perceiving and reproducing human speech, which, consequently, will allow to carry out commands given by the voice.

One of the primary tasks is to create a unified system of digital information transmission to greatly increase the capacity and reliability of communications systems, fast optical fibre communications means, a new generation of satellite telecommunications systems, high-quality digital TV and stereo radio broadcasts, the means of digital video and sound recording. Also foreseen is the

development of a wide range of control and measuring equipment for checking the technological parameters and for analysing various substances and materials.

A lot has to be done in order to create a common unified system for electronic goods, first of all a new generation of superlarge and superfast integrated circuits with a high degree of reliability and mini-

tuarisation, as well as specialised technological equipment for their production.

The large-scale application of the computer technology practically in all sectors of the economy will considerably accelerate socio-economic progress, raise the people's well-being and quality of life in the countries of the socialist community.

I. PENZIY

Construction Projects of the Five-Year Plan

The USSR has entered the 12th Five-Year Plan period with a powerful economic and scientific and technological potential. The national wealth went up by one-third during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan period. A massive programme of capital construction was carried out. Over 840,000 million rubles' capital investment was used for strengthening the material-technical base of the national economy, for the construction of housing, socio-cultural and other projects. More than 1,000 new modern industrial enterprises were put into operation.

Yet even greater tasks are to be carried out in the 12th Five-Year Plan period. The main one is an accelerated development of the productive forces and improvement of the production relations on the basis of raising the efficiency of social production and its intensification.

In the current five-year plan period, the production potential of this country will rise to a qualitatively new level. Geared to this objective is the programme for capital construction. The total volume of capital investments in the national economy during the five-year period will reach nearly 1 trillion rubles. The task is to concentrate the material, financial and labour resources on the most important construction projects and, above all, on those which determine technical progress and the solution of social tasks. The structure of capital investments will be improving. In capital investments the share of expenditures earmarked for the technical re-equipment and modernisation of the existing enterprises will substantially rise.

It should be noted that already in the drawing up of the capital investment plan for 1986 the tasks involved in structural and technical re-equipment of production were taken into account. Investments in engineering as compared to those assigned for 1985

will go up by 30 per cent, including in instrument-making by 55 per cent, and in the machine-tool industry by 42 per cent. Close attention has been paid to strengthening the basic branches of industry and railway transport. The plan allots 37,400 million rubles for the restructuring and technical re-tooling of enterprises, a 23 per cent increase over the last year. Besides, average annual withdrawal of outdated assets will be 70 per cent above the corresponding indicator for the 11th five-year plan.

The panorama of the construction projects that enter service in the 12th five-year plan period is tremendous. Suffice it to say that in this country about 200 new industrial enterprises equipped with modern plants are put into commission each year. The map shows some of the most important construction projects that are to be put into operation during the current year and in the five-year plan period.

It is planned to ensure a radical reconstruction and priority development of the engineering complex, and above all the basic branches: the machine-tool industry, the production of computers, instrument-making, electrical engineering, and electronics. The plan envisages that the rates for the production output in these branches are to outstrip by 30 to 60 per cent the average rates for engineering as a whole. It is intended to increase capacities for the production of industrial robots in Sterlitamak (Bashkiria) and of modern metal-cutting machine-tools in Yegoryevsk (Moscow Region), Odessa, Alma-Ata, and Vilnius. A plant is being installed at the Cherkassy special technological equipment works for the production of automatic programme-controlled manipulators.

A broad structural and technological reconstruction is envisaged in iron-and-steel.

The outdated steel production will be reduced while its production by converters and electric furnaces and through direct reduction from ores will rise. There will be a rise in the progressive capacities for steel-smelting and for production of ready ferrous metal rolled products at the Oskol electro-metallurgical combine in Belgorod Region, at the Moldavian metallurgical works in Rybnits, at the Far-Eastern metallurgical works, and at the Zhdanov metallurgical combine.

New capacities are being created at the territorial-production complex of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area for the extraction and concentration of iron ore and the production of electric steel and rolled metal. Already planned is the modernisation of the first stage of the steel plant of the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel combine and metallurgical plants with small capacities in the Urals. Certain capacities will be installed at the Tavricheski mining and concentrating combine for extracting and processing manganese ore. In Kazakhstan, work has begun on the construction of the Bakyrchik mining and metallurgical combine, the Kairakty tungsten combine, the Koktenkol molybdenum combine and the Boshchekul copper mining and concentrating combine. Construction of the Kirghiz gold ore combine will be completed.

Further improvement of the structure of energy capacity is envisaged. It is planned to build large nuclear power stations in the European part of the country and in the Urals and in the eastern regions—condensation thermal power plants with a per unit capacity of 4 to 6 million kW, as well as hydroelectric stations. There are plans for accelerating the construction of atomic power stations with fast breeder reactors and the creation of manoeuvrable power capacities. The construction of the Kalinin, Crimean, and Zaporozhye atomic power stations will be completed. It is planned to put into operation additional capacities at the Balakovo, Tatar, Rostov and Rovno atomic stations and to begin the construction of the second stage of the Armenian atomic power station and the construction of the Georgian and Kostroma atomic power stations.

Further centralisation of heat supply is envisaged through constructing primarily powerful heat and electric plants on organic and nuclear fuel and heat supply atomic stations. The forming of the Integrated Power Grid of the USSR will continue. It

is intended to build intergrid electric power lines to carry alternating currents of 500, 750 and 1,150 kv and direct current of 1,500 kv, as well as distributing electric power stations.

In the coal industry, it is planned to accelerate the development of the Kuznetsk, Ekibastuz, Kansk-Achinsk and other coal fields of Eastern Siberia and the Soviet Far East. At excellent growth rates, the open pit mining of coal will be developed, its share in the total output rising to at least 46 per cent. Wider use is envisaged of systems of automated equipment for mines and concentration mills.

The current five-year plan period will see continuation of the development of the oil industry in Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and in the north of the European part of the USSR. There will be a rise in oil production efficiency owing to the use of rational systems for oilfield development, an improvement in the technology of drilling operations and in their rigging, and the wide introduction of progressive methods for raising oil layers' productivity. By the end of the five-year period, the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, Western Siberia is to produce two-thirds of the total oil output in the USSR.

In the gas industry there will be faster development of the Yamburg, Karachaganak, Astrakhan and other gas-condensate fields, with the industrial operation of the Caspian Depression oilfields getting under way and creation on this basis of large-tonnage gas and chemical production. Putting into operation this year will be the first stage of the Yamburg-Centre 3,139-km. gas pipeline, the 884-km Yelets-Kremenchug-Krivoi Rog gas pipeline, among others.

Consistency characterises the CPSU course for further consolidating the material-technical base of the agro-industrial complex, for harmoniously developing all its branches, for carrying out measures ensuring the elimination of losses while harvesting, transporting and realising. In the current five-year plan period a purposeful technical retooling of agricultural production will continue. To be improved is the supply of the branch with complete economical and efficient machines, with special transport and cargo handling means. 1,900,000 tractors, 1,600,000 lorries, 1,770,000 tractor trailers, etc. will go into use in the course of the five-year period. In the Russian Federation alone, 1,410,000 hectares of irrigated land

are to be put into operation and 1,640,000 hectares of swamp and moisture land are to be drained.

Storage facilities continue to be built, particularly elevators with capacities of tens of thousands of tons. Large complexes are being built for raising and fattening young cattle stock and pigs, as well as meat poultry farms and greenhouse combines.

There will be a considerable rise in the production of meat, meat and milk products, butter, sugar and confectionery products. Additional capacities are being introduced at meat-packing plants in Smolensk Region and in Latvia. 60,000 tons of sugar beet per day can be processed at each of the two sugar mills in Vinnitsa and Kirovograd. The output of whole milk products will rise in Velikiye Luki, Lvov, Chimkent, Kirovograd, Namangan and in other areas.

In accordance with the comprehensive programme for developing the production of consumer goods and the service sphere, the capacity of the enterprises of light industry is to be increased considerably. Automated spinning, weaving and knitting mills are being introduced, as well as the quickly re-adjusted conveyer belts for the mass production of fashionable and attractive clothing and high-quality footwear. Thousands of new looms will already in the current year be installed at new and modernised mills in Leningrad, Namangan Region, Baku, Vilnius, Dushanbe, Turkmenia, and Moldavia. New capacities, including in Tula, Semipalatinsk, Taldy-Kurgan, Yerevan, etc., will help improve the quality of footwear.

With the growth of the country's economy, it is intended to strengthen the material and technical base of all types of transport, accelerate the introduction of the scientific and technological achievements, and improve the use of the transport facilities. New railway lines of 2,300 km-long will be put into operation; at least 4,000 km of second tracks will be built; and 8,000 km of railway lines will be electrified. The stock of locomotives and cars will increase and become updated. The share of specialised cars in the operating rolling stock will go up 1.3 to 1.4 times. This will lead to an increase in the carrying and traffic capacities of the railways, first and foremost, on the routes that connect the centre with the Urals, Western Siberia, the Volga area, the south of the Eu-

ropean part of the country, with Kazakhstan, and Central Asia.

During the five-year period there will begin continuous exploitation of the Balkal-Amur mainline along its entire length. Put into operation will be the Marabda-Akhalkalaki railway line and construction of the Vardenis-Jermuk line will be started in Armenia, as well as the Kurgan-Tyube-Kulyab line in Tajikistan and others.

Highly mechanised berths and cargo handling complexes are being introduced in the sea ports of Petropavlovsk Kamchatski, Vladivostok, Leningrad, in the new port in Tallin and in others.

Of special importance in the current five-year plan period is the tackling of social tasks. Plans are provided for building housing with a total living area of 565 to 570 million square metres and for increased building of houses from new economical standard designs with improved flat outlay. The network of sanatoria, holiday hotels, rest homes, and children's summer camps will be extended. The tourist and excursion services will be improved and the material base of culture and art will be strengthened.

The current five-year plan period will see a further development of this country's co-operation with other countries of the socialist community in the field of investment. The Soviet Union together with European fraternal states is erecting such important projects as the Khmelnitskaya and Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya atomic power stations, the Krivoi Rog mining and concentrating combine with a capacity of 13 million iron ore pellets a year, the Mozyr plant to produce fodder yeast from highly-purified petroleum paraffins with the capacity of 300,000 tons a year, etc. The USSR will also extend assistance in the construction in many countries, particularly in developing ones, of industrial, agricultural and other economic projects. This will facilitate the development of their national economies on a modern scientific-technological basis and the consolidation of their economic independence.

Such is the far-from-complete list of the construction projects of the 12th five-year plan period designed to become an important landmark on the road of building socialism and communism in this country.

V. ANDREYEV

Czechoslovakia: Stepping Up Economic Growth

The people of Czechoslovakia have marked their national holiday, the 41st anniversary of their country's liberation from Hitler occupation, with signal achievements in all fields—economics, science, culture and the population's well-being.

Last year wound up the seventh five-year plan (1981-1985), which registered an 11 per cent growth in the national income, with the greatest headway—9.6 per cent—having been made in the last three years. The second half of the five-year period, in particular, saw dynamic growth rates in key industries and a significant increase in economic intensification indices. The productivity of social labour went up, the quality of manufactured goods improved, and there was a noticeable acceleration in the scientific and technological advance.

Industrial output grew by 15 per cent over the last five years, 1985 accounting for 3.4 per cent. Structural changes were made in the industrial sector to give priority to manufacturing industries, to industries determining the scientific and technological advance in the Czechoslovak economy and to those working on locally available resources. Engineering, which claims over a third of Czechoslovakia's industrial output and sets the pace for the country's economy as a whole, advanced at the fastest rate. Record growth rates of 8 to 10 per cent annually were chalked up in electrical engineering which is to supply the country's economy with computers and automatic equipment to control manufacturing processes in the iron and steel, chemical and other industries, to ensure the introduction of flexible manufacturing systems in the engineering industry, extensive application of robots and manipulators in many industries, and automation of controls for transport.

Considerable headway has been made in agriculture: the gross farm output rose by 10 per cent overall, with crop output registering a 13 per cent increase and the output of animal husbandry going up by 7 per cent, against the preceding five-year period. As a result, the country has become more self-sufficient in staple farm products, a task it set itself at the beginning of the five-year period just ended. Of particular importance was a rise in the rates of growth of crop farming, which developed three times

as fast as in the preceding five-year period; the average crop yields rose from 3.8 tons per hectare to 4.3 tons in the period 1981 to 1985 (with record yields falling on 1984, 4.8 tons, and 1985, 4.6 tons) for the country as a whole.

The expansion and diversification of Czechoslovakia's economic relations with other countries are largely instrumental in the dynamic growth of the republic's economy. Nearly a third of the country's national income is committed to foreign trade. In 1985, the socialist countries accounted for 78.8 per cent of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade, with the Soviet Union, the republic's biggest trade partner, claiming 44.8 per cent.

Some crucial documents were adopted in 1985 to help create favourable conditions for continued expansion and deepening of co-operation between Czechoslovakia and the other members of the socialist community and for ever more coordinated development and utilisation of the CMEA countries' industrial, scientific and technological potential. The most important of them are: The Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Advance of the CMEA Member-Countries in the Period up to the Year 2000 and the Programme for Long-Term Economic, Scientific and Technological Co-operation Between the USSR and Czechoslovakia until 2000. The accomplishment of the measures envisaged in these programmes would promote in a most forceful way the accelerated development of the economies in the countries concerned, a higher social labour productivity, superior technological standards and quality of products, and lower material and power intensity.

The population's living standards kept climbing up as the country's economy surged ahead. In the past five years, personal consumption grew by almost 6 per cent largely from steadily rising earnings, which went up by more than 70 per cent in the past 15 years. In per capita consumption of basic foodstuffs, Czechoslovakia ranks among the world's most advanced countries. At present, the average daily calory intake exceeds 3,500, higher than, for example, in West Germany or Great Britain. Czechoslovakia's per capita consumption of meat runs at 85 kilos annually, milk and dairy products—250, sugar—38, fats—25, and baked pro-

ducts—107 kilos. Nearly every family has a refrigerator, washing machine and television, and one in every four families owns a car.

Public consumption funds grew by 27 per cent, faster than personal spending, over the five-year period. An average of 100,000 apartments are built in the country every year. The government is spending ever larger sums on paying pensions and various benefits to the population.

The 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party this March discussed and adopted Guidelines for the country's economic and social development for 1986 to 1990 and for the period ending in 2000. The task set in the Guidelines is to boost the national income by over 50 per cent in the next 15 years by intensifying the development of the country's industries, carrying out technological and structural transformations in the economy as a whole, and reducing the energy consumed per unit of national income by not less than a third. Czechoslovakia's scientific and technological potential is to focus on introducing computers, comprehensive automation of production and flexible automated production systems in its economy, developing nuclear power engineering, and raising the share of electric power in its overall fuel and power consumption pattern.

In the current five-year period, the national income is to rise by 18 to 19 per cent, 92 to 95 per cent of it to be attained by higher productivity gains. With increasingly more attention being paid in the country to metal, fuel and power saving policies, the annual consumption of fuel per unit of gross national product is to be lowered by an average of 2.9 per cent.

By 1990, the country's industrial output is to grow by between 15 and 18 per cent, and productivity gains of industrial workers, by 14 to 17 per cent. Growth rates are to be the greatest in mechanical engineering,

so its output is to be boosted by 30 per cent. Great attention is given to implementing a computerisation programme for the economy as a whole and the development of hardware for micro-electronics and optoelectronics is planned to be ensured.

The fuel and energy producing complex is facing momentous tasks. A goal-oriented programme to bring fuel and energy consumption down to reasonable limits will be steadily carried out within the framework of the long-term plan to transfer the national economy to energy-saving technologies. Under this programme, emphasis is to be placed on the development of nuclear power generation. In all, the nuclear power plants will produce 25 billion kilowatt-hours out of the total of 87 to 90 billion kWh slated for 1990.

The country's food-producing agricultural complex is to increase the supply of food products to the population and make Czechoslovakia more self-reliant in farm commodities over the next five years. The Guidelines envisage grain harvests to be steadily maintained at 57 to 58 million tons until the end of the 1980s.

The package of measures planned under the Guidelines for the country's economic and social development in 1986 to 1990 and in the period up to 2000 to keep up the growth of the population's living standards includes the construction of 480,000 new apartments and the renovation of at least 30,000 of the existing ones. Environment conservation measures aimed at raising living standards will be carried out to the tune of 17 billion korunas, twice as much as in the preceding five-year period. And more attention is to be given to the promotion of the physical fitness movement, sports, travel and leisure as key factors contributing to a wholesome, healthy way of life.

N. PUSENKOV

Mutually Beneficial Cooperation on Third-Country Markets

The concept of cooperation on third-country markets implies joint or complementary efforts of partners from socialist and capitalist states in any third country.

This kind of cooperation is greatly promoted by agreements and long-term programmes for economic, industrial and scientific collaboration the governments of socialist and capitalist countries concerned

conclude among themselves. The Soviet Union's growing share in tripartite cooperation can be gauged from the fact that whereas it was involved in 21 tripartite projects in 1975, the number of projects rose to over 60 in 46 developing countries in the early 1980s.

A characteristic example of mutually beneficial tripartite cooperation is provided by the agreement signed in 1975 among the Soviet Union, Iran, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, France and the FRG, effective until the year 2003, under which Iranian gas is pumped to the Soviet Union, while an equivalent amount of gas is supplied from the USSR to Czechoslovakia and the West European parties to the agreement. Under another agreement concluded by the USSR, Spain, Cuba and Venezuela, the Soviet Union supplies Spain with oil that was previously earmarked for Cuba, while Venezuela delivers oil it previously sold to Spain to Cuba. A joint Soviet-Belgian company, Naphtha-B, supplies Soviet oil products to the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden, as well as Belgium.

Problems of cooperation among socialist and capitalist countries are discussed regularly at government level, in the first place, within the framework of mixed inter-governmental commissions. In some instances, problems arising among the partners to an agreement are resolved by working groups, an institutional body set up under intergovernmental agreements as for example, under the agreement between Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other.

Cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries on third-country markets may take the following forms or their combinations: joint sale and after-sale servicing in third countries of products manufactured by the partners jointly under cooperation programmes or individually by any partner; joint bids and turnkey construction in third countries; establishment of joint-stock societies in third countries, or in the territory of countries which are parties to agreements, in the latter case the output being marketed in the countries involved; and the marketing by a country of a partner's product in a third country, not infrequently on a reciprocal basis, the manufacturer's role being confined to delivering his product.

It must be said that both socialist and capitalist manufacturers have a vested interest in cooperating with each other on third-

country markets. Cooperation in supplying machinery, equipment and know-how to developing countries and providing consultative, designing and other services helps shorten delivery and construction time, cut manufacturing costs, and raise product quality and technological standards. Thus, Soviet organisations joined forces with Western firms in building an oil pipeline in Nigeria and supplying ventilation equipment to some Latin American countries, and recruited the services of some of their partners in capitalist countries in building power plants in developing states.

Cooperation on third-country markets provides an additional source of funds to finance bilateral projects within the framework of industrial cooperation programmes. The best illustration of this kind of cooperation is the establishment by FIAT of Italy, together with plants in Spain, Poland and Yugoslavia producing cars and car components under licence from the Italian car manufacturers and in cooperation with them, of a parallel marketing network embracing the markets of most West European countries, including Austria, Finland, France, West Germany and Switzerland. The Swedish firm Joint Trawlers has for years cooperated on third-country markets with Soviet organisations in the fishing industry, ranging from fishing and fish processing to the marketing of finished products.

Many projects in third countries are far above what individual socialist and capitalist enterprises can spare from their own resources. By setting up a consortium they obtain the necessary funds to carry through the projects; moreover, they can afford cut-rate terms to a third country. There are many examples of short-lived consortia graduating into permanent cooperation projects. Starting out as a short-term consortium set up to build sodium hydroxide plants in India (jointly with the French firm Creusot-Loire) and a fertiliser plant in Turkey (together with the French firm Crebs), the French firm Technip and the Polish Polimex-Cekop founded a joint company, Technipex, with the express purpose of cooperation on third-country markets. Ten per cent of the company's joint stock is held by a French bank, and another 5 per cent went to a Polish bank. In another example, the Soviet foreign trade association Energomashexport has joined hands with the Brown Boveri of

Switzerland in building a power plant in Iceland.

As developing countries are beginning to play a growing role in the planning and realisation of such projects, bilateral cooperation develops into a tripartite effort as a specific form of collaboration among countries having different socio-economic systems. The truly equitable and mutually beneficial business cooperation offered by the CMEA member-countries to developing countries helps to keep in check the expansionist ambitions of the ruling circles in imperialist states. The record of collaboration between socialist and developing countries, and, in particular, their joint work on tripartite projects, shows how economic relations between countries standing on different development levels should be built on an equitable and democratic basis.

The European socialist countries are actively involved in tripartite cooperation. In the developing world, Algeria, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Morocco and Nigeria are the most eager partners, and France, the FRG, Austria and Italy must be singled out among the developed capitalist states.

Whereas in the mid-1970s tripartite cooperation arrangements ran for 2 to 4 years, today they cover five or more years, quite in line with the general trend to put this form of international economic relations on a stable footing.

Tripartite cooperation extends to practically all fields of the developing countries' economies, including industry, agriculture, infrastructure, transport, and trade. Nearly 80 per cent of all projects are built in the processing industry, with agriculture acco-

unting for only a small fraction of these agreements, while research and designing projects are just taking off the ground.

Tripartite cooperation gives a shot in the arm to the business life in developing countries as early as the planning stage, provides an additional channel for the inflow of new technological know-how to them, raises the employment rate and enhances the skills of the local workforce. Apart from giving a boost to their industrialisation efforts, cooperation allows developing countries to gradually step up their own contribution to the fulfilment of tripartite projects, to as much as 40 per cent. It should be noted here that the Soviet Union continues to render extensive assistance to India in the construction of metal manufacturing plants, which today form the backbone of India's industry and promote its economic growth. Characteristically, the share of local firms in the tripartite projects, involving some Western contractors, was steadily growing, from Bhilai-I, with 12.2 per cent and Bhilai-II, 23 per cent, to Bokaro-I, 44 per cent, and Bokaro-II, about 80 per cent.

In general terms, cooperation on third-country markets, in particular, tripartite cooperation, helps diversify and streamline the stable, equitable and mutually beneficial international division of labour both within the framework of East-West relations and among socialist, capitalist and developing countries. In future, this cooperation may provide a major building block for a new system of international economic relations.

S. SHIBAYEV

THE INDUSTRIAL HEART OF ITALY

(Continued from page 140)

The stable development of mutually advantageous business cooperation with the Soviet Union prompts a growing interest in Soviet life on the part of Turin's residents. Turin has become Volgograd's sister city. And when Soviet Union Days were held in the capital of Italy's motor industry its people named one of the city's new squares after Volgograd. Exchanges between the USSR and Italy in the sphere of culture, sports and along the lines of sister-cities cooperation are making good headway.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the broad range of relations between the USSR and Italy can and should include not only trade and economic relations, but also political dialogue and contacts at different levels with the object of finding ways to reduce the danger of war, revive detente in Europe and on a world scale, and normalise the situation in the hot points of our planet.

N. PAKLIN

Turin-Moscow

DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

The rights and benefits extended to the diplomatic mission *per se*, as well as to its head and its diplomatic staff are called diplomatic privileges and immunities. With certain limitations they may be extended to the mission's administrative, technical and service staff.

Privileges and immunities have been gradually formulated on the basis of traditions, existing in various countries together with the development of the very diplomatic institutes themselves. For instance, personal immunity of ambassadors from ancient times has been regarded as their inalienable right. It is known that sacred laws of ancient India prohibited under the death penalty raising a hand against an ambassador since due to his mission which might bring peace or war, he is believed to be under divine protection. In ancient Greece ambassadors were very much respected—honours would be rendered to them, they would be presented with gifts and invited to various festivities. Inviolability of an ambassador was also established by the legislation of ancient Rome.

Peter the Great was quite zealous in questions involving personal immunity of his ambassadors. When Russian Ambassador to England A. Matveyev was subjected to humiliation, beatings and was even arrested on debt charges, Peter the Great demanded that the instigators be executed, and, indeed, they were held responsible. The things did not go that far, however; the English Parliament condemned their actions as a crime under the English laws and international law and sent a mission to extend apologies to Peter the Great.

Nowadays privileges and immunities enjoyed by diplomatic missions, their heads and staff are determined by bilateral agreements as well as multilateral conventions, in particular the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, to which the Soviet Union is also a party. Many provisions of this Convention were eventually used in preparations of other similar agreements.

The Vienna Convention establishes two categories of diplomatic privileges and immunities—those related to diplomatic missions *per se*, and personal immunities, in other words those enjoyed by the head of the mission and the members of the staff of the mission.

According to the Convention the premises of the mission are inviolable. The agents of the receiving State may not enter them, except with the consent of the head of the mission. It is understood that the premises of the mission include buildings or parts of buildings used for the purposes of the mission, including the residence of its head, and ancillary thereto. By the way, attempts were made in the past by some states to question this provision, in particular, in case of fire. Such reservations were also voiced during the preparation of the Vienna Convention. However, Soviet representatives spoke against them, and eventually they were rejected.

According to the Vienna Convention, the receiving State has a special responsibility of taking all appropriate steps to protect the premises of the mission against any intrusion or damage as well as to prevent any disturbance of the peace of the mission. The furnishings and other property thereon and the means of transport are immune from search, requisition, attachment or execution. The official correspondence of the mission is also inviolable, and diplomatic mail shall not be opened or detained.

The Convention reiterated the existing procedure of communication between the mission and its government with the help of diplomatic couriers and messages in code or cipher. Upon the consent of the receiving State the mission may install and use a wireless transmitter.

If diplomatic relations between two states are broken off or if a mission is permanently or temporarily recalled, and even in case of an armed conflict, the receiving state must respect and protect the premises of the mission, together with its property and archives.

The premises of the mission must not be used for forceful detention of any person, nor can they be used for granting asylum. Such actions would run counter to the sovereign status of the receiving State. It is for this very reason that the Vienna Convention states that "the premises of the mission must not be used in any manner incompatible with the missions' functions." However, Latin American countries have concluded separate conventions allowing the use of the premises of the diplomatic mission as an asylum. Nevertheless, such actions of these countries' missions on the territories of non-Latin American states would be unlawful.

The Vienna Convention reaffirmed the international practice of exempting the diplomatic mission from all national, regional or municipal dues and taxes, other than such as represent payment for specific services rendered (payment for electricity, gas, water,

telephone, etc.). The mission shall also be exempt from customs duties and permitted entry of articles for official use (for example, furniture, telephone equipment, wireless transmitters, typewriters, etc.).

The Convention also reaffirmed the inviolability of the diplomatic agent. Therefore, the existing traditions and customs have been given a normative character from the point of view of international law. The Convention states that "a diplomatic agent (in other words the head of the mission or the members of the diplomatic staff) shall not be liable to any form of arrest or detention. The receiving State "shall treat him with due respect and shall take all appropriate steps to prevent any attack on his person, freedom or dignity". Diplomats also enjoy immunities from the criminal and, with some exceptions, from the civil and administrative jurisdiction of the receiving State.

A diplomatic agent is not obliged to give evidence as a witness. His personal residence enjoys the same inviolability and protection as the premises of the mission. He is not liable to any measures which infringe the inviolability of his person and of his residence.

Naturally, privileges and immunities granted to a diplomat do not exempt him from the duty to respect the laws and regulations of the receiving State; he has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of that state. Violation of this requirement may lead to declaring him "persona non grata" demanding that he should leave the country.

The head of the mission and the diplomatic staff are granted exemption from customs duties on articles for personal use and their baggage is also exempted from inspection by customs unless, however, there are grounds for presuming that it contains articles prohibited for entry. This reservation is very important since its purpose is to prevent abuse of this privilege. The press often reports on attempts of some Western diplomats to smuggle such articles in their baggage, in particular drugs, which of late has become quite commonplace.

The above-mentioned privileges and immunities of head of the diplomatic mission and its diplomatic staff are also accorded to their family members.

One of the privileges of a diplomatic agent is his right to free movement in the territory of the receiving State. However, they are not allowed access to regions marked as prohibited for security reasons.

The Vienna Convention envisages that in case of an armed conflict the receiving State should grant facilities in order to enable persons enjoying privileges and immunities other than nationals of the receiving State, and members of their families irrespective of nationality to leave at the earliest possible moment. The necessary means of transport for themselves and their property should be placed at their disposal.

Diplomats and their families are also accorded privileges and immunities in those states the territory of which they pass when proceeding to take up or to return to their post.

In the Soviet Union questions pertaining to foreign diplomatic and consulate missions are regulated by legislation. The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of May 23, 1966 enforced the Provision which defines the privileges and immunities of these missions and their staff with the account of the corresponding articles of the Vienna Convention.

The Provision allows for the possibility of granting diplomatic privileges and immunities to the administrative, technical and service staff and their family members on the basis of reciprocity unless they are of Soviet nationality and reside permanently in the Soviet Union.

Persons who enjoy diplomatic immunities may not waive them on their own will. The right to waive the immunities belongs to the sending state.

Therefore, privileges and immunities enjoyed by the members of diplomatic missions are quite extensive. The preamble of the Vienna Convention emphasises that the purpose of "such privileges and immunities is not to benefit individuals but to ensure the efficient performance of the functions of diplomatic missions as representing States".

S. ANDREYEV

27th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU ON IMPERIALISM'S AGGRESSIVE POLICY

A. S O V E T O V

The 27th Congress of the CPSU made a thorough analysis of the situation in the capitalist world and identified the socio-economic and political contradictions which are aggravating the general crisis of capitalism. The Central Committee's Political Report to the Congress, the Resolution adopted there, the new edition of the Programme, and addresses by congress delegates and leaders of other communist and workers' parties contain theoretical conclusions and propositions based on a wealth of concrete material that is undoubtedly an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist science, including its teaching on imperialism at its present stage of development.

The congress once again exposed to the peoples of the world imperialism's inhumane and barbarous essence, and showed conclusively that in our nuclear age it poses a very grave danger for all civilisation. "In the world of today", says the Resolution on the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report, "imperialism is a growing threat to the very existence of mankind... It is imperialism alone that is responsible for the wars and conflicts of our century, and for unleashing the arms race, continuously whipping it up and opening new channels for it. Imperialism, which was the first to use nuclear weapons, is now preparing to take a new, possibly irrevocable step—to extend the arms race to outer space and train the sights on the entire planet."

This conclusion by the congress provides the only real key to understanding the true content of the military strategic course of the USA and NATO, a course aimed at preparing the material base for nuclear-missile war and subordinating the interests of the peoples in the world to those of the US imperialist bourgeoisie, which is bent on blocking humanity's progressive development.

The concept "aggressive policy" in the sense in which we used it up to very recently does not fully reflect the essence of the USA's political course on the international scene. We are faced with a *qualitatively* new phenomenon, namely, *American reaction's globalist aggressive campaign against all countries and peoples, and its all-encompassing aggression against world civilisation as a whole*. In a word, it is a policy and ideology whose misanthropic substance is daily being revealed and embodied in specific practical actions by the USA and the other imperialist states, which are keeping the world on the brink of a nuclear-missile war and endangering life on Earth.

That is why the congress's programmatic directives made it one of the party's most important tasks "*vigorously to expose in a well-argued manner the anti-popular, inhuman and exploitative nature of imperialism*".

The analysis made by the 27th Congress of the nature and specific features of present-day imperialism, including its increasing aggressiveness, is based on fundamental conclusions and propositions formulated in

Lenin's works. The analysis takes account of all the basic characteristics intrinsic to imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism. The congress documents also consider thoroughly the new features and peculiarities which have appeared in imperialism's development with the heightened competition between the two systems and with the scientific and technological revolution. "The capitalism of today, whose exploitative nature has not changed, is in many ways different from what it was in the early and even the middle 20th century."

But the changes which state monopoly capitalism has been undergoing and will continue to undergo in keeping with the laws of social development and with the contradictions inherent in it have not affected its nature and have not blunted its aggressiveness. And here we need to deal with a vital question: Is the aggressiveness of imperialism's foreign policy a feature separate and apart from its essence? In his polemic against the opportunists at the height of the First World War, Lenin denounced Karl Kautsky's concept that imperialism is "merely a system of foreign policy" (namely annexation), and that it would be wrong to describe as imperialism a definite economic stage, or level, in the development of capitalism".¹

Further, dealing with the organic link and interaction between domestic and foreign policies in general and imperialism in particular, Lenin pin-pointed the essence of this interconnection: "It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific, to single out 'foreign policy' from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to home policy. Both in foreign and home policy imperialism strives towards violations of democracy, towards reaction. In this sense imperialism is indisputably the 'negation' of *democracy in general, of all democracy*, and not just one of its demands, national self-determination".² Such are some of the fundamental propositions of Leninism which underlie the 27th Congress's scientific, theoretical and political analysis of the character, specific features and policy of present-day imperialism.

The thesis formulated in the Political Report should be highlighted: "The problems and crises experienced by the capitalist world arise within its own system and are a natural result of the internal antagonistic contradictions of the old society. In this sense, capitalism negates itself as it develops. Unable to cope with the acute problems of the declining phase of capitalism's development, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries resort to means and methods that are obviously incapable of saving the society which history has doomed."

Lenin stressed that imperialism increasingly resorts to oligarchy, "seeks to replace democracy generally by oligarchy"³. The facts of the subsequent decades, and especially of the last few years, show that today imperialism is relying more and more on openly terrorist and tyrannical regimes, which, of course, is not a sign of strength but rather of weakness of the old system. And weakness, as a rule, gives further impetus to adventurism.

Assessing militarism's sinister role both as a policy and as a peculiar mode of "philosophical thought", in our day, one cannot but recall the words of Lenin, who made a profound and very well-argued analysis of the nature and essential features of this phenomenon. Exposing the greed of German imperialism, he noted that "when such a machine [i. e. the war—A. S.] has gathered full speed there are no brakes that can stop it. This machine went farther than the German imperialists themselves desi-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 42.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, 1964, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

red, and they were crushed by it. They were stuck; they ended up like a man who had gorged himself to death."⁴

This characterisation fully applies to the situation obtaining in the modern world when imperialism, US imperialism first and foremost, has taken the machine of militarism up to an unprecedented speed, and the profits that it receives from that are truly fabulous. It is no exaggeration to paraphrase Lenin's words and say that the US military industrial complex is "gorging itself" and is not even put off by the fact that by so doing it is heading for destruction.

The ruling circles of today's America have placed the factor of military force at the base of their policy, ideology and entire way of life. The show of military muscle is now a main direction of the USA's foreign policy. Brute force is used primarily against small states like Grenada, Libya, Nicaragua, and Lebanon. And for good reason, too. First of all, as Washington sees it, this guarantees success; second, it intensifies reaction in the USA itself and whips up imperial and chauvinistic sentiments among the population. In fact, methods of the strategy of violence are being employed which were characteristic of Nazi Germany. "Striving to weaken the international solidarity of working people," says the CPSU Programme, "imperialism stirs up and abets national egoism, chauvinism and racism, and scorn for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage."

In all probability the US imperialists believe that retaliation is least likely from a state that is weak militarily, all of which testifies to the moral degradation of the leading imperialist power's ruling clique, which resorts to far from civilised methods in relations with other peoples and countries, and follows the laws of the jungle in its international policy.

State terrorism is the practical reflection of the USA's misanthropic policy and ideology on the international scene. It is an attempt to take the sting out of the national liberation struggle, to slow down and reverse the process of social renewal in newly free countries, and eventually to resolve in favour of imperialism the historical dispute with socialism worldwide.

It is obvious that the imperialist bourgeoisie is unable and unwilling to reconcile itself to the radical changes of the postwar decades. But the world is now a different place. Imperialism's dominant position internationally has been completely and definitely liquidated. The existence and successful development of the new, communist formation has fundamentally altered the correlation of class and political forces in the world, and given fresh impetus to and speeded up humanity's advance.

Delivering the Central Committee's Political Report to the congress, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The progress of our time is rightly identified with socialism. *World socialism* is a powerful international entity with a highly developed economy, substantial scientific resources, and a reliable military and political potential. It accounts for more than one-third of the world's population; it includes dozens of countries and peoples advancing along a path that reveals in every way the intellectual and moral wealth of man and society. A new way of life has taken shape, based on the principles of socialist justice, in which there are neither oppressors nor the oppressed, neither exploiters nor the exploited, in which power belongs to the people. Its distinctive features are collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, triumph of the ideas of freedom, unbreakable unity between the rights and duties of every member of society, the dig-

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1965, p. 156.

nity of the individual, and true humanism. Socialism is a realistic option open to all humanity, an example projected into the future."

The destiny of peace and progress and the destiny of humanity are now closely bound up with world socialism. Socialism has become a powerful force blocking the way of imperialist reaction, which it opposes not only with its peaceloving Leninist policy but also with its real military and political might, which the nuclear warmongers are obliged to take into account. The military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO is a reliable guarantee that all the nuclear "hawks" will be held in check. Nowadays the actual correlation of forces internationally is by no means determined by vociferous statements in favour of "power politics", and US imperialism's crude, adventurist aggressive actions against sovereign states, far from enhancing the US ruling circles' international prestige and authority, are increasingly undermining the moral and political foundations of the leading capitalist power, which has become the chief source of military danger.

Previously, the imperialist states' foreign policy was primarily an instrument of diktat over the enormous mass of the world's people, a means of plundering and enslaving peoples. While fully maintaining this quality, foreign policy is now, more than ever before, the weapon with which imperialism hopes to preserve itself as a system. The globalism of the aggressive thrust of imperialism's foreign policy to a certain extent reflects the obvious fact that internal "structural" and other reforms can no longer secure the development of the old system.

Reliance on force has always been a feature of the imperialist powers' foreign policy, but now it has become the dominant element of the whole foreign policy of the USA and those countries with which it is allied in aggressive blocs. There is a very sound basis for the Political Report's conclusion that "to keep in the saddle of history, imperialism is resorting to all possible means. But such a policy is costing the world dearly. The nations are compelled to pay an ever higher price for it."

As a system of exploitation and oppression, capitalism is doomed, but it does not follow from this that it will sink into oblivion without fierce resistance, using all means fair and foul, including the latest weapons. It is quite obvious that in its policy US imperialism is placing increasing reliance on the stockpiling of arms in an effort to convince the peoples, including its own people, that the only way to preserve peace is to accumulate and develop weapons.

In today's world, imperialism's foreign policy is becoming much more aggressive because the means to which it resorts to realise its objectives are a potential threat to the very existence of humanity. Figuratively speaking, imperialism is banking on making all humanity a hostage of its reckless adventurist policy.

The lie about a "Soviet military menace" and the absolutely groundless assertions that the Soviet Union is bent on attaining military superiority remain the trump card in the campaign, one unprecedented in both scale and hypocrisy, to substantiate politically and ideologically the course towards spiralling the arms race. This lie and these assertions are used to bring political pressure to bear on the USA's Western allies, which sometimes act like a herd of sheep that has escaped from the careful control of the shepherd, who, of course, is the United States of America.

All means, including even very primitive ones, are used to "prove" these fabrications. Let us take just one example, though it would be easy to find many. Prominent experts, among them some who have stood or are standing at the helm of the US ship of state, have data that is not

drawn from false newspaper or television reports, and they have repeatedly expressed the view that there is rough military parity between the USA and the USSR. What is more, the whole US propaganda machine claims day and night that America has the superiority, which supposedly makes it the universally accepted leader of the West and a bulwark in the fight against the "threat of communism."

Here is a recent statement by US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger: "Today we are facing great challenge—the massive and unprecedented Soviet military buildup over the last twenty years. Our technological leadership has eroded and the military balance has shifted against us. To meet this new challenge, President Reagan initiated a broad modernization and improvement of our military capabilities and launched the strategic defense initiative."

Let us make a comparison. Caspar Weinberger declares categorically that "the military balance has shifted against us" but *Foreign Affairs*, an influential US magazine whose contributors include very high-ranking Washington personalities, including the State Secretary and other pillars of the Administration, writes that the Soviet leaders "should also recognise that the 'correlation of forces' that they so carefully assess is no longer favorable to the Soviet Union".⁵

These are fundamental assessments, assessments of the objective correlation of forces. Yet it is here that we encounter discordance and a complete lack of agreement. But all this skilfully masks the political, ideological and propaganda substantiation of one and the same political course—one towards the arms race and greater confrontation on the world scene, above all between the USA and the USSR.

The American political machine operates according to its own principles and calculations, which do not at all include the need to take logic or even arithmetic into consideration. That which suits the Pentagon today but contradicts arithmetic must be subordinated to the Pentagon's interests, if only because the military-industrial complex has colossal means for influencing public opinion while arithmetic is mute and can simply be ignored. That is the tactic being used in an attempt to mislead not only the American people but the entire world community.

Our party has elaborated a clear and well-argued position on the problem of the correlation of forces, which is key in an assessment of the situation in the world today. This position, which reflects life's realities, is formulated thus in the congress resolution: "The trend towards a change in the correlation of forces on the world scene in favour of peace, reason and good will is enduring and is irreversible in principle. This correlation, however, is taking shape in the course of an acute and dynamic struggle between progress and reaction."

It is precisely the acuteness and dynamism of this struggle which determine the important present-day specific features of international relations in literally every area. Humanity is now at a crucial point in its development. And the conclusion drawn by the 27th Congress is a vital one: "The US ruling circles are clearly losing their realistic bearings in this far from simple period of history."

The drastic increase in the USA's aggressiveness on the world scene has both objective and subjective bases, and these must obviously be analysed in their totality and interconnection if one is to understand the essence of this phenomenon.

For a fairly long time all attempts by the imperialist circles to slow down and reverse social development have inevitably met with failure. The draining arms race that US imperialism has been imposing on humanity heightens the danger of a global war but, in the broad historical perspective, has in no way strengthened either the moral and political or military strategic position of Washington in the world. As the 27th Congress underlined: "Aggressive international behaviour, increasing militarisation of politics and thinking, contempt for the interests of others—all this is leading to the inevitable moral and political isolation of US imperialism, widening the abyss between it and the rest of humanity."

But the bosses of the military-industrial complex are not inclined to assess the situation soberly: on the contrary, they hope to find a way out of their isolation by whipping up the arms race even further. They need this race not only for the colossal profits it brings but also as a means of upsetting the military strategic parity, in the vain hope of resolving the historical dispute with socialism in a military battle. Hence the "star wars" idea, which the US hopes to turn into the lever that will enable it to realise its obviously unattainable goal.

It is also reckoned that an arms race in the new sphere will be so burdensome that the USSR will not be able to cope. The "star wars" programme has many facets. It is both an instrument of military pressure and a means of pressuring politically, and a method of weakening the USA's allies-cum-competitors. The USA is relying on "star wars" to stabilise its shaken positions in the world, putting humanity's fate at stake.

Neither is it mere coincidence that the efforts to push through the "star wars" programme are going ahead parallel with crude and cynical acts of state terrorism. Let us cite a statement by a member of the American political elite who is able to speak fairly candidly about Washington's present foreign policy. William Hyland, Editor-in-Chief of *Foreign Affairs*, wrote that US actions against Libya and Nicaragua are symptomatic of the USA re-asserting its former global role; it is a matter of assuming the role of the world policeman. He writes that such actions will remain contradictory and involve risks. However, this is the price one has to pay for a successful foreign policy⁶. Any comment here would be superfluous.

But aims like those naturally need an ideological smoke screen; hence the unbridled propaganda campaign, which has gone beyond elementary logic and whose purpose is to use fabrications and a biased interpretation of the facts to undermine the force and authority of Soviet foreign policy and to prove that our peace initiatives are supposedly dictated by "economic weakness" and by the "wind of freedom and change that is blowing in their sails", as the ideologues of imperialism love to claim so grandiloquently.

It is noteworthy that an "expert" on Marxism-Leninism like President Reagan has suddenly felt the need to confirm the correctness of his views and policy by making references to the founders of scientific communism. A year ago he stated: "In a sense, then, Marx was right: economic progress is leading to clashes with old entrenched political orders. But Marx was wrong about where all this would occur; for it is the democratic world that is flexible, vibrant, and growing—bringing its peoples higher and higher standards of living even as freedom grows and deepens."⁷

All these bombastic words have nothing in common with the reality in either the capitalist world as a whole or in the USA itself, where there is growing polarisation with immeasurable wealth at one pole and vege-

⁶ *The Wall Street Journal*, March 26, 1986.

⁷ *Department of State Bulletin*, July 1985, p. 25.

the future at the other. American propagandists deliberately keep quiet about the fact that to a considerable extent the so-called prosperity in the West rests on the most sophisticated neocolonial exploitation of the peoples of the developing countries, exploitation which is of an unprecedented scale.

The American mass media have also been making increasing use of the propaganda device of drumming it into the consciousness of their people, and of the peoples of other countries as well, that it is not weapons themselves but rather political actions which will spark off a war, hence there is no need to press for an end to the arms race and the destruction of the nuclear arsenals since they by themselves cannot begin a disastrous military conflict.

Certainly, cannons and missiles cannot go off by themselves but today the only real way to preserve peace, improve the world situation, and build trust between states is to curb the arms race, prevent militarisation of outer space, eliminate mass destruction weapons, and begin to reduce conventional weapons. Without concrete practical steps towards disarmament, no declarations about the need to improve political relations can ensure a more stable and secure world. But precisely that tendency is now clearly evident in the approach of Western state and political leaders, who never tire of speaking about their responsibility and sincere desire to seek solutions to vital problems. Of course, like NATO's ex-Commander-in-Chief in Europe and ex-US Secretary of State Alexander Haig, one can claim that "the peace movement and the Administration have precisely the same objectives: the reduction of nuclear arms". But why then does the White House (and the governments of other Western countries) repress, persecute and imprison peace activists on the slightest pretext? And the height of hypocrisy and blasphemy must certainly be Haig's categorical statement that "only the democracies can eliminate the possibility of nuclear war because only the democracies read messages from the people"⁸.

All of this is based on a strange logic: the USA plans to do away with the very possibility of nuclear war by speeding up the nuclear arms race. Not only is this folly, it is also fraught with unforeseeable consequences. Based on an objective, factual analysis of both the profound trends in the development of modern capitalist society and the specific features of US imperialism's foreign policy and military and political strategy, the Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Congress drew this conclusion: "...But mention must be made of the serious danger to international relations of any further substantial shift of policy, of the entire internal situation in some capitalist countries, to the right. The consequences of such a development are hard to predict, and we must not underrate their danger."

It is only natural that there is growing alarm even among the Western elite that Washington regards a course towards a confrontation between the two worlds as a fully permissible version of the military political strategy. Quite typical, for example, is what George Kennan, a well-known foreign relations expert, wrote a few years ago about the possibility of nuclear war, wondering whether anyone seriously believed that this civilisation would survive the third such Bacchanalia of violence and destruction in just one century. He also mused whether it was not yet clear that a new catastrophe of such nature would be too dear a price to pay and that they would risk to lose in it the things for which they were going to fight. He notes further that the availability of nuclear weapons only confirms the fact that is obvious for everyone, that is, that an

⁸ Alexander M. Haig, *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy*, New York 1984, p. 236.

all-out war between the great powers in the industrialised age and with a high level of technological development is just an unpounderable option, for it is impossible to imagine the circumstances in which it would have any sense.

However, as underlined at the CPSU's 27th Congress, in our day it is not the imperialist quarters that decide questions of war and peace. Opposing them is a mighty and powerful front of forces which consider it their historical mission to prevent war and preserve the world from a nuclear holocaust. And consistent and decisive struggle against imperialism's aggressive foreign policy has always been an indispensable condition for the accomplishment of that task.

"The CPSU's approach to foreign-policy matters", stresses the CPSU Programme, "consists in firm protection of the interests of the Soviet people and resolute opposition to the aggressive policy of imperialism combined with a readiness for dialogue and constructive settlement of international problems through negotiations."

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A reality of our time is the existence of two opposite social and political systems—the socialist and the capitalist, with the future belonging to the former and the latter being outdated and condemned by history itself.

No "modifications" and manoeuvres by modern capitalism have rendered invalid or can render invalid the laws of social development, or can overcome the antagonism between labour and capital, between the monopolies and society, or can bring the historically doomed capitalist system out of its all-permeating crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the very same means which capitalism puts to use with the aim of strengthening its positions inevitably lead to an aggravation of all its deep-seated contradictions. "Imperialism is parasitical, decaying and moribund capitalism; it marks the eve of socialist revolution," says the CPSU Programme.

There is a direct link between the worsening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the acceleration of the decay of the old system, and the increased aggressiveness of the foreign policy of the USA and the other imperialist states. In other words, this course is dictated by fear of the morrow, fear of the mounting world revolutionary process.

Through the arms race and heightened confrontation with world socialism along all lines, imperialism, US imperialism primarily, tries to slow down humanity's advance as if giving all peoples and states an ultimatum: either submit to foreign diktat or be plunged into a nuclear holocaust.

What can be said about this behaviour on the part of the US imperialist bourgeoisie? First of all, no one can render invalid the laws of social development discovered by the founders of scientific communism; they have been operating independent of people's will and desire, whatever Washington may think. And it must be said that it is from here that the unending stream of statements flows which hold all other peoples in contempt, and threaten to use military force against those who dare to oppose American diktat.

In all this, one's attention is called, first, to the deliberate jumbling of policy and diplomacy with ideology and propaganda in order to brainwash the American population with militarist ideas and to fan chauvinistic sentiments under slogans of "national exclusiveness" and "American superiority" over all other peoples.

Second, it should be borne in mind that Washington must know that if it unleashes a nuclear-missile war Americans are not guaranteed aga-

inst a crushing counter-strike, which is why the US rulers are presently placing emphasis on making all possible use of the *very process of preparing* for such a war. And in this it is permissible not only to mix policy and propaganda but also to make extensive use of political bluff, which asserts the "greatness of the American nation" and raises President Reagan's prestige and authority in the eyes of Americans—that the same Reagan who makes pronouncements left, right and centre about Washington's love of peace while giving orders to invade Grenada, make strikes against Libya, and conduct undeclared wars against Afghanistan, Nicaragua and the young states in southern Africa.

Third, Washington's global propaganda and ideological offensive against the forces of peace and progress is an attempt to make the peoples feel that the situation cannot be changed and to instil in everyone, including the US allies, that the only way out is for them unquestioningly to accept "American leadership".

And, fourth, the noisy propaganda campaign aims to convince the American and world public that the United States can achieve military strategic superiority over world socialism.

The 27th Congress reiterated that in our day it is impossible to win either the arms race or a nuclear war. "The continuation of this race on earth", it says, "let alone its spread to outer space, will accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and perfecting nuclear weapons. The situation in the world may assume such a character that it will no longer depend upon the intelligence or will of political leaders. It may become captive to technology, to technocratic military logic. Consequently, not only nuclear war itself but also the preparations for it, in other words, the arms race, *the aspiration to win military superiority can, speaking in objective terms, bring no political gain to anybody.*"

Such is the conclusion drawn by our party at its supreme forum. It is scientifically substantiated in every way and takes into consideration the experience of postwar development and, most importantly, the scientific and technological potentials of the USSR and the USA, East and West. To understand this truth means to realise that today there is no alternative to cooperation and mutual understanding between all states. The *objective conditions* that now obtain mean that the struggle between the two systems can proceed *solely and exclusively* in forms of peaceful competition.

The achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries in every sphere of social life frighten and perturb our enemies. "Unable to give the peoples a peace alternative meeting the interests of all," said Mikhail Gorbachev at the June 1986 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, "they are fanning up militarist psychosis which, in their view can retard historical progress and help them maintain their economic and political power. Moreover, they harbour the hope, if only an illusion, that it would be possible to frustrate our plans, to slow down the development of the socialist countries, to divert us from the course set by the 27th CPSU Congress and keep us in the shackles of the arms race."

As to the future of such a shortsighted (to put it mildly) policy on the part of Western states, it is quite obvious that it is only driving the imperialist bourgeoisie further along a blind alley and engendering ever newer irreconcilable social, economic, military and political contradictions which have been accelerating the collapse of the old world and will continue to do so.

At this crucial juncture in the historical process, imperialism's policy is becoming more reactionary and more aggressive, clearly exposing the anti-popular, inhumane, and exploitative nature of the capitalist system. In the period when monopoly capital held complete sway, increased aggressiveness in imperialism's policy in international relations was, as a rule, accompanied by greatly heightened contradictions between the leading imperialist powers. The appearance of socialism on the historical scene and its transformation into a powerful world system did not and could not remove the problems of interimperialist contradictions, though it has placed its imprint on their character and development and the means by which they are resolved, and has substantially altered the forms in which they are manifested.

In the present historical conditions, which by all objective indicators are indicative of great changes and to some extent perhaps even critical, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism could not but make imperialism's foreign policy more aggressive. The roots of this process are to be found in the economy, policy, military and political strategy, and ideology; it is made worse by the crisis in bourgeois society's state and political institutions and the disintegration of bourgeois culture and morals. In a word, this process is quite in keeping with the inner laws of development of the exploitative system itself and fully reflects their mechanism.

The profound and comprehensive analysis of the problems of modern imperialism contained in documents and materials of the 27th Congress provides answers to all the basic questions concerning the essence of this process. Of fundamental political, theoretical and methodological importance is a conclusion of the CPSU Programme which reveals the internal dynamics and causes of this phenomenon: "As the course of historical development more and more weakens the positions of imperialism, the policy of its more reactionary forces becomes increasingly hostile to the interests of the peoples. Imperialism is putting up fierce resistance to social progress, and is trying to stop the course of history, to undermine the positions of socialism, and to avenge itself socially on a world scale."

This pithy formulation reveals the sources of the present stage in the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism's policy in general and of its foreign policy in particular. If one makes a very broad generalisation of the most typical features and manifestations of the aggressiveness of imperialist foreign policy at the present stage, the following should be noted:

Militarily, the USA and its main NATO allies have been vigorously pursuing a course of further spiralling the arms race, striving in so doing to give it new qualities and to spread it to new areas, including outer space. Imperialism tries to use virtually all scientific discoveries primarily to develop new lethal weapons. To put it plainly, imperialism's strategy in this field is aimed at making the arms race irreversible; hence its practical line of actually blocking the work of the existing disarmament mechanisms and turning them into forums whose degree of effectiveness is inversely proportional to the arms race process itself. This is proven precisely by the US president's decision on Washington's actual refusal to continue observing the Soviet-American legal agreements on limiting strategic offensive weapons—the provisional 1972 agreement and the 1979 SALT-2 Treaty. The Soviet government qualified this American action by stating, "the present American leadership has taken an exceptionally dangerous measure in violation of the treaty system, which checks the nuclear arms race thus creating conditions for concluding new agreements."

As these facts irrefutably show, the concrete, precise, radical and far-reaching proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for getting out of the vicious circle of the arms race are in point of fact obstructed with numerous pretexts and stipulations whose sole objective is to prevent real progress in resolving this question that is the most important one for humanity. It is hard to imagine that anyone could consider it reasonable to turn dialogue at the negotiations into a monologue of nuclear explosions, but such a danger does exist and it is being created by the reckless policy of imperialism's warmongering quarters. There is therefore good reason for regarding the push towards militarisation and a spiralling of the arms race, blame for which rests squarely on imperialism, as the most important and most dangerous form in which the aggressiveness of imperialist policy is manifested in our time.

Politically, imperialist reaction is bent on substituting confrontation and a deepening of the already major and serious contradictions in the world for cooperation and the development of ties between countries with different social systems. The Washington Administration's hostile policy towards the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world has been greatly invigorated, to what can be described as an unprecedented extent. Whilst holding forth about its desire to better relations with the USSR, Washington takes clearly considered and purposeful actions which undermine the process of normalising Soviet-American relations. It is a fact that, contrary to well-known agreements reached at the Geneva summit, the US Administration has been taking a line that can only be described as deliberate subversion of the "Geneva spirit".

In the political sphere, the American leaders are making ever more crude and brazen use of military and political pressure on sovereign states, and are proclaiming doctrines whose practical realisation is actually hegemonism in action. The geopolitical concepts of US expansionism add up to the belief that the whole world is a "sphere of US vital interests". What is more, Washington claims that the naked acts of aggression against Libya, the subversion and threats against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, etc., are lawful measures of self-defence, defence of legitimate US interests, and "acts favouring peace". Indeed, the more aggressive the US is on the international scene, the more grandiloquent are its hypocritical assurances that it wants to secure peace, resolve the pressing problems, and strengthen order and stability in the world.

Economically, imperialism, US imperialism first and foremost, is bringing greater pressure to bear on the developing states. The already fabulous profits extorted from these countries increase from year to year. The attempts to enslave the developing countries using economic levers are imperialism's way of trying to resolve its own political as well as purely economic problems. To this must be added all the various economic sanctions, blockades, bans, etc., which the imperialist forces employ in the relations with socialist countries.

Imperialism's economic aggression is increasing in parallel with its military and political aggression, which is why there is good cause to speak of a single set of measures of military, political and economic aggression as a feature of imperialism's global strategy. The rulers of the imperialist world think that by relying on their economic might they can consolidate the position of the old system and more effectively pursue a policy of hegemonism, but these calculations, whatever their backing, rest on sand for they run counter to the objective course of world development and face the insurmountable obstacle of the powerful world system of socialism and the growing alliance of the forces of social emancipation and national liberation.

Ideologically, imperialism's aggressiveness is primarily expressed in its increasing use of "psychological warfare". The breadth and scale of subversion by American and other Western special services is expanding; their methods of work are becoming more sophisticated and sinister; and appropriations for their activities against sovereign states are continually growing. The imperialist states' colossal propaganda and information machine is now operating on an unprecedented scale in a bid to give political and ideological substantiation to the aggressive foreign policy of the USA and its closest NATO allies. While speaking hypocritically about "competition" in the field of ideas, the imperialist circles actually carry out ideological aggression against the socialist countries, against many developing states, and against the revolutionary and liberation movements of the world.

We have dealt with only the most typical manifestations of the more pronounced aggressive trend in the policy of the states ruled by the monopolist bourgeoisie. It is a trend that greatly endangers peace, especially if one takes into account that, to all appearances, the tendencies in its development considered above will continue in the period ahead. As the Central Committee's Political Report said, "owing to its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly gives rise to aggressive, adventurist policy".

The foreign policy strategy of the CPSU and the Soviet state has always had regard to a factor as important as imperialism's aggressive nature and to the fact that its foreign policy always goes through phases of a more and more pronounced aggressive tendency. An analysis of this phenomenon makes it necessary to consider it in the dialectical unity and struggle of opposites, and that is precisely what was done at the CPSU's 27th Congress.

The CPSU, the Soviet state, other countries of world socialism, the international communist, working-class and national liberation movement, and all progressive peace-loving forces the world over have accumulated a wealth of valuable experience of vigorous and effective struggle against imperialism and its aggressive policy, which could spark off a nuclear-missile cataclysm. This experience is a great help in today's conditions, it enriches the forms of this struggle, gives it new content, and makes it more effective.

The congress set as a historical task of socialism and all progressive and peace-loving forces that of averting war and saving humanity from catastrophe. And all the foreign policy initiatives and practical policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state are aimed at achieving that noble goal.

Naturally, our struggle for peace has nothing in common with pacifism or "demagogic" exercises. While fighting to avert a nuclear war, the CPSU and the Soviet state expose to all the peoples the adventurist essence of the policy of the USA and NATO, and assess from clear class positions both the overall world situation and the situation in each country and each region. "...Pacifism and 'democracy' in general," Lenin wrote, "which lay no claim to Marxism... are obscuring the profundity of the contradictions of imperialism and the inevitable revolutionary crisis to which it gives rise, are still very widespread all over the world."⁹

In line with Lenin's injunction on the need to take a class approach to analysing the sources of the threat of war and exposing imperialism as the main seat of aggression in the world, the CPSU does not oppose imperialism's aggressive policy from the positions of impotent pacifism

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1964, pp. 192-193.

but rather exposes the true cause of the heightened military danger, thereby helping to broaden the front of peace-loving forces.

A dialectical analysis of the aggressive essence of imperialism's foreign policy, which Lenin always taught the Communists to make, requires that full account be taken not only of those factors which intensify these tendencies but also of those which confine their operation to definite bounds. It goes without saying that imperialism's increased internal contradictions, the presence and deepening of real differences between individual imperialist powers on specific international problems, and the rivalry, and at times even the struggle, between groupings and factions of the state monopoly bourgeoisie necessarily affect imperialism's policy as a whole. The dialectics of development is such that while the crisis of imperialism exacerbates the aggressive tendencies in its policy, it also to a certain extent undermines the basis for its practical realisation.

The CPSU and the Soviet state oppose the philosophy of aggression and force with the Leninist philosophy of peace and security, which has behind it not only the strength of historical correctness and the fact that it meets the deepest aspirations of all peoples, but also the might of the socialist countries, their vigorous and dynamic policy and reliably ensured defences, which make possible a firm and resolute rebuff to any moves by reactionary and aggressive imperialist quarters.

The developing states, which have a vital interest in preserving peace, are actively and resolutely joining the struggle to avert a nuclear catastrophe. The peace movement is now a truly worldwide one that includes ever broader forces which are socially, politically and ideologically very varied. An important role is also played by those realistic circles in the capitalist countries which clearly recognise the grave danger inherent in continuing an aggressive course towards the arms race and military confrontation. Finally, military and technological factors also play an enormous role, posing in a new way, as they do, the questions of war and peace and survival in a war in our age.


All this provides a basis for optimistically assessing the prospects of the struggle to preserve peace and save human civilisation. As underscored in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the Congress, "the international reactionary forces are far from being all-powerful. The development of the world revolutionary process, the upsurge of mass democratic and anti-war movements significantly broadened and strengthened *the tremendous potential of peace, reason and good will*. This is a powerful counterweight to imperialism's aggressive policy". In the final analysis, the actions of humanity's unprecedented forces for self-preservation can and must ward off the danger of self-destruction of our civilisation.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND ERRONEOUS ARGUMENTS OF ITS OPPONENTS

Y u. B A B I C H

International relations are experiencing a special, critical period. Never has the problem of peace and war, vital for all of mankind, been so acute as today. The issue is not simply that of historical confrontation between the two social systems, but in fact of a choice between their survival and mutual destruction.

Today's reality demands an answer to the pivotal question of our time—what direction will world social development take? Will the more reactionary and aggressive imperialist forces succeed in imposing a policy of confrontation, which spells a gradual slide towards the abyss of nuclear holocaust, or will people succeed in turning the course of events towards peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems which would result in an improvement of the entire system of international relations. The destinies of universal peace and the very existence of our civilisation ultimately depend on the answer to this vital question of our time.



Peaceful coexistence between states belonging to different social and economic systems is the bidding of our time. Despite the opposite natures of the countries in the two social systems, and profound differences between them, the fact remains that they have to exist side by side in a world that is complex, diverse and contradictory yet basically one interconnected whole. It is this combination of what seems at first glance to be mutually exclusive elements—the historical struggle between the two systems and the growing interdependence of the world community's countries—that constitutes the dialectics of present-day world development.

The concept of mankind's unity in the face of the looming nuclear catastrophe is fighting its way to recognition through this dialectics, through the struggle of opposites. This gives renewed relevance to the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems developed by Lenin, a policy which today offers a concrete and realistic way to survival and self-preservation of civilisation.

What is the essence of that policy? As formulated in the Programme of the CPSU it means above all renunciation of war and the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputes which must be settled only by political means through negotiations. It envisages, furthermore, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for each other's legitimate interests; the right of the peoples to independently decide their destinies; strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders. It must be stressed that the policy of peaceful coexistence is not confined to the above-mentioned aspects. In its ultimate development it mainly presupposes many-sided cooperation between states on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit, honest compliance with all the commitments stemming from the generally recognised principles and norms of international law and from international treaties.

The policy of peaceful coexistence thus vividly reflects the creative character of socialism as a new social system, the humanism of communist ideology, its lofty moral values that embody the highest aspirations of all of mankind. At the same time, this policy includes norms of international communication that are inherently democratic, profoundly and universally humane in character. In expressing the aspirations, not of one side, but the vital interests of the peoples in the socialist, capitalist and developing countries, the course for peaceful coexistence ultimately meets the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The policy of peaceful coexistence has withstood harsh tests. Confronted with numerous difficulties and obstacles at various historical stages, it has invariably proved viable and effective. It is not for nothing that the norms of international communication inherent in it have gained such wide recognition and have been enshrined in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, an important multilateral international legal document of our time. The principles of peaceful coexistence have thus been recognised to be a model of civilised relations among states which all the members of the international community should try to follow.

The significance of these principles is particularly great at the present stage of world social development. The character and magnitude of the nuclear threat to mankind makes peaceful coexistence more necessary than ever before.

Why is that so?

In the *political field*, the vital need to ward off the threat of war requires that all the states, irrespective of their social system, interact constructively everywhere in the world and that the human civilisation's instinct of self-preservation be awakened. In present-day conditions peaceful coexistence rather than confrontation should be the strict law of interstate relations. If this is to happen, all countries, large and small, while not shutting their eyes to the differences that divide them, should learn to live in peace and concord as good neighbours whether they like each other or not.

Differences in social systems and ideologies need not be the cause of tensions between them. They should not set their sights on hostility and confrontation, but on mutual understanding, the search primarily for those spheres in their relations where their interests coincide, are similar or can be brought closer together. They should seek to establish a world order in which there would be no room in international relations for arbitrary acts and the cult of force, a world order in which the sovereignty of every people in choosing the road and forms of its development is fully respected, in which there is mutual trust, broad cooperation in every sphere of public life. Of exceptional importance is the ability to take into account in policy practice, not only one's own interests, but the interests of partners in the international community and also the realities of the modern world and all its diversity, to gear the solution of disputes to the main goal of preventing nuclear war.

It also has to be borne in mind that the present-day world is developing rapidly and dynamically. Under these conditions, any attempts to arrest national liberation processes in various regions through export of counter-revolution, to preserve the social-political status quo become an anachronism fraught with grave consequences.

Seeking to justify the imperialist policy some in the West quite often try to portray national liberation struggle as "export of revolution". However, as Lenin stressed, revolutions are not made to order and "develop with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms."¹ It is the class contradictions within the capitalist system that give rise to social con-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 72.

licts in various regions of the world. For all the difference of the specific conditions in every such region, the underlying issue in most such conflicts is the right of the peoples to determine their own destiny. It goes without saying that such problems should be solved by these peoples themselves without any outside interference.

Peaceful coexistence, as an element of international relations, does not require renouncing class world outlook or the class stand. Thus, class internationalist solidarity with the forces of social emancipation and national liberation does not contradict the policy of peaceful coexistence between states belonging to the two systems. As regards the settlement of regional problems that affect the national interests of the countries which have traditional political and other ties with these regions, there exists a tried and true means of solving these problems—a political one, through negotiations and the search for mutually acceptable compromises.

In short, if the norms of peaceful coexistence were followed, the relations between East and West could be put on a qualitatively new plane, made more correct, even and stable. Everybody would stand to gain from it, including the young nations which have recently thrown off the shackles of colonialism and embarked on the path of independent development. If the principles of peaceful coexistence were universally adopted, these countries would not need to fear political pressure and outside encroachments and this would greatly facilitate their social, economic and political progress and would enable them to contribute to a radical improvement of the world political climate and the establishment of just principles of international security. This would mean a real possibility for improving the overall situation on our planet to make it more favourable for general development under conditions of peace.

In the *military field*, the need for peaceful coexistence stems from the fact, pointed out in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, that the modern world has become too small and fragile for wars and a policy of strength. The policy of total contention and military confrontation of the two systems has no future. Force is losing its former significance as the main means of solving disputes between states.

There is growing understanding in the world of the unchallengeable truth that nuclear war, by its very character, cannot be a means for achieving rational goals. It cannot be launched without catastrophic consequences for all, and there can be no victors in it. Hence the urgent need to prevent any war between the states of the two systems, whether nuclear or conventional, to curtail material preparation for war, i. e., the arms race. Further intensification of this race, far from helping to settle the accumulated international problems, merely makes them more complex pushing mankind to the brink of self-destruction.

The very nature of the existing weapons does not leave any hope to any state to protect itself by military-technological means alone, by building up its military potential and creating defence systems, however powerful. Obviously, no basic change would result in the state of affairs from the military use of the latest technology, including the much-touted "star wars" programme. Escalation of the arms race on the Earth and, still more, its spread to outer space could merely accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and improvement of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons, which does not increase anyone's security. Besides, in present-day conditions, it is practically impossible to "gain the upper hand" in the arms race and achieve "decisive superiority" because any challenge in this field prompts a retaliatory measure from the other side, as historical experience shows.

If the arms race continues, the world situation may get out of the politicians' control and, captive to technology and military-technocratic logic,

would cease to be amenable to their reason and will. Thus, the destinies of human civilisation would be put at the mercy of machines. Who stands to gain from it? No one.

Another circumstance to be borne in mind is that at present the security of the states belonging to the two systems is based on mutual deterrence, on military-strategic parity. In a world where weapons systems are being quantitatively increased and qualitatively improved, the problem of maintaining equal security of the sides turns into the problem of equal insecurity, with the entire world becoming a hostage to such a situation against its will. An unrestrained arms race would inevitably increase the equal danger and could even reach a point when parity would cease to be a restraining military-political factor. This makes it imperative to seek equal security of the sides not by raising the strategic balance level, but by gradually bringing it down to the lowest possible point, which can only be reached through negotiations.

Therefore, as the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stressed, security is becoming more and more a political problem that can be solved only by political means. Obviously, this goal could be reached more easily if the norms of peaceful coexistence were firmly established in the practice of international relations.

In the *socio-economic field*, peaceful coexistence is made imperative by the growing internationalisation of economy on a world scale, the needs of the international division of labour, including the development of business ties between states with different social systems. Mutually beneficial business cooperation is also of considerable political significance as it helps to strengthen universal peace and the material foundations of good-neighbourly relations between countries belonging to opposite social systems.

One should not forget, however, that fruitful economic relations in the modern world can only be based on equality of partners, mutual trust, respect for each other's interests, strict compliance with agreements reached, in short on the principles inherent in peaceful coexistence. These principles, of course, envisage renunciation—unless recommendations of the international community expressly dictate otherwise—of trade discrimination, unilateral restrictions, any boycotts and embargoes resorted to in the hope of achieving certain political goals. Such actions in the present conditions are tantamount to attempts to delay social progress, something the overwhelming majority of states reject.

Peaceful coexistence takes on added significance because, if universally established, it would create real prerequisites for curtailment of the arms race and the use of the resources thus released for the purposes of social development, the solution of acute and pressing problems facing the developing countries included.

In the social and economic field, the states of both systems should be equally interested in peaceful coexistence as a form of civilised communication between states.

In the Soviet Union, for example, the interest stems not only from the very nature of socialism as a new social system, but from the gigantic creative tasks the Soviet people are to solve in realising the strategic course of accelerated social and economic development charted by the 27th CPSU Congress. This programme would bring a qualitative change in all aspects of Soviet society: drastic renewal of the material and technical basis through intensified production and wide-scale use of the latest scientific and technological achievements; improved social relations, in the first place those in the economic field; profound changes in the content and character of labour, the material and intellectual conditions of life; and activation of the entire system of political and ideological institutions.

Objectively, the USA, the leading country in the capitalist world should also be interested in peaceful coexistence in terms of its own national interests. This is linked, among other things, with the numerous social upheavals and troubles that undermine the foundation of bourgeois society in the USA and of which Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, spoke so vividly at the 27th CPSU Congress:

While you are planning the accelerated advancement of the society of developed socialism, the world of US capitalism is experiencing utter decay in every sense of the word. This decay is a result of the trillion dollar military allocations. This decay takes the form of 33 million Americans below the poverty line, of 5 million homeless literally living on the street. This decay manifests itself in the racism that is kindled by the corporations and the government. This decay takes the form of the decline in the last decade of real wages and the worsening of the general quality of life.

A change in US foreign policy in the direction of demilitarisation, towards peaceful coexistence and the switching of at least part of the resources presently consumed by the Moloch of war to social needs would go a long way towards relieving the pressure of crisis phenomena on the working people in America, notably those at the bottom of the social ladder.

There is another factor of no small importance. Today humanity feels the full impact of the global problems that have to do with the very foundations of its existence, such as the search for alternative energy sources, tapping the riches of the World Ocean, peaceful space exploration, preserving the Earth's ecological balance, combatting hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy. There is an ever more clearly felt need for effective international machinery to ensure rational use of the planet's resources and to solve the social problems that have come to a head.

By the same token, it is becoming evident that global problems simply cannot be solved by the efforts of one or a group of countries. What is needed is constructive worldwide cooperation by the majority of states. But such cooperation is only possible on the basis of full equality, respect for sovereignty, and of fulfilment in good faith of the obligations undertaken—and this also means the principles of peaceful coexistence.

There is finally the *humanitarian aspect* to be considered. The noble goal of preventing war makes urgent the curtailment of militaristic and all other propaganda in the spirit of "psychological warfare", of hatred of other countries and their people, of their chosen social set-up, their ideology and way of life. Furthermore, a radical improvement of the international situation makes it urgent to establish cooperation among states and to disseminate the ideas of peace, disarmament, international security, to objectively acquaint peoples with each other's life and strengthen the spirit of mutual understanding and trust between them.

Not only in words but in deeds the Soviet Union supports the expansion and improvement of people-to-people contacts. This is evidenced by the Soviet delegation's position at the Berne Conference attended by experts on people-to-people contacts from 33 European countries, the USA and Canada. On the final day of the Berne meeting Washington refused to sign the final document approved earlier. This action clearly demonstrated that discussion about contacts between people and talk about human rights serve as nothing other than a smokescreen for unleashing anticommunist campaigns and a psychological war. It is also necessary to seek broader international cooperation on human rights and freedoms, with, of course, due respect of the laws and customs of each country and without any interference with the internal prerogatives of states. Broader international cooperation in the field of culture, art, science, sports, health, etc. assumes higher priority. All these outstanding needs can be met most fully in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence.

Careful study of the main trends and contradictions in the contemporary world, the character and scale of the nuclear threat looming over mankind has enabled the 27th CPSU Congress to draw the exceedingly important conclusion to the effect that in the objective conditions that prevail in the world today, the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can only take the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry. Any other course in the relations between the states of the two systems proves unacceptable in the present world situation.

The CPSU and the Soviet government have invariably come out for peaceful coexistence of states belonging to the opposite social systems, and for progressive adoption of its principles in international relations. As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress has stressed, "for us peaceful coexistence is a political course which the USSR intends to go on following unswervingly."

The whole content of the Soviet Union's policy convincingly demonstrates its adherence to this course. One can cite, for example, the programme for eliminating mass destruction weapons and preventing the war danger put forward in the Statement of January 15, 1986, made by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Historic in its scope and significance, it would open up a fundamentally new period in world development and make it possible to concentrate efforts of peaceful creative tasks.

Still more evidence is the Soviet concept of an all-embracing international security system put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress. The realisation of its basic principles would make peaceful coexistence the supreme universal principle of relations between states and a starting point for direct and systematic bilateral and multilateral dialogue among the leaders of the world community.

The USSR has acted vigorously to give a new impetus to the talks in Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna aimed at curbing the arms race, promoting confidence among nations and ruling out force from international practice as a means of settling differences between states.

On the Soviet side, then, there is no lack of goodwill and desire to translate that will into concrete political actions to bring down the level of military confrontation between the two systems, to improve the overall international situation and gradually promote the norms of peaceful coexistence in the practice of politics.

However, as they like to say in Washington, it takes two to tango. So far, the numerous Soviet peace initiatives have not met with a due measure of response and desire to follow the good example they set.

Not that this has come as any surprise. Long before representatives of the ultra-right faction of the US ruling elite made their way into Washington's corridors of power to determine today's US policy, they fiercely attacked those American leaders who, proceeding from the national needs and faced with the realities of the nuclear missile era, signed a joint document with the USSR, committing the sides to proceed from the shared conviction that in this nuclear age there is no other basis for the maintenance of relations between them than peaceful coexistence,² and then went on to sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which contains a Declaration of Principles that are an elaboration of peaceful coexistence.

Having found themselves at the helm of state, the political representatives of that faction cast by the board peaceful coexistence as a form of

² *Foreign Policy of the USSR and International Relations. Collection of Documents*, Moscow, 1973, p. 84 (in Russian).

relations between the USSR and the USA and between the states of the two systems in general. One could hardly expect anything different from politicians who have launched a crusade against communism, have declared their intention to "leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history"³ and proclaimed the USSR and the other socialist countries to be an "evil empire" which by the will of the Almighty should be fought against until the end.⁴

This "ideologised approach" to the relations between the states of the two systems clearly leads into an impasse. For ideological differences between the socialist and capitalist countries are inevitable. Reflecting the radically different interests of the two classes of contemporary society organised into states, these differences will remain as long as these classes exist. It is impossible to reconcile these contradictions and they are reflected and will continue to be reflected in uncompromising ideological struggle in the world.

On the other hand, one must bear in mind that attempts to see the complex and dynamic world of today solely through the prism of one's own ideology, and to carry ideological differences into the sphere of relations between states are futile and dangerous leaving no option but permanent confrontation. This, perhaps, might suit those who would like to see a state of permanent international tension and whose material well-being directly depends on the arms race. But this bleak outlook does not suit the majority of humankind, including a considerable section of the ruling class in the capitalist countries.

The realities of the present-day world are such, however, that even the present Washington Administration, which has repeatedly declared its intention to seek an eventual dismantling of socialism as a social system by any means, not excluding nuclear war, has to a certain degree to take account of the existing correlation of forces. Eventually Washington had to admit that nuclear war is an unacceptable means of settling disputes between states and to commit itself to looking for a *modus vivendi* in relations with the USSR and the socialist world as a whole.

However, unwilling to adopt peaceful coexistence as the basic principle of relations with the socialist countries, the leaders of the Washington Administration are trying to formulate their own concepts of these relations.

Initially Washington asserted that "a truly stable and constructive relationship must be based on restraint and reciprocity".⁵ In fact, there was nothing new in all this. American leaders took up principles long accepted in diplomatic practice and tried to adjust them to their own needs and to invest them with new content that would suit the ruling monopoly grouping. The principle of reciprocity, for example, is a recognised norm of international law that flows directly from the notions of sovereignty and equality of states. It is a principle that the Soviet Union not only shares but invariably follows in its political practice. However, Washington's interpretation of reciprocity all but robs it of its initial meaning. Under the screen of reciprocity it has tried to force its own criteria on the Soviet foreign policy, to make the USSR "play the game" according to rules that suit US imperialism, and to impose an international "code of conduct" patently unacceptable for the socialist state.

In a similarly perverted way Washington interprets "restraint" either as voluntary Soviet renunciation of strengthening its defence in the face of the growing military threat from the USA or renunciation of solidarity with the national liberation and social emancipation struggles. This, in effect, would replace peaceful coexistence with "norms" that would turn

³ *Department of State Bulletin*, July 1982, p. 28.

⁴ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, March 14, 1983, p. 369.

⁵ *Department of State Bulletin*, November 1981, p. 52.

the USSR into a "junior partner" of US imperialism in carrying out its global imperial policy. The USSR, of course, would never accept that.

One of Washington's more recent answers to the principles of peaceful coexistence was the concept of a "working relationship" with the Soviet Union based on the three bedrock principles of "realism, strength, dialogue",⁶ proclaimed in the presidential address on January 16, 1984. There was little new in this concept. There was the same rejection of the Soviet social system ("realism"), commitment to solving international issues by force ("strength"), and a readiness to negotiate ("dialogue") accompanied by various conditions. This concept by its very nature cannot provide a basis for meaningful development of relations between the USSR and the USA, and between other states of the two systems.

Lastly, in the wake of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva, the US President, speaking before a joint session of the two Houses of the US Congress on November 21, 1985, enunciated a concept of "peaceful competition".⁷ Coupled with the American statements about the inadmissibility of nuclear war and adherence to peace made before and after Geneva, this marked a certain shift, a step towards de facto recognition of certain elements of peaceful coexistence.

Unfortunately, the US President, evidently to allay the fears of his ultra-right adherents, followed his November 21, 1985 statement with a series of speeches that struck a markedly different tone. There were again the odious "evil empire" motifs, suggestions that the Soviet Union is the biggest threat to peace and that peace through strength was a fact of life, that the building up of the American military might, the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe and Washington's commitment to carry through the "star wars" plans had allegedly forced the Russians to negotiate, and so on and so forth.

The main thing, however, is not the new flurry of anti-Soviet rhetoric apparently intended to weaken and undermine the "spirit of Geneva", but Washington's concrete policy and actions such as the flat rejection of the Soviet peace initiatives, the staging of various anti-Soviet provocations, such as demands to cut the USSR, Ukrainian, Byelorussian missions' staffs at the UN and violation of Soviet territorial waters by US warships, the fanning of regional conflicts in Central America, the Middle East and Southern Africa. On May 27, 1986 President Reagan announced that in taking future decisions of building America's strategic forces, the USA will not abide by limitations envisaged in the SALT agreements. The Soviet government statement reads in part: "The US Administration has in essence taken a course for fully realising an all-embracing strategic programme of building up its nuclear arms."

This mode of action, aimed at perpetuating and in fact at sharpening confrontation between the states of the two systems, is often presented by Washington as a reflection of a "new way of political thinking" which has allegedly prevailed in the USA and other Western countries when the right-wing conservative forces came to power there but which in fact is a relapse into the cold war thinking of the 1940s and 1950s based on unbridled chauvinism, rabid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and zealous apologia of force.

Such political thinking is the yesterday of world politics. The modern world demands a different approach. It needs a thinking geared not to confrontation and hostility but to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a thinking displayed by the USSR and other socialist community countries. This mode of thinking is embodied in the consistent po-

(Continued on page 78)

⁶ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, January 1984, pp. 41, 43.

⁷ *Vital Speeches of the Day*, Dec. 15, 1985, p. 130.

A GLORIOUS PAGE IN YUGOSLAVIA'S HISTORY

(Forty-Five Years Since the Beginning of the National Liberation Struggle)

Y u. G I R E N K O

This is a special year for the fraternal Yugoslav people. Among significant events taking place is the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (June 1986), which is the leading ideological and political force in building socialism. The Congress charted the guidelines for the country's domestic and foreign policy for the coming years.

The Yugoslav working people chose socialism at the time of the national liberation struggle which began 45 years ago in the summer of 1941 following an appeal by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) after Nazi Germany treacherously invaded the country.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia had warned the working people of the impending fascist aggression. In the arduous conditions of the underground, police persecution and prewar hounding it consistently applied every possible means to force the Yugoslav ruling circles, blinded as they were by anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, to reject the pro-fascist orientation, demanding the normalisation of cooperation with the USSR, its recognition and the entering into an alliance with this country. The Fifth CPY Conference held in October 1940 resolutely condemned the capitulatory policy of the country's ruling circles emphasising that "the peoples of Yugoslavia demand reliance on the USSR, the land of progress and welfare, the champion of independence for ethnic minorities"¹.

Yielding to pressure from the working people the leaders of the country's bourgeois-monarchic regime were compelled, if only formally, to eventually agree to normalising relations with the USSR. Owing to their pro-German orientation, rabid anticommunism and fierce hatred for the world's first socialist state, Yugoslavia was one of the last in Europe to recognise the Soviet Union.

In 1945 Josip Broz Tito wrote: "Yugoslavia's isolation from the Soviet Union proved fatal to the oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia....

"For more than 20 years our country was totally isolated from the Soviet Union, the great Slavonic power, only because all the antipopular, reactionary governments of Yugoslavia were against closer relations with the Soviet Union. All that time the peoples of Yugoslavia waged a staunch struggle to restore normal relations with the great Slavonic country—Russia, the Soviet Union. Many of Yugoslavia's best sons were condemned to penal servitude for these activities; others lost their lives"².

The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in June 1940 was a great victory for the country's progressive antifascist

¹ *Kommunist*, No. 1, Belgrade, 1947, p. 96.

² *Slavjune*, No. 4, 1945, pp. 12-14.

forces. This, in turn, enabled the USSR to undertake several diplomatic steps in support of the Yugoslav peoples' struggle for sovereignty and independence. In an atmosphere of mounting pressure on this Balkan country from fascist Germany and Italy on October 17, 1940, the Soviet Union declared its sympathy with the embattled peoples of Yugoslavia who were fighting for political and economic independence. In November 1940 the Soviet Union demanded that Hitlerite Germany abstain from extending its theatre of war to the Balkans and made this known to the Yugoslav government. In its declaration of January 17, 1941 the Soviet Union again informed Nazi Germany that it could not remain indifferent to the events in the eastern Balkans. In March that year the Soviet government, in its effort to rebuff Nazism in the Balkans, offered the Yugoslav government to conclude a treaty of friendship. Aware of the complex situation aggravated by Nazi Germany's aggressive acts, the Soviet Union hoped that the signing of the treaty would protect the Yugoslav peoples from the impending fascist aggression and erect a barrier in its path.

However, the Yugoslav government, engaged at the time in a double-dealing policy, did nothing less than join the Tripartite Pact, signing a protocol to this end on March 25, 1941. This direct betrayal of its people's interests which harnessed Yugoslavia to the chariot of Nazi Germany's allies set off an outburst of popular indignation in the country which overthrew the pro-fascist government. The broad popular movement that began on March 27, 1941, on the initiative of the Communists resolutely demanded that Yugoslavia should withdraw from the fascist pact and enter into alliance with the USSR.

In response to the Soviet proposal on April 5, 1941, the country's new government signed the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression.

This unexpected turn of events in the Balkan state whose annexation the ringleaders of the Third Reich had expected to achieve by "peaceful means" infuriated Hitler. On March 27, 1941, following a special meeting on the situation in Yugoslavia, Hitler gave orders to deliver a blow as "heavily and quickly" as possible to destroy its armed forces and the country itself as a sovereign state.³ That day he signed super-secret directive 025 to this effect. According to former Field Marshal F. Paulus the main reason the Nazi Headquarters decided to attack Yugoslavia was to ensure a secure position at its right flank,⁴ for the realisation of the Barbarossa Plan [i. e., aggression against the USSR.—Y. G.]. The heroic struggle of the Yugoslav peoples made naught of these perfidious plans.

In accordance with Hitler's instruction early in the morning of April 6, 1941, Nazi troops treacherously invaded Yugoslavia, without declaring a war. The so-called April "blitzkrieg" which lasted only 11 days and took place in an atmosphere of demoralisation and betrayal brought down the crumbling monarchy. Royal Yugoslavia's capitulation resulted in the partitioning of the country.

Although in the light of these events, as emphasised by B. Zihlerl, a leader of the CPY, the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression signed the day before the fascist attack could not, naturally, "bring any direct material advantages, its moral impact was highly significant for mobilising the masses for the liberation struggle against the foreign invaders and their lackeys".⁵

³ *The Nuremberg Trials*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1954, p. 362 (in Russian).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁵ Zihlerl, *Stara i nova Jugoslavija*, Belgrade, 1945, p. 85.

Condemning the attack on Yugoslavia by Germany and its allies, on July 3, 1941, the USSR demanded the revival of the Yugoslav state. From the start it had denounced as illegal Yugoslavia's partitioning and invariably and consistently demanded that after routing the Axis powers the country be reunified in its prewar boundaries with the addition of the Slovene populated territories on the Italian-Yugoslav frontier. This question was directly raised by Josef Stalin during his talks with Antony Iden on December 16, 1941.⁶

At the time of this national calamity the only force in Yugoslavia to raise its voice in defence of the country's freedom and independence was its Communist Party. In response to its appeal the Yugoslav people were among the first in fascist-occupied Europe to launch an organised armed struggle against the invaders. Only four days after the Hitlerite attack on Yugoslavia a decision was taken at the Plenary Meeting of the CPY Central Committee held on April 10, 1984 in Zagreb on the organisation and political preparation of this struggle. A Military Committee was formed with Josip Broz Tito, General Secretary of the CPY Central Committee at the head.

The movement began in 1941 as an armed uprising and developed into a nationwide popular war for freedom, independence and socialism that continued for four years. The uprising, having as it did from the very start a markedly class character, developed into the working people's struggle for their social emancipation. By May 1945 the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (PLAY) forged in the flames of struggle numbered 800,000 men. Together with the partisan detachments it engaged 30-55 enemy divisions in the course of the entire war, forcing the occupiers to wage extensive operations in the unyielding Yugoslavia. Throughout the Second World War the people's liberation movement in Yugoslavia held a place of importance in the struggle of the anti-Hitler coalition against Nazi Germany. The heroic battles for Uzice, at Kozara, or at Neretva and Sutesk, have been for ever inscribed in the annals of the people's liberation struggle. Fighting alongside the people of the Soviet Union and other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, suffering as they did heavy material and human losses, helped achieve the common victory over fascist invaders.

Yugoslavia's material damage in the war amounted to \$46,900 million, its human losses stood at 1,706,000, or 10.8 per cent of the population; of this number 305,000 fell in the battlefields.⁷ The contribution made by the Yugoslav partisans and PLAY fighters to the rout of fascism is highly valued in the Soviet Union, the country that bore the brunt of the war against the Nazi hordes. As underscored by Mikhail Gorbachev on May 8, 1985, "we shall never forget the steadfastness and courage of the Yugoslav people and their People's Liberation Army".

Soviet people will never forget that the Yugoslav Communists, displaying fraternal solidarity with the first socialist country fervently called upon the Yugoslav working people on the day Hitler's hordes attacked the USSR to take up arms and spare no effort in support of the Soviet people's heroic struggle. The appeal of the CPY Central Committee of June 22, 1941 ran in part: "The time has come. The time of the decisive battle against the worst enemies of the working class. A battle which the Nazi criminals have forced us to wage by their treacherous attack on the Soviet Union—the hope of the world's working

⁶ See W. S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III, London, 1950. p. 558; I. M. Maisky, *People, Events, Facts*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 206-207 (in Russian).

⁷ *Pregled istorii Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije*, Belgrade, 1963, p. 453.

people. The precious blood of the heroic Soviet people is being shed not only in defence of the land of socialism, but also to achieve the final social emancipation and national liberation of all the toiling mankind. This makes it our struggle as well, and we must give full support to it and if need be our lives."⁸ On May 8, 1975, Josip Broz Tito said: "In our estimate, the most suitable moment for launching a nationwide uprising came right after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941."⁹ Speaking on December 22, 1976, the leader of Yugoslav Communists returned to the subject: "We have always made note of the Red Army's tangible role in the Second World War. And today too I should like to emphasise the indisputable fact that the Red Army had borne the brunt of the war. This role of the Red Army which opened up prospects for the rout of fascism became clear to us in 1941 when we called upon the Yugoslav peoples on June 22, the day of the Nazi attack on the USSR, to take up arms. In this appeal the CPY Central Committee said that by fighting the invaders we were at the same time contributing to the USSR's heroic struggle."¹⁰

On July 4, 1941, a decision was taken at an enlarged session of the Political Bureau of the CPY Central Committee, which was functioning illegally in occupied Belgrade, to call upon the Yugoslav peoples to take arms on a nationwide scale against the Nazi invaders. That day has become a yearly state holiday known as the Day of the Fighter.

The Yugoslav peoples regarded their struggle for the freedom of their country as an integral element of the struggle in defence of the gains of the October Revolution. In the grim atmosphere of the 4-year war against the invaders the Yugoslav Communists and the PLAY fighters marked each anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with feats of valour. They firmly believed in the invincibility of the Soviet Union, in its victory. Speaking on November 7, 1942, Josip Broz Tito stressed: "We never had and cannot have any doubts on this score.... If we did, we would not have risen against the allegedly invincible enemy 17 months ago.... Our people were aware that their destiny was linked with that of the Soviet Union. That is why they took up arms against the enemy, why they do not spare their lives, and why their best sons and daughters are shedding blood in the battlefields."¹¹

The Soviet Union helped the people's liberation movement in Yugoslavia by the unparalleled struggle of its Armed Forces against the Nazi invaders, by its scintillating victories over the common enemy in the major battles on the Soviet-German front, giving the Yugoslav people faith as it did in their own strength and in the ultimate triumph of their righteous cause. This was fraternal solidarity of the land of the Soviets with the people of Yugoslavia. When the fighting on the Soviet-German front was at its highest and most bitter peak, the leader of Yugoslav Communists wrote in an article published by the *Borba* in January 1943 under the heading "Leningrad Is Free!" (the newspaper was printed in the Bosnian village of Drinič, in the territory liberated from the Nazis by the PLAY forces): "The happy news that Leningrad has broken through the blockade has filled the hearts of the enslaved Yugoslav peoples with boundless joy.... This means that the sacrifices made by our peoples in fighting the occupiers and their treacherous hirelings will not

⁸ *Zbornik dokumenta i podataka o narodno-oslobodilackom ratu jugoslovenskikh naroda*, Vol. I, Belgrade, 1949, p. 13.

⁹ *Borba*, May 9, 1975.

¹⁰ *Borba*, Dec. 23, 1976.

¹¹ Josip Broz Tito, *Dela*, Vol. I; *Borba za oslobozhenye Jugoslavije (1941-1945)*, Belgrade, 1947, p. 100.

have been in vain and will soon be crowned with victory over the Nazi invaders and their treacherous stooges in our country." ¹²

The first socialist changes were introduced in Yugoslavia at the time of the people's liberation war. Wherever the PLAY forces or the partisans liberated more or less sizeable territories, beginning with September 1941 old government bodies that served the needs of the occupiers were abolished to give way to new, democratic organs—People's Liberation Committees—the forerunners of the future people's rule. In November 1942 an all-Yugoslavia political body was set up—an Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AFCNLY) and its Executive Committee which guided the work of the People's Liberation Committees. The First AFCNLY Session held in Bihać on November 26-27, 1942, legalised the People's Liberation Committees as the new revolutionary government of people's Yugoslavia.

The Second Session, held in the ancient Bosnian city of Jajce on the country's liberated territory on November 29-30, 1943, adopted historic decisions, a landmark in the Yugoslav peoples' struggle for a new, socialist Yugoslavia. The session addressed a message of greetings to the Soviet people: "We know that the Yugoslav peoples' struggle against the Nazi barbarians, for freedom and a better future would have been hopeless were it not an integral part of the great war of liberation waged by freedom-loving humanity with the powerful fraternal Soviet Union and its invincible Red Army at the head... Long live the powerful fraternal Soviet Union which bears the brunt of the liberation war against Nazism!" ¹³

The official communique On the Events in Yugoslavia published by the Soviet press on December 14, 1943 referred to the AFCNLY as the country's supreme legislative and executive body, and the National Committee of the Liberation of Yugoslavia (NCLY) as the provisional government. It again condemned the activities of Draža Mihailović's Cetniki detachments ¹⁴ which until then "far from promoting the Yugoslav people's struggle against the German invaders were working to its detriment and thus could not but meet with a negative attitude on the part of the USSR". At the same time, the Soviet government again confirmed its intention first made known in October 1943, to send its military mission to Yugoslavia. Informing the Second AFCNLY Session of this fact Josip Broz Tito emphasised: "All our peoples and our army are eager to establish contacts, as quickly as possible, with this fraternal country which the Yugoslav peoples trust as their greatest defender." ¹⁵

This statement by the Soviet government was tantamount, in effect, to recognition of the new Yugoslav state that had emerged in the struggle against the invaders. Regarding the NCLY as the de facto government of new Yugoslavia, ¹⁶ the Soviet Union, unlike the Western powers, accredited its military mission not only at the PLAY Supreme Headquarters but also at the NCLY thereby underlining both the military and political significance of this body. At the same time, the USSR welcomed NCLY's mission whose representatives were officially received by Stalin on May 19, 1944.

¹² See *Znamya*, No. 1, 1975, pp. 7-8.

¹³ Druho zasjedane Antifashistichkoh Vecha Narodnoh Oslobozhena Jugoslavije, p. 45.

¹⁴ Cetniki detachments—military formations of Serbian bourgeoisie led by Draža Mihailović, who from January 1942 was the War Minister of the Yugoslav emigre government and took a collaborationist position.

¹⁵ Josip Broz Tito, *Dela*, Vol. I: *Borba za oslobozhenie Jugoslavije (1941-1945)*, p. 184.

¹⁶ See E. Kardelj, *Borba za priznanje in nezavisnost nove Jugoslavije, 1944-1957*, Ljubljana, 1980, p. 25.

A GLORIOUS PAGE IN YUGOSLAVIA'S HISTORY

In mid-April 1944, an agreement was reached with the NCLY mission in Moscow on extending Soviet material assistance to the PLAY. It was also agreed that a military unit would be formed of Yugoslav citizens residing in the USSR. The Soviet government granted the NCLY a credit to the sum of three million rubles in the form of military aid. The agreement signed in June 1944 was in fact the first interstate act of the new Yugoslavia. The exchange of military missions between the Soviet government and the NCLY strengthened interaction between the PLAY and the Red Army, and consolidated the people's liberation movement in Yugoslavia internationally.

The Soviet Union proved to be a true and reliable friend of the Yugoslav people in the course of the entire war, rendering moral, political and diplomatic support with no-strings attached along with material military aid within its powers. Altogether in the war years the USSR provided Yugoslavia with short of 155,300 rifles and carbines, over 38,000 submachine-guns and 15,500 machine-guns, 5,800 guns and mortars, 69 tanks, and 491 aircraft along with large quantities of ammunition, equipment and other materiel.

In its bilateral contacts with the Western powers as well as at conferences of Allied countries the USSR consistently defended the interests of the Yugoslav people's liberation movement led by the country's Communist Party, invariably coming out in support of people's Yugoslavia and protecting by its might and prestige the Yugoslav people's revolutionary gains from the encroachments of imperialists and their stooges.

The emergence of people's rule undermined the foundations of the old Yugoslav monarchy thereby precluding any possible return to the former exploiter system. This accounted for the restraint shown in the West to the decisions of the AFCNLY's Second Session. Having recognised the people's liberation movement owing to its victories as a military factor Britain and the USA had no intention of recognising the new political realities in Yugoslavia. The official statements of their government representatives showed that the AFCNLY and NCLY did not stand the slightest chance of being acknowledged by these powers as de facto government authorities in the liberated territory. On the contrary, the Western powers fully supported the royal emigre government and Mihailović's Četniki.

Unable to ignore the fact that the people's liberation movement in Yugoslavia was its chief political force, at the beginning of 1944 Churchill tried in fact to liquidate the NCLY by merging it with the Yugoslav emigre government, and was anxious to enlist the support of the USSR in this matter. In its reply of April 22, 1944, to Churchill the Soviet government firmly maintained that such an agreement between the NCLY and the emigre government could be achieved only on terms acceptable to the people's liberation movement, and that any changes in the Yugoslav government would hardly benefit anyone if they were not supported by Marshal Tito and the PLAY.¹⁷ The Soviet Union's stand with regard to this Churchill's initiative on the so-called Yugoslav question was another testimonial of its solidarity with the people's liberation movement of Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union persistently called for the earliest possible opening of the Second Front in the North of France and rejected Churchill's idea of landing in the Balkans with the aim, among other things, to establish control over the Resistance Movement in this area, including the people's liberation movement in Yugoslavia, with the aim of restoring bourgeois order in the Balkan states.

¹⁷ See *Soviet-British Relations During the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, 1983, Vol. 2, p. 80 (in Russian).

The Soviet government believed, as did the leadership of the Yugoslav people's liberation movement, that the landing of British-American troops in the Balkans was dictated not so much by military needs as by definite political aims, and among them the ultimate eradication of this movement. The Soviet Union's consistent stand on the matter of the Second Front helped foil the imperialist plans to prevent revolutionary changes in the Balkans and perpetuate the capitalist orders.

Aware of Churchill's plans with regard to Yugoslavia, including the prospect of landing British troops in its territory, Josip Broz Tito informed the Soviet government that "we would not welcome this landing for I am certain it would cause difficulties for our country that could lead to conflicts of different kind". In his letter to Stalin of July 5, 1944, he wrote: "Your support would be naturally very valuable to us" and stressed that "in my opinion, the best support in all respects would be the Red Army's advance across the Carpathians and Romania southward"¹⁸. In early September 1944 Josip Broz Tito appealed to the Soviet government, requesting the Red Army units to go over the Yugoslav frontier into Eastern Serbia to help the PLAY liberate Serbia and Belgrade¹⁹.

The Belgrade operation conducted in October 1944 by the joint effort of Soviet troops and PLAY units, where only according to incomplete data over 30,000 Soviet servicemen were killed, wounded or reported missing,²⁰ was of great military-strategic and political significance for the victorious outcome of the people's liberation struggle and the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union also did much to strengthen the international stand of people's Yugoslavia at the final stage of the war and in the first post-war years. Meeting Yugoslavia's request for support in the matter of Trieste on the basis of the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation of April 11, 1945, the Soviet government declared in May 1945 that it would work for the peaceful settlement of Yugoslavia's well-founded demands.²¹ The USSR's support at the Paris Conference helped settle the question of establishing a just border with Italy in favour of Yugoslavia. Assessing Soviet policy towards Yugoslavia a year after the signing of the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty, Josip Broz Tito said: "In the course of this year the Yugoslav peoples received ample proof that the great Soviet Union is their most sincere friend and a great champion who rendered them no less help in their peace-time construction than it did during the war."²²

The USSR's class, internationalist policy and its consistent moral, political and diplomatic support as well as selfless material and military aid to the new Yugoslavia played a major role in foiling Western plans to deprive the Yugoslav peoples of the fruits of their selfless struggle for liberation. In June 1946 dwelling on the role of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces Josip Broz Tito said: "Our peoples are well aware that without the Soviet Union's help we would never have achieved what we have today, i. e., the free, federative, independent republic of Yugoslavia."²³

¹⁸ "Documents on International Solidarity", *Voprosi istorii KPSS* (in Russian), No. 9, 1984, p. 16.

¹⁹ Josip Broz Tito, *Izgradna nove Jugoslavije*, Vol. 1, Belgrade, 1947, p. 114; *History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 4, p. 420 (in Russian).

²⁰ *The Liberating Mission of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Second World War*, Moscow, 1974, p. 224 (in Russian).

²¹ A. Djonlagich, Zh. Alanatskovich, D. Plencha, *Jugoslavija vo vtoroi mirovoi voine*, Belgrade, 1967, p. 219.

²² *Pravda*, May 26, 1946.

²³ Josip Broz Tito, *Izgradna nove Jugoslavije*, Vol. 2, Belgrade, 1947, p. 57.

Soviet-Yugoslav relations, the friendship between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, tempered in the crucible of the grim war years and fused by their heroes' bloodshed in the battles against the common enemy, qualitatively changed with the victory of the people's rule in Yugoslavia. Jointly elaborated, time-tested principles and understandings embodied in the Belgrade Declaration of 1955, the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1956 and repeatedly reiterated in the course of Soviet-Yugoslav summits, in particular the 1971 Declaration, formed their reliable basis. Playing significant role in this regard are the meetings and talks held between Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Yugoslavia's party and state leaders, among them V. Djuranović and A. Sukrija (March 13, 1985), M. Planinc (July 4, 1985) and D. Belovski (March 3, 1986). Of principal importance is the fact that these meetings confirmed the mutual readiness of both parties to intensify relations between the CPSU and LCY and the USSR and SFRY on the basis of the joint documents and agreements in force. Mutual political will for further advancing Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation was manifested in the fact that on June 2, 1985 in the USSR and SFRY the 30 anniversary of the Belgrade Declaration of the Governments of the USSR and Yugoslavia was marked and on June 20, 1986, the anniversary was marked of another basic document, "The Declaration of Relations Between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". Both have beneficially influenced the development of an entire set of bilateral relations, both state and government.

The sphere of international relations affords a wide scope of cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY. The common desire of the two countries and their peoples for peace and lasting security is both natural and understandable. Both the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples know from their own grim experience the meaning of war, and the grief and suffering it brings. The stands taken by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia on the today's key issues are similar or identical, and Soviet peace initiatives receive support in Yugoslavia. Speaking from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress D. Belovski, Secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and head of the LCY delegation, said: "With respect and understanding we observe the efforts, initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union and Comrade Gorbachev to achieve detente, curb the arms race and eliminate the danger looming over mankind, and to solve other problems of the world community."²⁴ During the meeting on March 3, 1986 between Mikhail Gorbachev and D. Belovski which was held in a warm and comradely atmosphere both sides stressed the importance of mobilising all progressive forces for solving the most urgent task, that of staving off the threat of nuclear war. Belovski expressed his firm belief that the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress would be of great importance for the Soviet Union and favourably affect the entire world situation. Mikhail Gorbachev wished the Yugoslav Communists success in holding the 13th LCY Congress and solving the tasks of socialist development facing their country.

In discussing relations between the USSR and the SFRY, and the CPSU and the LCY, common endeavour was once again expressed to spare no effort in intensifying friendly cooperation between the two parties and countries in keeping with their jointly-approved principles and agreements. It is the Soviet people's wish that an atmosphere of mutual understanding, confidence, cordiality and absolute equality should always prevail in Soviet-Yugoslav relations. They are optimistic about the prospects of relations between the two countries and their Communist Parties, meeting as they do the vital interests of both peoples, and those of peace and socialism.

²⁴ *Pravda*, March 1, 1986.

THE WESTERN ECONOMY: DIFFICULTIES AND CONTRADICTIONS

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In the first half of the 1980s, the world capitalist economy was weighed down with mounting difficulties and conflicts. The contradictions of the capitalist system assumed diverse and highly painful forms in every sphere and area of socio-economic relations.

The incurable nature of the diseases eroding the foundations of the capitalist system is a sign of the bourgeois world's decrepitude and doom. As the new edition of the CPSU Programme notes: "The inner instability of the economy is growing, which is seen in the slowing down of the overall rates of its growth, in the intertwining and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease, and budget deficits and state debts have reached a colossal scale."

THE SOURCES OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

The past five years have been a difficult time for the West, ending in a minor key. In 1985 there was a sharp slowdown in the cyclical development of the Western economy. As compared with the preceding year, the growth rate of the gross national product (GNP) in the developed capitalist countries declined by half, with a considerable slackening of the major stimulants of economic growth: capital investment, effective demand, and international trade.

Rate of GNP Growth in the Leading Capitalist Countries
(per cent)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
OECD countries	1.0	-0.3	2.6	4.8	2.3
USA	2.5	-2.1	3.7	6.6	2.3
Japan	4.0	3.2	3.0	5.1	4.6
Western Europe	-0.1	0.7	1.3	2.5	2.2
FRG	-0.2	-1.1	1.3	2.5	2.2
France	0.2	1.9	0.5	2.0	1.2
Britain	-1.5	1.5	3.5	1.5	3.3
Italy	0.1	-0.5	-1.2	2.6	2.2
Canada	3.3	-4.4	3.1	5.2	4.2

Source: *OECD. Economic Outlook*, December 1985.

The five-year period as a whole was a patchwork of economic slumps alternating with spurts of business activity and ridden with numerous contradictions. Obviously, the problems and crises of the ageing capitalist society are a law-governed result of the development of its internal antagonistic contradictions.

As was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "because capitalism lacks positive aims and orientations, capable of expressing the interests of the working masses, it now has to cope with the unprecedented interlacement and mutual exacerbation of all its contradictions. It faces more social and other impasses than it has ever known before in all the centuries of its development."

The first half of the 1980s was a period of Reaganomics and a monetarist experiment by the British Conservatives, a period of soaring military expenditures in the imperialist states, growing unemployment and worsening social conditions, greater imperialist aggressiveness on the world scene and a frontal attack by the monopolies upon the working people's interests, ever more intensive protectionist tendencies and other obstacles to deeper international division of labour, sharply stepped-up competition between the monopolies of the developed countries, and worsening position of the developing countries.

In the 1980s the aggravation of now one and now another group of contradictions engendered by the disproportions of the capitalist economy has been a major source of the ever more unstable and sagging economic outlook. At the beginning of the decade, the second bout of the oil crisis, which started in the late 1970s, struck a tangible blow at the Western economy, destabilising the economic situation and exacerbating the crisis impact of cyclical factors, with a scale-up in the various sectoral crises, notably, in iron-and-steel and the textile industry. As a result of the worsening food crisis, hunger spread not only among the population of large areas in the developing states, but also among the poorest strata in the developed capitalist countries, including the USA.

The first half of the 1980s took a different course in the main regions of the West. The greatest difficulties were faced by Western Europe, which over the past decade has lagged behind the USA and Japan in rates of development. Its share in the industrial production of 24 capitalist member countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) declined from 43.8 per cent in 1980 to 41 per cent in 1985, whereas the USA's share increased in that period from 36.3 per cent to 38 per cent, and that of Japan, from 14.8 per cent to 16.5 per cent.

The crises of 1974-1975 and 1980-1982 showed that the West European economy is less resistant to cyclical upheavals and suffers greater losses as compared with the other centres of imperialism; its sectoral and structural crises are more painful, as is evident from its high level of unemployment: in 1985 the number of unemployed in Western Europe exceeded 19 million (11 per cent of the gainfully employed population as compared with the OECD average of 8.5 per cent). The West European economy is more vulnerable to the negative processes unfolding in the capitalist world in view of the region's looser production structure and fragmented economic potential, and also in view of the difficulties involved in pursuing a common industrial policy.

Japan's economic development rate on the whole appears to be fairly stable. But an analysis of the factors of its economic growth shows that 75 to 100 per cent of the increase in production is connected with an expansion of exports. Such an overdependence on exports is fraught with dangerous consequences, especially considering that external demand tends to fluctuate sharply against the background of the free market forces and the unpredictable moves by the transnational corporations.

As for the US economy, the changes in its structure can be described as unfavourable. According to *The Economist* of London, the United States will have to give up its plans to increase employment and boost the

economy, and the Western world will turn into a train which can no longer be pulled uphill by the American "locomotive".

On the whole, most bourgeois experts believe that the economic recovery in the West which followed upon the crisis of the early 1980s passed its peak in 1984, and that a new recession is in the wind.

The economic declaration adopted at the Tokyo meeting of the Big Seven in May 1986, worded in a major key, admits, however, that the capitalist countries continue to face a host of difficult problems which can harm economic growth. Among these problems are listed high unemployment, serious trade and payments imbalances, sharp fluctuations in exchange rates, protectionism in foreign trade, continuing economic difficulties in many developing countries and external indebtedness.

Militarisation, the most dangerous source of political and socio-economic contradictions, is the mainspring of economic instability under capitalism. In the first half of the 1980s, the military appropriations of the NATO countries rose to an unprecedented high. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, in some respects the US economy is more like a war-time economy in view of the buildup of the country's defence capability. Nor have the other imperialist states stayed out of the arms race. Putting aside the solution of grave social problems, the ruling bourgeoisie of a number of West European countries has been lavishing funds on militarisation and so channelling fabulous profits into the coffers of the arms monopolies, whose appetites have been whetted in anticipation of US contracts under the highly dangerous "star wars" programme. However, the huge appropriations that go to enrich the military-industrial complex are bound to boomerang against the economy, striking it a destructive blow and causing untold damage.

Unemployment is an inevitable attribute of present-day capitalism and a result of monopoly rule which is a tragedy for the working people. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress notes: "Capitalism of the 1980s, the capitalism of the age of electronics and information science, computers and robots, is throwing more millions of people, including young and educated people, out of jobs. Wealth and power are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few." By 1986 the number of unemployed in the Western countries had topped the 30 million mark, and in the future the army of "redundant" people is expected to go on growing. Such a state of affairs indicates a further decline in the efficiency of the use of production resources under capitalism, for the major and most productive resource (i. e., people) is increasingly wasted. The impoverishment of a sizeable segment of the able-bodied population as a result of unemployment reduces the stimulating role of personal consumption and sharpens the contradiction between growing supply and effective demand.

Nor should one overlook the social tension caused by unemployment. Bourgeois ideologists try to present the situation in the labour market as a normal one, saying that jobs are lost temporarily and that in periods of high business activity unemployment largely dissolves. The facts, however, tell a different story. In a report on employment drawn up by a number of trade union, religious and youth organisations in the USA, it is noted that in spite of the economic recovery of the past three years, roughly eight million Americans are officially registered as unemployed. Counting in those who have despaired of finding a job, and also those who have only a part-time job, the actual number of unemployed is as high as 15 million. The number of jobless Americans, the report says, has now reached or even surpassed the total number of jobless during postwar economic recessions, and the fact that after the unprecedented

unemployment of the 1980-1982 crisis its present level is seen as acceptable is a national tragedy.

The spread of industrial robots, highly productive plant and equipment, electronics and automation leads to greater unemployment, turning it into the most sensitive "sore spot" of the socio-economic process under capitalism. Noting the contradictory influence of advanced technology on the results of labour and the working person's condition, Marx wrote that the "machine in itself signifies man's victory over the forces of nature whereas its use under capitalism enslaves man to the forces of nature, just as in itself it increases the wealth of the producer, whereas its use under capitalism turns him into a pauper."¹ The gigantic strides of scientific and technological progress at the end of the 20th century have only served to impoverish the working people on a larger scale.

The sway of the monopolies engenders and multiplies social conflicts. For instance, on the strength of purely business considerations, the TNCs have been transferring production to the developing countries, closing down enterprises, and cutting back output, taking no account of the fact that their moves aggravate the employment problem, have an adverse influence on effective demand, and so worsen the state of the Western economy as a whole.

Much damage is also being done to the conditions of the expanded reproduction of social capital by the *competitive struggle of the monopolies*, which is based on rivalry in marketing and the urge to maximise profits by any means, be it use of scientific achievements or intensive rationalisation of capitalist production. On the one hand, competition accelerates research, development and engineering, but on the other, it obstructs the wide spread of new technology, markedly narrowing down the possibilities for global use of the results of the scientific and technological revolution, since competition is meant to serve individual capitals.

STIMULANT OR HINDRANCE?

The US economy is traditionally seen in the West as the main stimulant in the development of the world capitalist economy. Indeed, the influence of the economic outlook in the most developed country of the capitalist world on its other regions has reached an impressive scale and tends to intensify in view of the deepening international division of labour and internationalisation of production.

When the upheavals of the 1970s weakened the world capitalist economy, most Western states pinned their hopes on the US economy, its dynamism and beneficial influence on economic growth in all the capitalist countries. But the US "locomotive" had also suffered in the troubled 1970s and, at the turn of the decade, no longer appeared to be as all-powerful as it used to be. The USA's high level of inflation coupled with a huge army of unemployed, slow growth of labour productivity, gradually weakening positions on the world market, and other negative indicators of the US economy—as a result of all that people were losing confidence in the citadel of imperialism, whose foundations were beginning to rock. The Republican Administration which came to office in 1980 drew up a package of measures to overcome the economic difficulties. These were passed in 1981 by the US Congress as a fresh start for America and a programme for economic revival.

Widely advertised as an instrument that would bring the Americans prosperity and social progress, the programme was contradictory and

unbalanced. In effect, it was a package of conservative, "monetaristic" economic ideas, hinging on the need to stimulate supply and put greater emphasis on market regulators. The programme envisaged measures which sometimes acted in opposite directions. In order to slow down inflation, the money supply was to be markedly reduced, while liberal tax benefits were to be extended to the monopolies; by fiscal 1984, the federal budget deficit was to be eliminated, even while military outlays were to increase from year to year.

As it turned out in the course of the drive to attain these goals, the "good intentions" to balance the budget were largely voiced for the benefit of the electors, since in its practical activities the US Administration watched the rapid growth of the budget deficit with perfect equanimity, having given up the task of balancing the federal budget or even of reducing its astronomical deficit to any significant extent, a task which was unfeasible in the conditions of militarisation.

In 1980 the US President variously criticised the preceding administration for the huge \$60 billion deficit. But as the "economic revival" programme was being put into effect, the budget deficit soon reached the \$200 billion mark. In 1985 it came to \$212 billion. In the years to come, according to the most optimistic forecasts, the deficit will remain a three-digit one. The President has fulfilled his promise to the military-industrial complex as regards an increase in military expenditures. The share of the budget appropriations going to the Pentagon went up from 7 per cent in 1980 to 15 per cent in 1985. In recent years military appropriations have exceeded \$300 billion, and in the future these are to go up steeply.

The intensifying militarisation and the chronic multibillion-dollar budget deficits have doubled the national debt, which has gone up from \$1 trillion to \$2 trillion since the present Administration came to office. The funding of that increase went hand in hand with a rise in bank rates and in the dollar's exchange rate. A host of new difficulties have emerged, the most important of which are the growing trade deficit and the increase in debt service payments under the national debt. In 1984 the US trade deficit was \$123.3 billion, and in 1985—\$148.5 billion. As for debt service payments, over the next three years the US Administration is due to pay out about \$500 billion.

The US budget deficit was mostly covered at the expense of foreign investors, who bought US treasury bonds. In the first three quarters of 1985 the influx of foreign currency financed a record share of the USA's domestic investments (18.2 per cent) and, directly or indirectly, more than 60 per cent of the federal budget deficit.² In recent years, foreign assets in the USA have been growing faster than US assets abroad. In April 1985 the USA became a net debtor for the first time since 1914: its assets abroad were estimated at about \$1 trillion, whereas the sum-total of foreign capitals invested in the USA was somewhat larger.

Chairman of the House Committee for Energy and Trade John D. Dingell pointed to the faultiness of the Administration's economic policy. There is no doubt, he said, that it is the economic policy of the present Administration that has resulted in the multibillion-dollar deficit in foreign trade.

The USA's difficulties in foreign trade are exacerbated by its lag in labour productivity growth. In 1977-1983 the average annual rate of labour productivity growth in the US manufacturing was 1.2 per cent, whereas in Japan it was 3.9 per cent, in France 3.5 per cent, and in the

FRG 2.5 per cent. As the consultative firm Data Resources has estimated, in 1985 France, the FRG and the North European countries surpassed the USA in labour productivity in manufacturing, while Japan and Italy were close on its heels.

The problem of the USA's trade deficit is examined in a special publication by R. Byrd, Democratic minority leader at the Senate. He notes, among other things, that in 1985 the US trade deficit came to 4.0 per cent of the country's GNP, and that a reduction of this share to 2.5 per cent calls for a radical reconstruction of industry. Over the past decade, he believes, the competitiveness of US industry has been declining, and US corporations have been losing all the major commodity markets, with the artificially overvalued dollar accelerating that erosion.

The high rate of the dollar not only hindered the development of exports, but, by serving to increase the supply of foreign goods on the US market, harmed the US companies that market their goods inside the country. As a result, the USA was faced with an alternative: either to lower the dollar's exchange rate, or to raise new protectionist barriers, as the country's industrial circles insisted it should do. Considering that import restrictions could lead to new flare-ups of the "trade war" and ultimately have an adverse effect on US exports, the US government thought it preferable to change the rate of its currency. In September 1985 the finance ministers and central bank managers of the USA, Japan, the FRG, Britain and France met in Washington and agreed on joint measures to lower the dollar's exchange rate with a view to curbing protectionist attitudes in the USA. By the end of 1985 the central banks of the "Group of Five" had sold off about \$12 billion on the exchange markets, somewhat lowering the exchange rate of the US currency.

The present US Administration takes credit for slowing down the inflation process in the country, without naming the price that has had to be paid for that "success" and by whom. Meanwhile, there are numerous signs of a considerable worsening of the living conditions of the broad working masses, who have had to shoulder the burden of the deflationary policy. According to the New York Council for International and Public Problems, the actual level of unemployment (instead of the officially understated level) in late 1985 was 14.7 per cent of the able-bodied population. A report published in November 1985 by the Centre for Budget and Political Priorities says that the level of poverty in the USA is now higher than in any other non-recession year over the past 20 years, and that 33.7 million Americans (9 million more than in 1978) live below the official poverty line.

Nevertheless, the Administration has been systematically reducing public outlays in support of the less-well-off strata of the population. In the period of "Reaganomics", cutbacks have been made in such areas as occupational-training assistance to the unemployed, family subsidies, credit for collateral loans, and deposit insurance for low-income families, urban and regional development. The glaring contradiction between the growing military expenditures and the shrinking appropriations for social purposes shows a more intensive redistribution of budget funds in favour of the rich strata of the population and ever greater social injustice. As it was noted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, in the USA "one per cent of the wealthiest families owns riches that exceed by nearly 50 per cent the aggregate wealth of 80 per cent of all American families, which make up the lower part of the property pyramid".

So, a detailed analysis of the rule of the present US Administration shows that its results are far from comforting. The "locomotive" on which other capitalist countries put their stake can hardly pull them out onto the road of prosperity. Western economists believe that in 1986 the US

economy could fall into stagnation as a result of insufficient capital investments and a decline in consumer purchasing power.

WHAT IS THE WESTERN MEANING OF FREE TRADE?

The free trade slogan was first formulated in Britain more than two centuries ago, reflecting the urge of the rapidly rising British bourgeoisie to break down the restrictive barriers in the way of international exchange, for these were holding back capitalist expansion. Since then, free trade has been eulogised as a rule by the bigger states, for which protectionism is an obstacle to their trade offensive.

In the 1980s protectionism has been criticised in the West on a particularly large scale, both by economists, businessmen and politicians. According to the French monthly *Le Monde diplomatique*, there is obviously a rush in the leading Western countries to proclaim one's opposition to protectionism as loudly as possible. As the US President said at a press conference in September 1985, protectionism means heading straight for an economic crash. Similar sentiments are expressed in Japan and in the West European countries. Free trade is advocated by one and all.

Why is the free trade slogan, which dates back more than two centuries, so popular in the West? Could it be that the growing importance of exports as a major incentive to capitalist economic development has induced the Western ruling circles to join their efforts in the struggle against protectionist trends, which sharply intensified in the 1970s? True, the export orientation of the various capitalist economies has reached such an impressive scale that any new protectionist barriers raised by other countries have an extremely painful effect on economic development. The share of the domestic product being exported to the world market has steadily increased, reflecting the deepening international division of labour. Even the USA, with its large domestic market, is being drawn ever deeper into the orbit of international exchange, reacting just as sharply to the difficulties that arise in marketing its goods abroad. In the 1960s US exports amounted to 6 per cent of the GNP, whereas in the 1980s the figure went up to 13 per cent.

As the actual course of events shows, however, statements in favour of free trade are no more than a tactical manoeuvre in the unceasing "trade war" among the Western states, particularly the three imperialist power centres (USA, EEC and Japan), each new round of which is full of mutual accusations, threats and compromises.

In the first half of the 1980s the United States found itself in a difficult position, for in view of the dollar's high exchange rate and the slow growth of labour productivity its domestic market became an arena for the expansion of Japanese and West European monopolies, which have made considerable headway against the US producers.

Japanese exporters have been particularly active in the USA. In such lines of goods as photo- and cine-cameras, motor-cycles and machine-tools, Japanese firms have been competing on the US market mostly among themselves, without taking local companies into account. They have been selling an ever wider range of digital control machine-tools, for Japan is now ahead in this area in terms of quality and reliability. Japanese exports of machine-tools to the USA went up from 121 billion yen in 1980 to 155 billion yen in 1985.

The Japanese cars are also winning over the American market. Toyota, Nissan and other companies, whose exports totalled 100,000 cars in 1965 and 1.8 million in 1975, had increased their exports to the world market to 4 million cars in 1985; only in the first half of 1985 one million of these were marketed in the USA. Upon the expiry on March 31,

1985 of the agreement on Japan's voluntary restraints on automobile exports, the US authorities introduced additional taxes on imports from Japan, making it clear to Japan's auto-manufacturers that a further expansion of their exports would not be tolerated any longer. At present, the Japanese are changing their strategy designed to penetrate the US automobile market, planning to produce more cars in the USA itself in cooperation with Chrysler, General Motors, and other US companies. It has been estimated that by 1990 the Japanese will have capacities in the USA for producing 1.5 million cars a year.

On the whole, Japanese exports to the USA have been growing faster than US exports to Japan, so that the USA's deficit in its trade with that country went up from \$37 billion in 1984 to a record high of \$50 billion in 1985. Such a large deficit has a most painful effect on the relations between the two countries.

The USA's relations with the West European countries, the EEC above all, are just as contradictory. The 1980s have seen a turn for the worse in the conflicts between the USA and the EEC in the field of farm produce, textiles and steel. The definite successes of the Common Market countries in developing their agriculture helped them to reduce their dependence on the supply of food and agricultural raw materials from the USA, and export subsidies enabled them to extend their supplies to the US market. The United States declared that farm subsidies in the EEC led to unfair competition, and on that pretext increased concessional credits for US exports of farm produce to Western Europe.

The statements by US ruling circles about "treacherous", unlawful and unfair competition in trade are apparently meant to distract public opinion from the fact that the USA has been using export subsidies on a larger scale than its West European partners. Various food aid programmes, short-term commercial credits and export premiums extended by the US government mean that 17.5 million tons of grain or flour out of a total of 50 million tons exported in 1985 were subsidised. According to the OECD, in 1984 the USA spent \$12 billion in direct support of its agricultural exports, and all forms of export subsidies cost the government more than \$30 billion. In 1985 outlays in support of agrarian exports continued to grow.

In answer to the US accusations as regards unfair competition on the part of EEC exporters, the European Communities Commission issued a special document, which notes that the USA apparently has a one-sided notion about fair trade, that it resorts to practices which are in breach of the rules of international economic relations, and that the notion about fair trade should be the same on both sides of the Atlantic. The document lists various direct and indirect export subsidies, import restrictions, quotas and other indications of aggressive protectionism on the part of the USA.

Trade and economic relations between the EEC and Japan are a tangled knot of contradictions. With the help of trade and political instruments, the EEC leaderships has been trying to reduce the deficit in its trade with Japan, that deficit having increased from \$500 million in 1970 to \$11 billion in 1985. Under EEC pressure, Japan has agreed to "voluntary" restraints on its exports of textiles, rolled steel, cars, motorcycles, videorecorders, colour TV sets, digital control machine-tools, high-fidelity sound-recording and reproducing equipment, and quartz watches.

In recent years, the EEC has extended its anti-dumping practices against Japanese exporters. As a result of greater protectionism, the export of some Japanese goods to the community countries has declined. For instance, machine-tool exports shrank from 70 billion yen in 1980 to 50 billion yen in 1985. On the whole, however, EEC exports to Japan as

a share of Japanese exports to the EEC have continued to decline: in 1970 the figure was 84 per cent, in 1975—58 per cent, and in 1985—44 per cent.

In the 1980s Japan has somewhat relaxed its import restrictions, particularly in the matter of customs duties. In 1986 duties on 1,853 goods have been either reduced or lifted altogether. Japan points to these measures as proof of its allegedly antiprotectionist line and as a pretext for demanding similar concessions from its partners.

All of that shows that the trade wars in the USA-Western Europe-Japan triangle are ever more intensive. Apart from using trade and political levers, the monopolies seek to strengthen their competitive stand by reducing production costs and attaining superiority in the crucial areas of scientific and technological progress.

The technological drive, spurred on by expansionist monopoly ambitions, is under way in each of the three centres of imperialism. The United States, which has the most advanced R&D base, is trying to remain in the lead and to strengthen its positions in the high-technology market, while Japan has launched a research programme in order to forge ahead towards the end of the 1980s in the production of powerful fifth-generation computers. As for the West European bourgeoisie, it has been looking for practical forms to pool the available resources for fear of lagging behind and giving way to its US and Japanese rivals in the most lucrative modern industries. But it is highly problematic that any significant results can be attained along these lines, for the West European monopolies are in a state of fierce rivalry among themselves and any temporary truce tends to be short-lived. In answer to the appeal by President François Mitterrand of France to take part in the Eureka programme, many West European concerns have preferred to cooperate with the Pentagon, which pays more. By his very nature, the bourgeois primarily seeks to maximise profits, ignoring other aspects.

The capitalist world has entered the second half of the 1980s with a heavy burden of intractable contradictions. The past period has brought abundant proof of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Present-day capitalism, whose exploitative essence has not changed, is in many respects different from early and even mid-20th century capitalism. Under the impact and against the background of the scientific and technological revolution, the conflict between the gigantically grown productive forces and the private-property character of social relations is ever more pronounced.

As old difficulties have worsened and new obstacles have arisen in the way of the reproduction of social capital, the ruling bourgeoisie has tended to become ever more aggressive, seeking to overcome the crisis situations at the expense of the whole society. As the new edition of the CPSU Programme notes, "such manoeuvring, however, is being increasingly combined with violent actions, with a direct assault by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the living standards of working people".

The past few years have seen a particularly fierce and massive offensive by the monopolies against the working people's rights: persecution and economic blackmail of the trade unions, antilabour laws, and ever greater harassment of any progressive forces. But neither the social manoeuvring of the bourgeoisie, nor its frontal attacks can slow down the decline and degradation of the capitalist society. The attempts to camouflage the faltering character of capitalist economic development by average indicators can do nothing in the face of hard facts, which show a considerable weakening of the positions of world imperialism and invalidate the system based on man's exploitation by man.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND ECOLOGY

P. F I L I P P O V

Regarding universal and complete disarmament, and above all the elimination of nuclear weapons, as a historic task, the CPSU, as stated in its Programme, will consistently work to halt production and destroy other types of mass destruction weapons, including chemical weapons. A major step in this sphere were the new Soviet proposals on the total banning of chemical weapons submitted to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament this April. The Soviet draft envisages the removal of chemical weapons from the military arsenals of states parties to the future convention, an end to their development and production, and the physical destruction of the existing stockpiles and production facilities under strict control, including on-site international inspection. The goal pursued by the USSR is to save mankind from the horrors of chemical war.

The adoption of the Soviet proposals, as was again stressed in the Soviet government's statement Peace and Environment, would be highly important for the solution of other global problems facing mankind linked with protecting people's health and preserving the environment from the toxic effects of different chemical weapons.

The use of the existing stockpiles of this type of mass destruction weapons for military purposes would lead to a fatal outcome for mankind and presents a real threat to the environment. Chemical weapons pose a potential danger to man's health and his surroundings even in peacetime: during their testing, manufacturing and stockpiling. This is confirmed by numerous facts.

SYMPOSIUM IN HO CHI MINH CITY

In January 1983 Ho Chi Minh City, the capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, hosted a highly representative international scientific symposium where scientists and experts from the SRV, the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and many other countries met to discuss a range of questions dealing with the long-term consequences of US aggression in South Vietnam and map out the directions of research for eliminating the after-effects of US chemical warfare.

The participants in the symposium came across the first traces of crimes perpetrated by the US military in Vietnam when they stepped out of the plane in Ho Chi Minh Airport. Not far from the runway were the transport airplanes left behind by the US Air Force during its speedy flight from Southeast Asia in 1972. They had been equipped with special devices for chemical warfare and were used to spray South Vietnam with 7,000 tons of irritating toxic agent CS and over 90,000 tons of chemical defoliants.

The chief base of the US Air Force in South Vietnam was stationed in Bien Hoa not far from Ho Chi Minh City. Most of its facilities have been preserved up to this day. In the years of US aggression Bien Hoa was the site of a field military-chemical plant (one of three in this theatre of war) manufacturing Agent Orange and other combat herbicides.

Near Ho Chi Minh City one can see the remains of a US chemical weapons depot which had contained stockpiles of chemical mines, bomb clusters, "air-to-surface" missiles, diverse grenades and CS-gas pot-shots. The participants in the international symposium learned more about the crimes of the US military in Vietnam by studying the exhibits displayed in the unique museum of military history in Ho Chi Minh City.

Yet this material evidence of the crushing defeat of US aggression in Vietnam was not the only thing that brought scientists and experts to this scientific symposium. Ecologists, biologists and physicians working in different fields of medicine were alarmed by the long-standing effects of the large-scale chemical war waged many years ago on the people's health and the environment.

The term "scorched earth" tactics was coined during the Second World War. It denoted the purposeful devastation of large areas of land by the Nazi invaders, the total eradication of all populated areas along with their housing, industrial and public facilities. The "scorched earth" tactics were engendered by the criminal policy of the Nazi leaders and its implementation was facilitated by the increased destructive power of weapons, especially towards the end of the Second World War.

In those years these tactics were adopted by the US Armed Forces as well. Suffice it to recall the napalm bombs dropped by the US Air Force on German cities when this was not necessary for war purposes. One cannot forget that a single massive air raid on Tokyo when barrels with napalm were dropped from US aircraft destroyed one-third of the city chiefly its workers' districts in a single night. The USA bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki immediately alarmed the world: the future of mankind and nature were at stake.

All this is nothing new. Nevertheless, before the early 1960s nothing had been known of the fact that since 1942 the USA had been testing a radically new type of chemical weapons. It was intended for use not so much against people as against the environment.

In August 1970, condemning the crimes perpetrated by the US Army during its chemical war in Vietnam, US Senator Gaylord Nelson said: "The history of mankind has never known a case in which a country declared war against the environment of another nation; yet the United States embarked on an ecological experiment which no nation else dared undertake."

The USA had long been nurturing plans for waging large-scale ecological warfare and had been making intensive preparations to this end. The people of Japan were chosen as its first victim. At the close of the Second World War the USA was stepping up preparations to destroy all of Japan's rice crops so as to leave its people and army without food. Japan capitulated under the decisive attack of the Soviet Army—and foiled the plans of US military circles. The USA switched its ecocide weapons to combat national liberation movements, and against socialism-oriented countries. Their main blow was spearheaded against Vietnam.

The massive use of chemical weapons, unprecedented in the history of wars and continued for more than 13 years (including the use of herbicides by the Saigon regime), which had embraced almost a half of South Vietnam and several provinces of Laos and Kampuchea, led to unpredictable changes in all the three spheres of the environment: biocenosis (fauna and flora), soil and water, climate.

This was the first time that the participants in the symposium had come up against such a host of new scientific and practical problems whose solution was indispensable for eliminating or in some cases at least localising the long-term consequences of the past chemical war. The scientists confined themselves to expressing general hopes for carrying on a comprehensive study of the complex sum total of the newly

emerging ecological, medico-biological and other problems. Vietnam's problems drew special interest owing to the fact that many similar problems, only on a smaller scale, had emerged in the participants' own countries. Among them was the problem of accidents at enterprises that had manufactured products for chemical warfare in Vietnam. The point is that many US soldiers who had taken part in defoliating Vietnamese forests and destroying crops, or in action in contaminated areas, had also been affected by Agent Orange and dioxin. It also turned out that Vietnam's problems were closely linked with those of removing toxic chemical waste containing dioxin, semi-products formed through synthesis of Agent Orange and other similar toxins.

THE TRAGEDY OF VIETNAM

It is common knowledge that the scientifically founded application of herbicides and defoliants benefits mankind by raising crop yields and accelerating the renewal of forests. If used in concentrations hundred times exceeding the tolerable level for combat effect over large areas, these chemicals destroy the biocenosis and in the ultimate end are liable to cause a large scale ecological catastrophe.

The herbicides and defoliants used in Vietnam had an immediate effect on the country's natural environment: forests died, crops were destroyed, wild animals and cattle, birds and poultry, fish, amphibia, insects and even microorganisms perished.

The destruction of mountain and plain tropical rain forests cardinally affected the soil, the river regimes and even the climate in several provinces of South Vietnam. Mountain forests had protected the upper soil layers from being washed off by the heavy tropical rains. During the rainy season the undergrowth in these forests had retained much of the rainwaters in the soil helping restrain the force of the surface flow. In the dry season these "reserves" made up for the lack of water in nearby rivers and riverlets. Today when the rains come to these forestless areas torrents gush down unbridled from the mountains, while severe droughts set in there during the dry season.

In their final document the participants in the symposium came to the unanimous conclusion that toxic agents "sprayed on a large scale, at a high concentration, and in large amount, have changed the composition of some soils, destroyed useful microorganisms, and, in some instances, caused the soil to lose fertility and to deteriorate in other ways. Many areas which had been covered with trees and other woody plants have become savannas of low productivity. They contain only wild grasses or a number of secondary successional plants having little economic value, and support rodents which are disease carriers. Evidence from aerial photography and other sources indicates that some of these savannas are continuing to expand in size. Some species of valuable tropical wood are facing the danger of extermination, as are some precious terrestrial and aquatic animals. Transforming these savannas back to forest or building them into economic zones for agriculture presents difficult problems, the solutions of which are often far beyond the present abilities of the Vietnamese people. Moreover, all the employed means of affecting nature have virtually undermined the country's life-supporting system." The chemical war has greatly affected Vietnam's mangrove forests, the chief natural spawning ground of saltwater fish and the home of valuable shell-fish used for food. The destruction of these forests has deprived the local population of their traditional food sources forcing many to leave these parts. The restoration of the mangrove forests has just begun and will take much time. The changes in the river flow regime, large-scale erosion and sedimentation, as well as toxic residues from herbicides, defoliants, dioxin and arsenic contained in the water and soil

are liable to affect, and to no small extent, the fauna and flora of these forests' ecological system.

The US Army had used Agent Orange along with dioxin with which it had been mixed. In the course of the chemical war not less than 2,000,000 people, chiefly men, were affected by herbicides and dioxin. To this day the Vietnamese soil contains large residues of herbicides and defoliants, the different technological additives they incorporated, including dioxin, along with the products of their disintegration of the chlorophenol group. These toxic agents are carried by rainwater and groundwater to uncontaminated land and water areas, where they join the nutrition cycle and produce damaging effect. Today it is impossible to determine the exact number of people who have come into contact with the dioxin which has found its way into Vietnam's natural environment since the end of the chemical war.

However, dioxin produces effect through direct or indirect contact in exactly the same way and to the same extent. Dioxin is a highly toxic organic agent diversely affecting human organs and producing metabolic disturbances. Its teratogenic and cancerogenic properties manifest themselves in the human organism upon contact with the most miniscule doses of this agent. The Summary Report of Working group on cancer and clinical epidemiology came to the general conclusion: "There is a general consistency between the pattern of chronic toxicity induced in animals by dioxin and dioxin-contaminated chlorophenolic compounds and those observed in exposed human populations. Such toxicity includes: 1) chronic hepatitis; 2) disturbances in immune function; 3) disturbances in lipid and porphyrin metabolism; and 4) neurological abnormalities, sometimes associated with a toxic neurasthenic syndrome."

Medical statistics show that dioxin's toxic effects could be observed many years after ending of the chemical war and there is every danger that they will continue to recur. Thus, after the war the number of children with inborn deformities was ten times higher in South Vietnam, where Agent Orange and dioxin were used, than in North Vietnam, where they were not (4 and 0.4 per cent respectively). Examination of 956 families where the husbands had fought in the southern part of the country, and 593 families who had remained in North Vietnam and had no contact with dioxin, showed that in the South the number of inborn anomalies was 15 times higher and the number of miscarriages and premature births respectively 1.5 and 3.3 times above the figures for North Vietnam.

According to data supplied by a gynaecological hospital in Ho Chi Minh City the number of miscarriages in 1952 stood at 0.45 per cent, and from 1976 to 1979 retained the 11-20 per cent level. In Ho Chi Minh City the registered number of liver cancer patients increased 3.2 times as against the prewar period.

Scientists have noted that the character of changes affecting the genetic apparatus of Vietnamese who had come into contact with Agent Orange and dioxin has much in common with the chromosomal disturbances observed among the victims of the A-bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are two large population groups in the world today suffering from chromosomal disturbances: the survivors of the A-bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan, and the victims of Agent Orange and dioxin in Vietnam. The crimes perpetrated by the US Armed Forces are responsible for the suffering of both these groups.

Victims of conventional weapons, from the bayonet to the high-explosive bombs, were injured or maimed in action. Their physical sufferings were all their own and were not extended to their progeny. The use of nuclear and chemical weapons affecting as they do the hereditary apparatus of the survivors of nuclear bombings and chemical attacks,

has given rise to a new category of victims, one embracing their children, grandchildren and succeeding generations of their offspring. This is one aspect of the inhuman nature of mass destruction weapons whose banning is insisted on by the Soviet Union and peace forces the world over.

THE PENTAGON'S CHEMICAL WASTE DUMPS FROM AMSTERDAM TO NIAGARA FALLS

The production of chemical weapons holds no less dangerous prospects in store for people and their environment. Here are a few examples.

The Dutch firm Philips-Duphar specialising in the manufacture of toxic agents has set up a large number of chemical waste dumps in the marshy areas situated only 5 miles from Amsterdam. Thousands of tons of diverse harmful agents have piled up at these dumps, among them dioxin and the salts of heavy metals. And it is not by chance that of late cases of cattle sterility and poultry epizooty have increased in this area.

In 1963 during the explosion of a chemical reactor at one of the Philips-Duphar plants in Amsterdam manufacturing Agent Orange for the US Army, a toxic mass containing dioxin was ejected into the production shop and the plant's premises. Twenty workers from this shop and the inspectors investigating the causes of the explosion began to suffer from chloracne, a skin inflammation characteristic of dioxin poisoning. Three workers and an employee of the Philips-Duphar firm died two years later from lethal doses of dioxin. The plant was closed down.

In the first months after the explosion the firm's administration set its hopes on the natural ventilation of the premises and their decontamination.

Toxicological control was carried out with the use of test animals. The animals died or were affected with disease upon inhaling the polluted air or coming into contact with contaminated objects. It was reported that the walls of the shop were contaminated to a level exceeding permissible norms billions of times: each kilogram of plaster contained up to a gram of dioxin. The floor of the shop was to all appearances contaminated even more.

To decontaminate the shop, the plant's administration hired 100 workers. The operation was carried out from March to July 1963. Detergents and different alkaline solutions were continuously used along with great amounts of water to wash the walls of the shop. The effect fell short of expectations. At the same time the washing procedure carried off some of the dioxin into the sewage system leading to its contamination. Of the 44 workers taking part in the decontamination process who were examined in March 1964, 26 were suffering from chloracne. By 1977 all the 27 workers who had remained at the plant had specific skin disease typical of dioxin poisoning.

The Philips-Duphar firm was compelled to destroy the plant. The debris along with a part of the equipment and soil with a total weight of nearly 1,000 tons was loaded on three barges and sunk in the vicinity of the Azores in the Atlantic.

Fourteen years later, in July 1976, a similar disaster took place near, Séveso (20 kilometers north of Milan in Italy), when a chemical reactor exploded at one of the chemical enterprises of the Swiss firm Givaudan-F. Hoffmann-La Roche Co., sending large amounts of dioxin into the atmosphere. It contaminated a densely-populated area of some 20 sq km with a population of 38,000. Ten days went by before dioxin was discovered in samples of soil and vegetation and work was begun to localise the contaminated area and help the population. By the end of July the evacuation of the entire population from the zone with the highest contamination was completed.

All in all 77,000 animals, mostly rabbits, either perished or were destroyed for sanitary reasons. The high-contamination zone was declared "no man's land". In the less contaminated areas crop and animal farming had to be suspended. The upper layers of soil were removed and replaced by soil brought from other areas. The contaminated refuse and soil from the danger zone were buried in an 85,000 cu m concrete and plastic "vault". Further examination of the area showed that although the land was ploughed up the concentration of dioxin in the soil was falling at an exceedingly slow rate. This poison was discovered in all plants grown in the contaminated zone, including carrots, potatoes and onions. It was also discovered in clinical materials taken from people who had remained in the zone during the first few weeks after the explosion.

To avoid deformities in new-born babies and different malfunctions in pregnant women, abortions were recommended to all expectant mothers living in the affected zone—an exceptional decision for a country with a mostly Catholic population.

And here are a few examples from the experience of the USA. The Niagara River with its famous falls marks the state border between the USA and Canada. The US city of Niagara Falls lies on the right bank of the Niagara River and has a population of 77,000. A few years ago it turned out that some of the city's districts were situated on ground covering a huge pool of water containing toxic chemical refuse, including dioxin. The discovery was prompted by numerous cases of cattle murrain and the perishing of birds and animals. Investigations led specialists to connect the increasing number of miscarriages and in-born deformities in the area with its possible contamination. It was established that out of 36 examined citizens 11 had numerous chromosomal aberrations. Mass evacuations were begun from districts with a high content of dioxin and other toxic agents in the waste products of local chemical industries. Houses were put up for sale. Selective soil tests showed that toxic agents had penetrated the subsoil waters and were threatening to poison the Niagara and Lake Ontario with all the ensuing unpredictable consequences.

Upon investigating the activities of the local chemical companies the New York State authorities found out that several dumps were sited within city limits, the biggest of them—in the Love Canal and Hyde Park districts.

At the end of the last century one William Love began building a canal between the Higher and Lower Niagara River. Although the work was later suspended he had succeeded in completing one-kilometre long and over 30 metre wide lock. The project remained unfinished. The open part of the canal, fed by the waters of the lake, had for many years supplied water to the swimming pools of Niagara Falls. In 1956 local residents began the construction of dams on the canal which divided the canal into several sections.

At the height of its production boom in manufacturing 2, 4, 5—T (a component of Agent Orange) the Hooker Chemical and Plastics Corporation began to dump production waste in the Love Canal in the southeastern part of the city. Company data testifies that, 21,800 tons of chemical waste containing up to 200 diverse chemical compounds including dioxin and trichlorophenol were dumped in the canal waters. The most modest assessment sets the content of dioxin in this part of the canal at nothing less than 5 kg, or 20 times the amount ejected into the atmosphere during the explosion at the chemical plant in Amsterdam.

A dismal record belongs to Occidental Chemical, a branch company of the Hooker Chemical. In the northwestern part of the canal running through the Hyde Park district it dumped 80,000 tons of chemical waste

products, including approximately 2 tons of dioxin and 200 tons of trichlorophenol—source material used for the spontaneous synthesis of dioxin.

Of late charges have been brought against the Hooker Chemical and Occidental Chemical companies with demands to destroy the chemical waste products accumulated underground. The cost of decontamination work is expected to run into millions, and it will take years to complete. The residents of Love Canal and Hyde Park areas have brought private charges against the chemical companies to the sum of \$14 million. But can money compensate for the ruined health of those who had for years inhaled or consumed through food and water the poison produced by industries serving the needs of the chemical war in Vietnam?

OMINOUS ARSENALS

Tourists arriving in the international Stapleton Airport in the popular resort city of Denver (Colorado) cannot fail to notice the kilometres-long rows of barrels lined up not far from the airfield. A high fence runs the length of the blocks of chemical plants: this is the Rocky Mountains chemical arsenal of the US Army, and the barrels contain diverse toxic agents. The plants manufacture these agents and chemical ammunition.

The Rocky Mountains arsenal was set up in 1942 when it incorporated two plants specialising in the production of lewisite and yperite. Between 1952 and 1954 another plant was put into operation for the production of sarin, a toxic nerve agent. The arsenal's dumps were stocked with chemical and biological (bacteriological) weapons.

US authorities officially claim that the arsenal's chemical plants have been mothballed since 1967. In its time the Shell Oil firm had contributed to the activities of these military-chemical enterprises. On agreement with the US Army it had used the yperite plant's facilities for the production of trichlorophenol, Agent Orange and chlorinate biphenyls. In the 1960s the US Army destroyed in this arsenal's territory limited stockpiles of obsolete or defective chemical ammunition. The plants' waste products were also interred in its territory. The Rocky Mountains arsenal covers an area of 7,000 hectares which begins within Denver's boundaries near the city's business section.

According to the official version in the early 1970s, but actually long before that, birds stopping on the lakes located in the arsenal's territory for a respite during their migratory flights began to perish in large numbers. It was reported that chemical analyses had shown that the entire territory was contaminated by arsenic and mercury (the result of the former lewisite production), products resulting from chlorination and oxidation of yperite and its polysulphide compounds (residue left after distillation of yperite), chlorinated phenols and dioxin (the result of Shell Oil production of Agent Orange), as well as toxic substances yielded during the production of sarin.

In 1976 the US Department of Defense found it profitable to start preparations for closing down several chemical arsenals with the view of turning chemical weapons production over to private industry. The Rocky Mountains arsenal was declared to be the main project whose territories would be prepared for their contemplated transition for private needs. The first round of measures to clear its territory envisaged tearing down buildings and eliminating the interred waste products, or removing the upper soil layers on an area exceeding 1,000 hectares, and carting off for interment elsewhere of 12 million cu m of contaminated debris and soil. The cost of this first round of measures envisaged for the next 15 years is estimated at \$357 million, and that of the entire operation at \$1,800 million.

The decontamination of subsoil waters in the arsenal's territory and the adjoining areas poses a special problem. The waste products cast off into cesspools and lakes have penetrated subsoil waters and toxic agents have been discovered in wells drilled outside the arsenal's territory. Water taken from these wells has poisoned animals. Contaminated by Agent Orange it destroys all vegetation and hence cannot be used even for watering crops.

The Colorado State authorities have brought charges against the US Department of the Army and Shell Oil. The defendants are now negotiating on how they will share the compensation for damages. To reassure the public the US Army and Shell Oil have "of their own accord" built three water purification plants along the perimeter of the territory which shed partially purified water into the city sewage system. This is, however, a purely symbolic gesture. Toxic waste has penetrated the subsoil water carrying layers to an extent that is beyond exact assessment. For hundreds of years or maybe more toxic waste will remain in the Denver resort.

These facts refer only to a small part of US territory contaminated by agents dangerous to man and nature. These areas, known as they to the public, can be compared to the insignificant, visible part of a floating iceberg. Its greater invisible part can be identified with the territories of all the US military-chemical arsenals and plants, chemical weapons depots, proving and exercise grounds where toxic agents are employed without exception.

Scientists have not yet fully assessed the potential danger for man and his environment of toxic waste formed in the process of destroying stockpiles of toxic agents. This concerns the solutions containing decontamination products and the remains of toxic agents which are produced in huge quantities during the chemical neutralisation of toxic agents. As a rule the decontamination of every 10,000 tons of sarin yields 250,000—300,000 tons of dangerous waste. Decontamination of yperite produces 3-5 times more liquid waste products. In what way does the Pentagon intend to inter the waste products synthesized in the process of destroying toxic agents? In the 1960s attempts were made in the Rocky Mountains arsenal to pump such waste into deep wells, an experiment leading to earthquakes in Denver. There is eloquent evidence that the Pentagon continues to dump toxic waste into the gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic waters off the northeastern coast of the USA.

The US militarists do not want to part with chemical weapons. Under their pressure, the NATO military bodies have recently decided to give the green light for the production of a new generation of chemical weapons—binary weapons and their storage in Western Europe. An attempt has been made not only to preserve the chemical threat to mankind for years to come but to intensify it. As was stressed in the Soviet Government Statement of May 31, 1986, such actions run counter to the task of eliminating chemical weapons and are at variance with the Soviet-US accords reached at the Geneva summit, such actions cannot but seriously affect the drafting of a convention banning chemical weapons being carried out at the Conference on Disarmament.

The Soviet Union, the other socialist community countries and all those really concerned with the future of the Earth resolutely condemn NATO's chemical rearmament plans. They persistently draw the attention of the governments of the USA and the other North Atlantic Treaty countries and the European countries to the extreme danger posed by these plans to the cause of peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES

V. G O N C H A R O V

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress had noted among the main trends and differences of opinion in the modern world the complex and mobile set of contradictions between imperialism and the developing countries. "The liberation of former colonies and semicolonies," the Report pointed out, "was a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system. It has ceased to exist in the shape that it assumed in the 19th century and in which it extended into the first half of the 20th. A slow, arduous, but irreversible process of socio-economic transformations is under way in the life of nations comprising the majority of mankind. This process, which has brought about no few fundamental changes, has also encountered considerable difficulties." This process is fully to be observed on the African continent where there is a large mass of newly free countries which now number about 50.

What are the results of the two and a half decades of African decolonization, what are the achievements of African peoples in the economic, social and political areas, and what is Africa's place and role in the world today?

The economic development of African countries has taken place in difficult conditions, notably in the last decade. A number of unfavourable factors of domestic and international nature have brought about crisis trends in the economies of African countries beginning from the mid-1970s. They have steadily worsened to reach a critical point in the first half of the 1980s as a result of the constantly aggravating world economic situation and widespread and severe droughts. The combined effect of these two groups of factors has given economic and social problems an unprecedented scope so that African countries have been unable to cope with them by themselves. For many of them coping with financial and economic difficulties became a life and death issue.

The situation in agriculture was particularly grave. Drought, which in the early 1970s affected only a few states in the Sudan-Sahel region struck 34 countries in 1983-1984, including littoral areas and parts of eastern, western, central and southern Africa. Experts estimate that the current drought in Africa is the worst this century. The adverse impact of the drought was further aggravated by the general stagnation in agriculture, with per capita production in decline since the 1960s. In the 1970s, when the annual population growth approached 3 per cent, food production was increasing by less than 1.8 per cent a year. In the early 1980s the situation grew still worse: food production increased by a me-

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re one per cent during 1980-1984, while population grew at the rate of 3.1 per cent a year.¹

By now Africa imports about 40 per cent of the food it consumes. The annual demand for imported grain and flour in African countries increased from 4 million tons in 1970 to 31 million tons in 1984.² An exporter of cattle and meat only 15 years ago, Africa has now become a net importer of meat. Twenty-four countries do not have enough currency reserves to pay for food imports and need emergency food aid. As a result, about 150 million people face starvation. So grave has been the food situation in recent years that faced with a devastating drought countries of western, southern and even northern Africa one after another declared a state of emergency.

There is no doubt that the drought was among the serious factors that brought on the food crisis. Yet, the main cause of the crisis lies in the economic and technical dependence of the African countries on the capitalist states, in the colonial and neocolonial exploitation of Africa by imperialism. This has led to structural imbalances in the economy, notably in agricultural production, which has largely been geared to producing export goods at the expense of food production.

The worsening economic crisis in Africa is due largely to five main interacting factors: the sharp drop in commodity prices, a decline in "official development assistance" in real terms; the unprecedented high interest rates; dramatic currency fluctuations; and increased protectionism. Statistics register a sharp drop in the prices on coffee, copper, cocoa, bananas, vegetable oil and tea per one ton exported by African countries. The worsening ratio between export and import prices over the past ten years has decreased the purchasing power of export earnings of African countries with low incomes by about 20 per cent.³

The aggravation of crisis phenomena in African economies coincided in time with cuts in "official development assistance" from the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to newly free countries and a decrease in the overall investment influx of net capital due to the rising cost of defraying debts and interests on them. As a result, African countries had to resort to expensive commercial loans which in turn led to a dramatic rise of foreign indebtedness. The foreign debts of 42 African countries increased in total from \$10,700 million in 1971 to \$77,500 million in 1980 to reach \$170,000 million in 1985, as the Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, Adededeji, has announced.

Significantly, the growth of debts has in recent years far outstripped the growth rates of the gross domestic product and the exports of goods and services. African countries have to spend between 25 and 40 per cent of their currency earnings to service debts and interests on them. As a result, some of these countries have found themselves on the brink of bankruptcy. For example, the Sudan would require 100 per cent of the cost of its exports to pay off all its foreign debts.⁴ This provides a vivid illustration of the fact, noted the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, that the developing countries are unable to repay their debts in the present situation. "And if no fair so-

¹ *Africa's Food and Agriculture Crisis. Prospects and Proposals for 1985 and 1986*, E/ECA/CM 11/29, Addis Ababa, 1985, p. 3.

² *Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis*, Addis Ababa, 1984, p. 6.

³ *The Inaugural Silver Jubilee Lecture of the Economic Commission for Africa Given by the Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath S. Ramphal (elsewhere The Inaugural Silver Jubilee Lecture...)*, Addis Ababa, p. 24.

⁴ *The Inaugural Silver Jubilee Lecture...*, p. 26.

lution is devised," noted the Report, "the situation is fraught with grave socio-economic and political consequences on the international scene."

The above-mentioned negative trends in the economic development of African countries are neither "unexpected" nor "short-term". They are a consequence of the African countries being part of the world capitalist economy. They have experienced the destructive impact of cycles in capitalist production before. However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s a cyclic economic slump became interwoven with structural crises of the world capitalist economy (energy, monetary and financial, food, etc.). The rocketing oil prices greatly undermined the positions of oil importing countries, especially the less developed among them. The growing inflation in developed capitalist countries caused heavy economic damage to African countries as Western aid and credits were devalued and the ratio between export earnings and the cost of imports tilted dramatically in an unfavourable direction.

The negative phenomena in African economies were further aggravated when developed capitalist countries re-introduced tough protectionist measures after a period of relative liberalisation in international trade. That dealt another blow at the weak economies of African countries, making it more difficult for them to export their goods in the capitalist markets.

As Mikhail Gorbachev noted at the dinner in honour of José Eduardo dos Santos, Chairman of the MPLA-Workers' Party and President of the People's Republic of Angola, "new injections of financial aid cannot help overcome the crisis gripping the African countries. This is not a cure for that disease. What we need are radical measures for eradicating the inner causes inherited from colonialism and engendered by neo-colonialism. These measures have to be tied in with the solution of the disarmament problem. Indeed, every step towards disarmament should not only ensure greater security for all, but allow the allocation of increased means needed to overcome backwardness, including, naturally, in the African countries." ⁵

The crisis of financial indebtedness of African countries is not the result of any adverse concatenation of external factors, but a logical consequence of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production which inevitably lead to grave imbalances in the mechanism of reproduction both nationally and within the entire world capitalist system.

The effect of this basic factor is exacerbated by imperialism's neocolonialist policy which is sapping the life of the peoples. This policy has in recent years worked to the detriment of many African countries, along with a lot of other developing countries. This policy has led to tragedy for millions of people. It has caused further exacerbation of the persistently acute problems of backwardness, poverty, hunger, disease and extreme child mortality. This policy is a form of terrorism, economic terrorism, exercised by imperialism.

All these social, economic and political development difficulties of African countries are due to a large extent to a deliberate policy of the imperialist states which seek, on the one hand, to keep those African countries that maintain close relations with them within their political orbit and, on the other, they try and bring back within their orbit those newly free countries which have chosen the road of independent political and economic development.

Imperialist policy resorts to a wide range of means and methods of expansion in the newly free African countries, including economic, political and military means.

Recent years have seen a massive imperialist onslaught on the African countries, in particular, on the economic front. Ever more active use is being made of the debt crisis in order to influence socio-economic processes and the policies of the newly free countries to the benefit of imperialism. The granting of new loans and credits to African countries, and the settlement of their debts under the pretext of concern for "vitalising" the debtor countries' economies go hand-in-hand with demands to devalue their national currencies, cut public spending, impose a domestic squeeze on credits, weaken the government sector, and create the most favourable conditions for foreign interests in their economies. Western international financial institutions align themselves with certain imperialist countries coordinating their financial policy towards the newly free African states.

Moreover, in brazenly exploiting the financial and economic difficulties of the African countries, the imperialist states, notably the USA, more and more often attach military and political strings to their "official development aid", including food aid. For example, the USA made its aid to Somalia, Kenya and the Sudan conditional on the creation there of American bases for the Rapid Deployment Force. Nor has Washington given up its attempts to exert political and economic pressure on the group of progressive African countries which set the policies of the Organisation of African Unity.

Stressing the "vital importance" for the US foreign policy of the Food for Progress programme adopted in 1985, Peter McPherson, Director of the International Development Cooperation Agency, did not conceal the fact that the US Administration would follow the "stick and carrot" policy in implementing that programme.

It has to be stressed that the African countries are aware of the dangers posed by programmes such as the latest American initiative. Exposing these neocolonialist manoeuvres, Thomas Sankara, Chairman of the National Revolutionary Council of Bourkina Faso, has declared that the imperialist powers are taking advantage of the difficulties of African countries caused by prolonged droughts in order to impose their will on these countries in return for food aid and to make them vote with the United States at the United Nations.

Spearheading the imperialist offensive on the developing African countries are the transnational corporations (TNCs) which form the most important and the most aggressive part of monopoly capital. Concentrating within the TNCs a growing share of the capitalist world's production, the monopoly bourgeoisie of the United States, Western Europe, and Japan in its quest for higher profits seeks to use them to expand the exploitation of the natural and manpower resources of the newly free African countries. The activity of the TNCs in the final analysis perpetuates the economic backwardness of former colonies and their dependent and subjugated status in the world capitalist economy.

The expansion of the TNCs does not only affect the social structure of society by fostering the growth of various strata of compradore bourgeoisie in the field of private enterprise, government administration, trade, mediation, etc., but also the political stability in the developing African countries. The history of the development of the newly free countries has offered repeated examples of representatives of international monopolies being involved in the pursuit of destabilisation policies in various countries if those countries' policies happen to stand in the way of their expansion. The TNCs do everything to perpetuate anti-popular regimes whose domestic and foreign policies by and large favour the TNCs.

Imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult to achieve its goals solely by means of economic coercion. It has to resort to military-political pressure bordering on military intervention. Suffice it to recall the events in the Zaire province of Shaba in 1977 and 1978, the development of the situation in Chad, and the recent events in Libya. The imperialist policy in Africa has assumed a particularly aggressive character since the present US Administration came to power. Washington's recent direct aggression against Libya has once more clearly confirmed this.

Washington has based its strategy vis-à-vis Africa on the premise that the African continent has allegedly become the scene of acute American-Soviet rivalry and that in the 1980s the USA would have to exert resolute efforts in order to "stop expanding Soviet influence in Africa." The US African policy today is based on the concept of confrontation with the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Washington is at pains to be seen as an "honest broker" in the settlement of conflict situations in Africa, even though most of these conflicts have been provoked by imperialism and its stooges. This is true, for example, of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa, in Western Sahara, Chad, but above all in Southern Africa where the USA is in cahoots with racist South Africa. The "constructive engagement" between Washington and Pretoria shows that American imperialism has openly taken the stand in defence of the remnants of colonialism and racism.

Washington's concrete foreign policy moves show that the White House increasingly relies on military force to safeguard American strategic positions in Africa. The instruments in the pursuit of this policy are: military and economic support for pro-American regimes, the creation of a network of treaties to gain access to military installations to be used by the US Rapid Deployment Force, destabilisation, reorientation or, failing that, neutralisation of progressive African states by supporting internal opposition.

Under the false pretext of struggle for "pluralistic democracy" and against the establishment of "totalitarianism," the USA in many countries backs reactionary regimes, pseudo-liberation movements, separatist trends, and pseudo-democratic political groups which it hopes to use to destabilise progressive young states which have embarked on independent development. Whenever the USA is unable to directly interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, the White House tries to provoke interference by its allies and seeks the assistance of mercenaries. The counter-revolutionary bands of UNITA in Angola, and MNR in Mozambique and similar reactionary groups enjoy generous material, military, political and diplomatic assistance of the USA without which they cannot exist.

The apartheid regime, encouraged by world imperialism, is becoming more arrogant in its attacks on the peoples of Africa and other peace-loving states. Following the recent raid on the capitals of Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe the Pretoria authorities carried out terrorist acts against Soviet and Cuban unarmed vessels unloading in the Angolan port of Namib. The Soviet government's Statement issued in this connection indicates that "one cannot but see that the aggressive policy conducted by South Africa towards the neighbouring African states and other members of the international community exacerbates international tensions. The patrons of South Africa, above all the US, bear the responsibility for that."

Washington has recently been building up its own military presence. This took the form of attempts to create several strategic bridgeheads on the continent. Preparations along these lines are pursued in some countries of north-eastern, eastern, and northern Africa, and in the south of the continent. These bases, according to the Pentagon's thinking, should be used by the 300,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force which

became part of the Central Command (Centcom) set up in 1983, by the military contingents of the USA and other leading NATO countries which are on the Sinai Peninsula disguised as "multinational forces" and by the group of warships of the USA, Great Britain, France and the FRG constantly deployed in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

Other imperialist powers largely support the American policy in Africa and refuse to make economic concessions to developing countries. On the whole, their policy too is aimed at subjugating the newly free African countries to the political interests of imperialism, of the world capitalist system.

The timing of the massive imperialist attack on the African countries launched in recent years is not accidental, and is not to be attributed solely to the growing aggressiveness of the more reactionary international capitalist circles. This attack was prompted above all by the growing role the independent African countries play in world politics and economics. As the new edition of the CPSU Programme points out, "The newly free peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are to play a great role in the destinies of mankind as a whole. The CPSU believes that these peoples' increasing influence should promote to an ever greater extent the cause of peace and social progress."

The growing world role of African countries is most clearly manifested in the strengthening of the anti-imperialist thrust of their policy. One must point out, however, that although anti-imperialism has been a constant trend in the foreign policy of African countries, this trend is subject to great fluctuations at certain stages of African history, being dependent to no small degree on economic factors. Yet even in the mid-1980s, when African states are faced with grave financial and economic difficulties, the pitch of anti-imperialist struggle remains high.

This is evidenced, among other things, by the resolutions of the latest session of the OAU Council of Ministers held in February-March this year. Along with acute social and economic problems facing Africa, the session widely discussed political issues. The policy of destabilisation of neighbouring African countries pursued by the racist South African regime as part of the notorious "constructive engagement" with the US Administration came in for sharp criticism. The speakers urged the need to step up financial and material assistance to the national liberation movements and "frontline" states and stressed the need to liquidate the apartheid regime and impose sanctions against racist South Africa.

The African summit also took a principled stand on the Namibia issue in unanimously demanding to put an end to South Africa's violation of the UN Security Council's resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia, and condemning the attempts to link the question of decolonisation of that country with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. They reaffirmed the legitimacy of the Namibia people's armed struggle for the national liberation of the country led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

The results of the 16th Conference of Foreign Ministers of Muslim Countries that are members of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference held last January in Fez, Morocco, testify to the substantial anti-imperialist potential of the African Muslim countries. Although the prevailing political trends in the organisation are conservative, the conference sharply criticised the aggressive policy of US imperialism and its continuing threats to Libya. A declaration unanimously adopted by the foreign ministers condemns the measures of the US government against the Libyan Jamahiriya which flout the accepted norms of international

law and expresses full solidarity with the Libyan people in the face of the actions of American imperialism which cause damage to the sovereignty and independence of Libya and are aimed at disrupting that country's economic development plans. The conference called on the Muslim states to take the necessary measures to counteract the arbitrary actions of the USA.

Today, with the developing African countries facing serious challenges in the field of socio-economic reform designed to put an end to backwardness, poverty, hunger and disease, the preservation of peace and peaceful conditions for their development assumes primary importance. However, the growing international tensions caused by the aggressive foreign policy of the USA have raised the degree of involvement of the newly free African countries in regional conflicts and resulted in the growth of their total military spending from \$9,400 million in 1974 (less Egypt) to \$14,100 million in 1983.⁶

Naturally, the huge military spending of African countries has an exceedingly adverse effect on their economic situation and makes it much more difficult for them to meet the challenges of national revival. According to UN data, as a result of an "average" developing country (in which per capita GNP equals 350 dollars and the population is 8.5 million) buying \$200 million worth of arms, 20 more infants out of every thousand will die, the average life span will shorten by 3-4 years, and there will be 13-14 literate people less per every hundred adults than there are today.⁷ It is not surprising that the final declaration of the nonaligned countries' foreign ministers' conference held in Luanda in September 1985 stresses that durable peace and security on Earth can only be achieved by halting the arms race, and taking effective steps towards general and complete disarmament.

There is growing understanding in Africa of the fact that the struggle to prevent nuclear war, which threatens the very existence of mankind, is the main problem of our time. The growing attention to problems of disarmament, to making Africa a nuclear-free zone and to demilitarising the Indian Ocean reflects the mounting struggle for peace in Africa both at the state level and within the rising public anti-war movement.

Growing signs of Africa's turn to the global problems of our time, and especially the criticism of imperialist policies on the issues of restructuring the inequitable and discriminatory system of international economic ties, final elimination of the remnants of colonialism, the struggle against racism, apartheid, Zionism and imperialist diktat cause anger in the West against the states and organisations which most consistently express the aspirations of African peoples, their wish for stronger universal peace and international security, elimination of the threat of a new world war, early solution of the problem of disarmament, etc. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which is a mouthpiece for the ideals of African solidarity, has in recent years been the target of dangerous subversive imperialist policy.

Commenting on the reactionary encroachments against African unity, President Mathieu Kerekou of the People's Republic of Benin stressed that international imperialism is resorting to various tricks to split the OAU. The aim of these actions is to delay the adoption by African leaders of decisions on such important problems of our time as granting independence to Namibia, the settlement of the situation in Southern Africa, in the Middle East and Western Sahara. We are dealing, he stressed, with an international conspiracy aimed to destabilise progres-

⁶ SIPRI Yearbook 1984. *World Armaments and Disarmament*, Stockholm, 1984, p. 117.

⁷ *The Inaugural Silver Jubilee Lecture...*, p. 20.

sive and revolutionary regimes on the continent. These sentiments were echoed by leaders of many other African states.

The Soviet Union actively supports the African countries in their struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, every form of racial oppression, for the establishment of a new and just international economic order. It is helping them to strengthen their political and economic independence.

This principled policy of the USSR was once again vividly displayed by the activities of the Soviet delegation at the UN General Assembly special session convoked to examine the critical economic situation in Africa.

The session debates clearly revealed two approaches to analysing the causes of the present economic difficulties in the African countries and their solution. While the representatives of the socialist countries and delegates of many developing countries stressed that the reasons for economic difficulties rooted in the problems inherited from colonialism, in the long-term pillaging of these countries by transnational corporations, the diplomats from the capitalist countries of the West attempted to put the blame on the Africans themselves.

The head of the Soviet delegation stressed that the USSR is resolutely opposed to any attempts at exploiting the plight of the African countries with the aim of interfering in their internal and external policy and eventually impeding the economic emancipation of the continent. The USSR fully supports the African countries' legitimate demands addressed to the Western industrialised countries concerning compensation for damage done to the economic and social development of the continent due to the West's self-seeking policy.

The Soviet Union feels that every measure in the field of disarmament should not only increase security but allow the allocation of more means for improving living conditions, overcoming backwardness, including in the African countries, of course. It deems it necessary to convoke a world congress devoted to economic security. The Soviet delegation put forward a proposal that the UN elaborate an effective comprehensive programme for solving Africa's economic problems.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme points out that the CPSU "is consistently pursuing a policy of expanding contacts between the Soviet Union and the newly free countries, and regards with profound sympathy the aspirations of the peoples who had experienced the heavy and humiliating yoke of colonial slavery. The Soviet Union is building its relations with those countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equality, and supports the struggle of those countries against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism, against the survivals of colonialism, and for peace and universal security."

The Soviet Union believes that the complex social and economic problems facing Africa can be solved through restructuring international economic relations between the African countries and imperialist powers on an equitable and democratic basis and through halting the arms race, liquidating nuclear and chemical weapons and drastic cuts of military spending by all countries. That would provide a real and effective way of releasing resources that are so badly needed for the economic and social objectives of the developing countries, helping them overcome economic backwardness, and liquidating vast zones of hunger, poverty, epidemics and illiteracy.

THE LESSONS OF NUREMBERG AND THEIR RELEVANCE

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The Nuremberg Trial of the main Nazi war criminals that ended 40 years ago provided an epilogue for the Second World War which was crowned with the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition. In the decades past, however, the relevance of its decisions has not diminished. And no wonder since the lessons of Nuremberg are inseparable from the major problem of our time—the preservation of peace and averting the threat of nuclear war that hangs over humankind. The verdict passed by the International Military Tribunal did not only administer just punishment to the criminals who had perpetrated monstrous crimes in the not-so-distant past, but remains to this day a stern warning to all potential aggressors, all those who are trying to disrupt the peaceful life of the peoples.

The principles that formed the basis of the Charter and sentence of the Nuremberg Tribunal have been elaborated and formalised in present-day international law and have taken root in the consciousness of nations. However, these principles are the subject of unabated political and ideological struggle that dates back to the very beginnings of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg which has gone down in history as the peoples' trial of fascism.

The Nuremberg Trial was without precedent in human history. True, after the First World War an attempt was made to put on international trial the former German Kaiser, Wilhelm II and the top officers and ranking bureaucrats of the German Reich for their crimes in occupied countries. However, the provisions to the effect, contained in Articles 227 and 228 of the 1919 Peace Treaty of Versailles, were never realised. It was only in Nuremberg that specific individuals were for the first time brought to court for their crimes against peace, for their war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Those on trial were not rank-and-file executors of others' will but the main culprits—the whole of Hitler's clique in fact, which had seized power in the state and had turned the state machinery into an instrument of unheard-of crimes. It is not for nothing that the Charter and sentence of the International Military Tribunal have been described by some lawyers and writers as a "turning point" in the field of law.

As is known Hitler and his closest accomplices, Himmler and Goebbels, horrified by the impending just retribution they would be faced with, committed suicide. Convicted were 24 of Nazi Germany's top military and state leaders including Goering, the Luftwaffe Chief, organiser and leader of the Storm Troopers (the SA); Ribbentrop, Foreign Affairs Minister; Hess, Hitler's associate in the Nazi party; Keitel, Chief-of-Staff of the Supreme High Command; Kaltenbrunner, head of the Imperial Security Department, Krupp, a major industrial magnate, and others. Out

of them 12 were sentenced to death, 7 were given long or life sentences, 3 were acquitted.

The very creation of the court was an extraordinary event in the history of international relations prompted by extraordinary circumstances. For Hitler and his underlings had planned, prepared and unleashed an aggressive war in which 61 countries with a population of 1,000 million people were involved. It had claimed over 55 million lives, tens of millions of people were maimed and wounded, had starved to death or died in epidemics. Humankind had sustained untold spiritual and material damage. The Soviet Union, which had played the decisive role in defeating the Nazi aggressor, had lost 20 million people. To the horrors of a sanguinary war, the Hitlerites added military crimes and crimes against humanity unheard-of in their scope and brutality. Those were not individual atrocities, but a well-thought-out system of enslavement, plunder and mass annihilation of people.

Nazi Germany had established a "death industry", and torture and murder of prisoners-of-war and civilians in the occupied countries were made government policy. More than once during the Nuremberg Trial the Führer's cannibalistic pronouncements were cited to the effect that the "inferior races" were multiplying "like worms" and that the creation of Lebensraum (living space) for Germans demanded methodical extermination of millions of people, a special "de-populisation technique". The Hitlerites did not just violate individual agreements or international legal norms, but trampled underfoot all the laws and usages in the relations among nations. The entire history of world civilisation had never seen heinous crimes committed on such a massive scale.

In the course of the trial, prosecution was confronted with an unexpected difficulty. Modern languages, whether Russian or English, did not have terms and concepts to determine the corpus delicti for the crimes perpetrated by the fascist chieftains and Nazi organisations. The proceedings of the trial are replete with epithets and similes to describe the unprecedented atrocities of the Hitlerites who were devoid of elementary humanity and morality. Their crimes were described as "barbaric", "monstrous", "inhuman", etc., and the perpetrators were referred to as "Huns", "cannibals", and "hangmen".

Yet however strong these words may be they give a feeble and incomplete idea of the atrocities committed by Hitler's thugs. It is hardly surprising that the prosecutors had to coin new words. Thus was born the notion of "genocide" used to describe the international crime of exterminating whole nations, especially the Slavic peoples, and ethnic groups on racial, national and religious grounds. Statistics often proved more eloquent than any epithets: during the Second World War the Hitlerites had exterminated in concentration camps and in other ways more than 12 million people.

While in the First World War the death rate among Russian POWs in Germany was, officially, 5.4 per cent, the death rate among Soviet POWs in Hitler's camps was 57.8 per cent [according to Western sources.—V. P.]. This was annihilation pure and simple, wrote Heinrich Böll, the West German author, Nobel Prize-winner, who was stunned by these facts.¹

The Nazis' crimes profoundly shook the world public even in the early period of the war when scant evidence of them came to the surface. These crimes were so atrocious that they required extraordinary measures for punishment. In October 1942 the Soviet government issued a statement "On the Responsibility of Hitlerite Occupiers and Their Accomplices for

¹ See H. Böll, "Brief an meine Söhne oder Vier Fahrräder", *Die Zeit*, March 15, 1985.

the Crimes Perpetrated in Occupied Countries of Europe". The Soviet Union demanded that the rulers of Nazi Germany be tried by a special International Tribunal and punished with all the strictness of criminal law.²

In October 1943 the leaders of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain signed a Declaration warning those guilty of atrocities, murder and executions in temporarily occupied territories that they would be extradited for trial and punishment to the countries where they committed their crimes. The three Allied Powers pledged that they would seek the Hitlerite criminals to the furthest corners of the world.³ On August 8, 1945 the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France signed an agreement in London on the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European fascist "Axis" countries. The agreement instituted an International Military Tribunal and determined its Charter.⁴

The Nuremberg Trial marked a departure from several traditional legal norms and conceptions. Although aggressive war had been subject to moral condemnation since time immemorial, no one had ever been put on trial for aggression. At the time the tribunal was created there did not even exist any detailed international-legal definition of aggression. This, by the way, gave grounds to the German defence lawyers of the accused to claim that the Nuremberg Tribunal was violating the basic juridical principle of *nullum crimen sine lege* ("there is no crime without law"). In other words, an attempt was made to present Hitlerite criminals as victims of a delusion: they allegedly were unaware that they were committing crimes. Some jurists maintained that because the subject of international law is the state, physical persons could not be held internationally responsible for the actions of the state.

Complicity in crimes was an important problem. Goering or Himmler, for instance, did not kill their victims with their own hands. And what was one to do about the constant pleading of the accused that they were fulfilling the orders of their superiors? Many of them admitted that they had gassed prisoners-of-war to death in prison camps, taken part in the liquidation of Jews and other ethnic groups, and so on. However, the accused kept saying that they were merely carrying out the strict order of the Führer, i. e. the head of the state. On top of these knotty problems there were many procedural matters to be solved: where to hold the tribunal (in Berlin or Nuremberg), what should be its composition, who is to preside, what should the defence be, etc.

The problems that the Nuremberg Tribunal was to grapple with were often highly complex and some of them continue to be mooted among jurists to this day. And yet the tribunal resolved them in accordance with the norms of international law, the national legislation of the countries that formed the anti-Hitler coalition and on the basis of agreement between the four great powers that received the backing of all the countries in the anti-Hitler coalition. It can thus safely be said that the creation of the International Military Tribunal was a logical consequence of all preceding development of international law. The idea that some delictis were international crimes and the persons who commit them should be punished under international and not national law (c. g. piracy, drug trafficking, etc.) had gained currency in the 19th century. From time to time various proposals on international criminal justice and its bodies were put for-

² *The Nuremberg Trial*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1954, pp. 3-6 (in Russian).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-25.

ward. The juridical consciousness of nations was gradually moving towards the idea that aggressive war was a punishable international crime. In 1927 the League of Nations assembly proclaimed war of aggression to be an international crime. The Havana Conference of American States in 1928 qualified aggressive war as an international crime against the human race. The international Briand-Kellogg Pact put a legal seal on renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. By the time Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, sixty-three states, including Germany and Italy, had acceded to the pact, i. e. an overwhelming majority of the world's independent states at the time.

Historians have long ago proved that influential circles in the USA, Britain and other Western countries were against the creation of an International Military Tribunal to punish the main war criminals. Certain quarters in the West exerted no small effort to absolve from responsibility the Wehrmacht General Staff which had planned and directed the aggression and the owners of the concerns which financed Hitler, his plunderous campaigns and profited by fascism's bloody crimes.

Some people in the West are still trying to distort the essence and significance of the Nuremberg trial, and to falsify its principles. The FRG and some other countries have for many years witnessed a large-scale campaign to rehabilitate Hitler and his accomplices who had been put on trial at Nuremberg, the Nazi generals and such organisations as the SS which was adjudged as criminal by the verdict of the International Tribunal. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Nuremberg Trial, the Western press spewed countless fabrications and slanderous materials, some anti-Soviet in character. And yet, the Hitler clique's crimes against peace and humanity had been exposed at the trial with such exhaustive fullness, and the sentence was so thoroughly argued that to this day no one has dared to challenge its justice. The past 40 years have thus brought tangible proof that the International Tribunal had successfully fulfilled its mission in establishing the guilt and punishing the main Nazi war criminals. Its sentence has withstood the most difficult test—the test of time.

While they do not dare attack the basic justice of the punishment of the Nazi ringleaders, the reactionaries in the West today prefer to use other methods in order to sow doubts about the legitimacy of the Nuremberg trial. Most of their attacks reflect poor knowledge of the true history of the trial by the people in Western countries, including many jurists. The Western press recently revived the slanderous myth claiming that the Soviet Union had allegedly opposed a trial of Nazi chieftains and proposed simply to line up 50,000 top Nazi officers and ranking officials against the wall. This version was taken up by *Der Spiegel*, a major magazine published in Hamburg.⁵ These cheap lies are accompanied by pseudo-theoretical comments to the effect that the Soviet Union, owing to its very nature, could not have favoured any other decision because it intended to implement the Marxist doctrine on the "smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus". It was allegedly only the firm stand of the US leaders that made it possible to hold a trial.

The historical truth is, however, that the Soviet Union had from the outset come out for an International Tribunal (as witnessed by the Soviet government's statement of October 1942), while many Western leaders (Churchill, Eden, some members of the House of Lords in Bri-

⁵ *Der Spiegel*, Nov. 15, 1985, p. 77.

tain, US Secretary of State Hall, President of the US Supreme Court Stone, and R. Garreau, who represented the National Committee of Combatant France in the USSR and others) initially objected to such a trial being held. It is from their midst that suggestions came to execute the chieftains of the Hitler Reich on the spot as they would be seized by the Allied troops. Until the end of 1944 the Soviet government was the only one that consistently upheld the idea of an international trial of the main war criminals. The realisation of the Soviet proposal was, of course, greatly aided by the persistent demands of the world public for an international trial over the leaders of Hitler Germany.

Soviet jurists took a very active part in preparing and holding the Nuremberg Trial. Even before the war Professor A. Trainin argued that "criminal law can play a role in the system of means aimed to protect peace" and he elaborated proposals on international criminal justice that were later used in organising the Nuremberg Trial.⁶ Trainin's book *Criminal Responsibility of the Hitlerites* (1944), translated into several foreign languages, provided a foundation for the Charter of the International Military Tribunal. I. Nikitchenko, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and A. Trainin took part in the drafting of the 1945 London agreement that created the International Military Tribunal and subsequently performed important functions at Nuremberg, the former as judge and the latter as scientific consultant.

This refutes the still current Western version that the Tribunal's Charter had been worked out, decided ahead of time and brought to London by R. Jackson, the Chief US Prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials. Without belittling the role of the American, British and French jurists let it be said that the Soviet Union made a major contribution to the preparation and holding of the trial of the main Nazi criminals, and Soviet juridical science made a noticeable imprint on the legal principles formulated in Nuremberg. This is true, among other things, of the Soviet doctrine on responsibility for crimes against peace and humanity.

A typical example of the continuing attacks against the Nuremberg Trial is the lengthy article published by *Der Spiegel* to mark the trial's 40th anniversary. Its author claims that the Nuremberg Trial violated international law, and was not an act of justice but an arbitrary act of victors with regard to routed Germany. Predictably, he ascribes particular vengefulness to the Soviet Union. In an attempt to smear the members of the International Tribunal he describes R. Jackson (member of the US Supreme Court) as a "sly wheeler-dealer" and his subordinates as a bunch of zealous dilettantes who allegedly had little knowledge of international law and the history of the Nazi regime.⁷ The obvious aim of the publication is to call into question the legality of the trial, the competence of the judges, and so on.

An array of similar "theses" can be found in Christian Zenter's afterword to the 24-volume edition of the Nuremberg Tribunal documents published in the FRG in 1984.⁸ Frank Johnson who published an article in the London *Times* on the 40th anniversary of the trial stresses that the juridical aspects of the trial are arguable and therefore its whole legitimacy questionable. Repeating the well-known arguments of the opponents of the trial to the effect that the Nazi chieftains had been put on trial only for having lost the war, he states bluntly that "the court had no jurisdiction other than that granted it by conquest".⁹

⁶ A. N. Trainin, *The Defence of Peace and Criminal Law*, Moscow, 1937, p. 8 (in Russian).

⁷ See *Der Spiegel*, November 15, 1985, pp. 72-92.

⁸ See *Der Nürnberger Prozess. Dokumentation. Bilder. Zeittafeln*. Bd. 24, Munich—Zürich, 1984.

⁹ *The Times*, Nov. 20, 1985.

Attempts to present the Nuremberg Trial as "an arbitrary act" on the part of the victors with regard to vanquished Germany are most common in the FRG. In this connection, it has to be stressed that, of course, there would have been no International Military Tribunal without a victory over German fascism. It was only the defeat of Nazism that could and did make it possible to punish the Nazi criminals. But the Nuremberg Trial judged not the German people, but the Nazi chiefs whose crimes had also been perpetrated against the German people. Consequently, the International Tribunal acted in the interests of the German people as well, and its verdict has no anti-German thrust.

In Nuremberg, law backed by the Allied armies was administering justice to the Nazi monsters who had trampled underfoot the universally recognised legal norms of modern civilisation. Those who today attack the juridical basis of the trial should heed the opinion of Professor W. Simson of Freiburg (West Germany) who presented a paper on "The Legitimacy of the Nuremberg Trial" at the International Conference of Jurists held in Nuremberg in November 1985 under the auspices of the IADJ. After sharing some of his ideas on the legal aspects of the trial he declared that juridical discussions on problems of law have nothing to do with the need to punish Nazi criminals because those who call into question the legitimacy of the Nuremberg Trial were in effect advocating impunity of the main war criminals.¹⁰ Many other Western jurists of different political persuasions share this position.

Clearly, what the opponents of the trial have in common is not any juridical arguments. They do not like the very principles of Nuremberg which are directed against the policy of preparing aggressive wars and genocide, i. e. precisely against those crimes and lawless acts which are being perpetrated today by imperialist reactionary forces. These principles are incompatible with the policy of state terrorism, apartheid and racial discrimination, the existence of fascist dictatorial regimes, and the activities of neofascist parties and organisations. The Nuremberg Trial had brought vast documentary material to prove that the anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda of the Hitlerites, their demagogic slogans of "protecting the West against Bolshevism" in fact provided an ideological instrument for the preparation of plunderous military campaigns, a "justification" for the hideous Nazi crimes against many countries and peoples.

The Nuremberg Trial was one of the measures which the Allied powers were taking to establish durable peace in post-war Europe. Even at the Yalta Conference the heads of the three powers, having declared their determination to subject all the war criminals to just and prompt punishment, considered the destruction of German militarism and Nazism to be guarantees that Germany would never again be able to violate the peace of the whole world.¹¹

In pronouncing a sentence on Nazi criminals, the Nuremberg Trial acted in the name of a peaceful future for all nations. Europe has been living in peace for over four decades thanks to the measures the anti-Hitler coalition powers took after the Second World War, including those under the Potsdam Agreement, and such later collective efforts as the Final Act of the CSCE. The Nuremberg trial has undoubtedly made a ma-

¹⁰ See W. Simson, *Zur Legimität des Nürnberger Gerichtshofs*, Manuskript, Nuremberg, 1985, pp. 1-2.

¹¹ *Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union During the Great Patriotic War*. Documents and Materials, Vol. III, Moscow, 1947, pp. 102-103 (in Russian).

jor contribution to this. It is not surprising therefore that among its opponents today are those who dream of taking revenge for the war Hitler lost, of restoring the German Reich and who are staking on military strength and "star wars".

These quarters have their own way of marking the 40th anniversary of the Nuremberg trial. One instance is the gathering of lawyers organised by the Würzburg University in West Germany in November 1985. Most of the speakers dealt with the subject of resettlement of Germans from areas which under the Potsdam Agreement were ceded to Poland. Repeating the idle talk about a "Reich" which allegedly continues to exist within the 1937 borders, the speakers advanced revanchist claims to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. Some of them went so far as to allege that the Allied powers themselves had perpetrated against Germans the same kind of crimes for which they had tried the Nazi leaders in Nuremberg.¹²

It is reprehensible to put on the same footing the inveterate Nazi thugs and the Allied troops which had liberated the peoples of Europe, including the German people, from the brown plague. Yet this kind of nonsense has for several decades now been promoted in the FRG by revanchist associations with the tacit support of influential CDU/CSU circles. To rehabilitate the Nazi criminals, who have the deaths of tens of millions on their conscience, to discredit the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries—this is the secret dream nurtured today by the forces of international imperialist reaction who want to take social revenge on the European and global scale. Ultra-right-wing West German press and other Western media are trying to instil a perverted conception of the Nuremberg Trials and the Hitlerite crimes into the minds of young Germans.

Last autumn, the Hamburg weekly *Stern*, lifted the veil off a subject that is somewhat uncommon for the West German press: what do the Bundesburghers know about Hitler's policy of driving people off occupied countries for forced labour in the Reich? In the summer of 1941 there were about 3 million such people, and subsequently their number reached 8 million. On the basis of numerous documentary and other pieces of evidence the Nuremberg Tribunal qualified the Nazi treatment of the workers forcibly driven away as an international crime. And *Stern* notes that it was "not only the Nazi authorities who were guilty of terror with regard to forced labourers. Taking part in it were millions of so-called *Volksgegnossen*"¹³ (the Hitler term for "compatriots"). And yet, according to the magazine, people in the FRG today know less about that page of their country's past than about ancient slavery.

The plight of foreign workers is still of topical concern in Federal Germany where there are several million foreign workers. Capitalists mercilessly exploit the Turkish, Greek and other foreign workers, forcing them to live in sordid conditions, maltreating and humiliating them. Local newspapers are full of accounts of violence and murder of immigrants at the hands of brutal thugs usually led by neo-Nazis.

Speaking in the Bundestag on May 8, 1985, FRG President, Richard von Weizsäcker, warned against forgetting Nazi crimes. "Those who do not want to recall the inhumanity would again succumb to new insidious dangers," he said. Some influential West German quarters would do well to heed such sensible advice. Meanwhile the Bonn Cabinet renders direct aid to the revanchist "fellow countrymen" who at their annual meetings openly make territorial claims to the neighbouring socialist states, inclu-

¹² *Die Welt*, Nov. 23/24, 1985.

¹³ *Stern*, Oct. 3, 1985, p. 122.

ding Poland and Czechoslovakia. In May 1986, ignoring reasonable warnings by the West German public, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl found it necessary to express solidarity with the "men of yesterday" speaking at a gathering of the "association of Sudeten Germans", one of the most blatantly revanchist organisations in the FRG. On the Rhine, it is not only neo-Nazis who are rearing their heads, former SS men, members of an organisation declared to be criminal by the Nuremberg Tribunal, stage regular gatherings. Despite the protest of outraged by this democratic public opinion in the country, the Federal Ministry of the Interior claims that in a "law-based" state like the FRG it is impossible to ban such rallies.

And yet documents prepared by the Union of Anti-Fascists and Persons Persecuted Under Nazism show that legislation in the FRG expressly forbids the revival of SS organisations. This ban is confirmed by Article 139 of the Fundamental Law, the existing laws of the Allied Control Council and the rulings of the Constitutional Court of the FRG, etc. It is thus merely a matter of the executive bodies in West Germany observing legislative norms.¹⁴

The authorities in the FRG, the USA and some other countries are hiding Nazi criminals from deserved retribution. According to the UN Commission on Human Rights which met in February 1984, less than 8 per cent of the identified war criminals have been sentenced in the FRG. The USA has given shelter to at least 5,000 Nazis guilty of atrocities on territories temporarily occupied during the war.¹⁵ According to foreign press reports, as many as 50,000 Nazi criminals are hiding from just retribution in various countries of the world.

Faced with the impunity of Nazi murderers, plunderers and rapists one cannot pass over in silence the long-standing accusation that the Nuremberg Trial was too harsh on the war criminals. Calls for clemency can still be heard not only in the USA and Britain whose soil had never been trampled by the Nazi jackboots, but in West European countries which had lived through the tragedy of Hitler occupation. For example, Dominique Desanti, a French journalist who was present at the Nuremberg Trial, recently published an article in the Paris *Le Monde* where she confided to her readers that, being an avowed opponent of the death penalty, she could never be reconciled to the fact that Nazi chieftains (guilty of the murder of millions of people) had been hanged.¹⁶ Frank Jackson, author of the above-mentioned article in *The Times*, speaks out in the same vein.

Some accuse the Soviet Union of withholding its agreement to release Rudolf Hess serving, according to the Nuremberg verdict, a life sentence in Spandau prison in West Berlin under the guard of troops from the four powers. This writer has often been asked by West German lawyers, why a decrepit old man who poses no social danger should be kept in prison.

Those who ask such questions can hardly be suspected of forgetting the millions of victims for whose death Rudolf Hess shares the blame with other Nazi leaders. They are probably motivated by good intentions, wishing, for instance, to see an end to the strident manifestations demanding his release, and to neo-Nazi activities. But, as the saying goes, "the road to hell is paved with good intentions". Granting pardon to a criminal cannot be an arbitrary political act. The decision should be prompted by the criminal's repentance, cooperation with justice and other extenuating circumstances. Yet in his forty years in prison Hess has done nothing

¹⁴ M. Kulscha, H. Stein, *Die Fortgeltung des Verboles der SS—ein aktuelles Problem*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1985, p. 7.

¹⁵ See UN Doc. E/CN.4/1984/SR 26, March 1, 1984, p. 17.

¹⁶ *Le Monde*, Nov. 24-25, 1985.

that would show that he has repented and condemned Nazis' atrocities. What, then, has this convinced Nazi criminal done to deserve pardon?

True humanity has nothing in common with acquiescence in crime, renunciation of the principle of imminent punishment or with forgetting the norms of justice. It is no accident that Heinrich Böll, a profoundly humanistic writer, when asked to sign a petition to release Rudolf Hess, flatly refused knowing that Hess was a "fanatical racist" loyal to Hitler.¹⁷

In the Nuremberg Palace of Justice where the International Military Tribunal sat and where particularly serious criminal cases are now heard, you would look in vain for any reminders of the famous "trial of the century". The Nuremberg Trials might never have taken place. This prompted the headline of an article contributed to *L'Humanité* newspaper by Pierre Durand, a French journalist, in which he asks: "What Remains of Nuremberg?"¹⁸

The Nuremberg Trials and the principles it had elaborated are undoubtedly a landmark in the political and juridical thinking of nations. Today the aggressive imperialist forces can no longer afford to act as if the stern verdict on the Nazi war criminals did not exist. These principles will play an ever-growing role as the struggle of the peoples for peace, national liberation and social progress mounts. It is notable that when a trial began last year in Argentina of the leaders of the military junta which had been guilty of numerous crimes against the democratic people in the country, the world press dubbed it a "Latin American Nuremberg".

At the present time, when war has become a means of mankind's self-destruction, added importance is attached to the principles first implemented at the Nuremberg trial, namely, those of individual responsibility for crimes against peace, military crimes and crimes against humanity, irrespective of the accused's rank, citizenship and the legislation in his own country.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has stressed that the international situation is at a turning point. The changes in the world are so profound and far-reaching that they require a reappraisal and change of the existing forms and methods of relations among states taking into account the nuclear confrontation. In this, an important role is to be played by the lessons of the Nuremberg Trial and the legal principles that underlie its verdict and which have since been elaborated in present-day international law. A solid barrier must be put up to crimes for which the main Nazi war criminals were tried, in the first place to crimes against peace.

However, the new mode of thinking and the new view of the world that are necessitated by the realities of the nuclear age meet with fierce resistance on the part of certain sections of the ruling classes in the leading capitalist countries. The capitalist world had not given up the hegemonistic ideology, the hopes of taking social revenge through the use of military force. Sober assessment of the current situation has to fight its way through a plethora of prejudice and misconceptions in the thinking of the West's ruling classes. This is particularly true of the reactionary quarters in the USA with their imperial ideology and policies.

As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee points out, "owing to its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly gives rise to aggressive, adventurist policy". It foments and provokes national selfishness,

(Continued on page 137)

¹⁷ See H. Böll, *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ *L'Humanité*, Nov. 29, 1985.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE "JAPANESE MIRACLE"

V. S O L N T S E V

A good deal has been written in the past twenty five years about the "Japanese miracle", the "Japanese challenge" or the "Japanese prodigy" in the West and in Japan itself. The crisis that hit the capitalist world in 1974 and 1975 made the "Japanese economic miracle" (which means, above all, a high growth rate unusual for the imperialist powers' economies) a thing of the past.¹ Nonetheless this phenomenon is intensely studied to this day.

Businessmen and journalists, public servants and scientists—all ask the same questions. How did Japan, which has practically no raw material resources, manage not only to restore the war-ravaged economy within a very brief span of time, but even become the second economic power in the capitalist world? Why has the trade mark, "Made in Japan", which only recently was looked upon as a mark of third-rate produce, become synonymous with top quality. Why does social conflict in Japan seem—at least at first sight—less grave than in the West? And, finally, is the "Japanese prodigy" the result of some "inherent national traits" or do some of its specifics merely conspicuously stand out on the general picture of the development of a society based on the exploitation of man by man?

The British *Financial Times* once carried a report which looked more like an April Fools' Day joke. According to the paper, a mythical Californian company, wishing to learn the secrets of the legendary "Japanese miracle", began to set up so-called "quality circles" in the Japanese manner at its factories and even fed its workers raw fish and made them commute by deliberately overcrowded buses. The mythical owners of that company believed that, since it was impossible to know the factors which accounted for the great postwar boom of the Japanese economy, there was nothing they could do but reproduce Japanese realities completely.

But it so happened that the paper hit the mark. In particular, many analysts in the West see the causes of the "Japanese miracle" precisely in labour, in the specific labour relations in industry. The most enthusiastic among them even assert that there is "social harmony" and there is no antagonism in Japan, that there is almost amicable agreement between labour and capital and that there even exists a third version of a socio-economic model which, according to the US journal *Asian Pacific Community*, is a happy combination of different elements of the two incompatible systems.

A detached onlooker prone to admire Japanese workers would be convinced by all the statistical arguments. Indeed, between 1960 and 1980 labour productivity in Japanese industry shot up by 375 per cent, while in the United States the increase was 100 per cent; in the FRG and

¹ According to the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the industrial production growth in the country was 3.6 per cent in 1983 as against 17.5 per cent in 1973.

France 170 per cent; and in Britain 80 per cent.² And in some industries where Japan has scored the greatest successes the gap is still wider. A few years back *Time* had to admit that at a highly automated assembly works of the Japanese Nissan concern 35 workers assisted by industrial robots manufacture 350 Datsun car bodies within 8 hours, which is seven times (sic!) as many as in the rivalling US companies.

Other statistics say a Japanese worker wastes merely 1.95 per cent of his work time, while an American worker loses 3.5 per cent and a French one 8.3 per cent. But the biggest envy of Western monopoly owners is that Japan in 1982-1985 lost less work time due to strikes than any other capitalist country.

Many Western analysts explain this situation primarily by Japanese national specifics, such as industry, self-discipline, communal mentality with the individual subordinate to the group, and the unique ability for cooperating through mutual compromise. And though Japanese do possess these qualities, or at least some of them do, it is not they that matter most. The point is that the Japanese entrepreneurs have learned to make the most of these qualities, in order to exploit the working people in a more sophisticated way than their Western counterparts do.

Whenever the relations between labour and capital in Japan are concerned, mention is made, above all, of a "triad of divine treasures" (an allusion to the three inherited regalia of the Emperor's rule—jasper, a bronze mirror and a sword—"life-long employment", payment for work according to the length of service, and the trade unions set up at individual enterprises. These three elements are closely related, and also with the paternalism predominant at Japanese enterprises. Paternalism, like the triad elements, has been largely inherited from the patriarchal organisation of former feudal society.

Japanese businessmen extol the advantages of "life-long hire", presenting it as a "boon" for workers. "It stabilises the social system as a whole," alleged Keizo Saji, President of the Santori company producing alcoholic beverages. To win popularity, the entrepreneurs try to act as father figures to their workers. "Company directors in Japan must do all they can to ensure for the workers and their families a secure position and give them hope for the future," declared Eiishiro Saito, President of the Shinnittetsu steel concern. "Japanese factory and office workers consider their company as part of their family," said Ryuataro Nomura, the owner of a firm.

But how do matters stand in reality? On leaving school or other educational establishment a young worker applies for employment at a company where he expects to work until the age of 55 or older. Initially his wage or salary would be about one-third of what he would get after 25 years of work.

The illusion that the worker is cared for as a "dear son" in a company which is "one big family" is instilled from the moment he starts working for the firm. Most companies stage annual ceremonies, attended by the parents and other relatives of newly-employed workers, at which the head of the firm congratulates the novices on their employment. The company's anthem is among the first things they have to learn. They will sing it every morning, together with their fellow employees standing at attention, promising solemnly to devote themselves totally to promoting the growth and flourishing of the company. To bring this idea home to the novices, the administration of the electrotechnical concern Matsushita Denki sends them to the temple of the Buddhist sect Zen for three days of seclusion. In the workshops of some companies, Sony being one of them, a foreman would show young workers a telephone linking

² *The Journal of Commerce*, Vol. 15, No. 8, 1981, Tokyo, p. 6.

them directly with the administration, so that the employees can offer their suggestions or lodge complaints and remain anonymous. When an employee decides to get married, the company covers the heavy expenses on renting the traditional wedding dress.

It looks ideal all right. But those who readily believe it are grossly mistaken. In Japan, as perhaps in no other country, it becomes all too clear that philanthropy and capitalism are poles apart. Having bound the workers head and foot by promises of future wage increases and "guaranteed" employment, the entrepreneurs receive full devotion from their personnel in return. And this devotion is expressed not only in that a worker of the Nissan car building concern would never buy a car manufactured at the rivalling Toyota works.

Official statistics show, for instance, that the total number of days-off a year, including the paid leave, is, on the average, 30-odd days less for the Japanese worker than, say, for his West German counterpart. A Japanese rarely has two days-off a week, and overtime has become daily practice. As for the leave, it lasts days and not weeks for most Japanese.

Meanwhile the workers, who are said to benefit so much from the "guaranteed life-long employment" system, have to put up with all this. Why so? The answer is quite easy. The Japanese worker knows that he can be fired for the slightest "disloyalty" and so lose forever the few advantages offered him by "life-long employment". The dismissed workers are replaced by young people who are quick learners with strong endurance. In the conditions when about 30 per cent of the Japanese school leavers cannot find jobs, a dismissal of a worker aged 35 to 40 means that he and his family are doomed to chance earnings at best. This agonising fear of becoming "redundant" is what made "life-long employment" the basis of labour relations in Japan and the mainstay of social order and harmony there, wrote the US journal *Foreign Affairs*.

Nepotism in labour and capital relations at bigger Japanese enterprises leads to the establishment of company-based trade unions, which in turn, causes a high degree of their conciliation. The core of their membership is made up of permanent workers not liable to dismissal. "Even if a trade union is efficient, as many of them are," wrote *Le Monde*, "it fights only for this part of the workers, that is, for labour aristocracy."³ In critical situations it is unorganised temporaries who are the first to be fired.

Here is one typical example. About two years back, Nissan owners signed an agreement with their employees' trade union under which the administration would not fire members of the trade union if new production methods would be introduced. But experienced workers make up slightly over a half of the Nissan personnel, only part of them being in the trade union. In these conditions the bosses can easily back up conservative trade unions and their leaders.

One should not, of course, look upon the Japanese trade-union movement as an assemblage of conciliators. There has been many a glorious victory in its history. It is widely known, for instance, that Japanese workers, offered fierce resistance to the entrepreneurs' intention to shut down the factories which had grown unprofitable: they occupied workshops and established workers' self-administration. Petri Kamera, Hamada Seiki, Tanaka Kikai and other firms are symbols of uncompromising struggle waged by the Japanese workers for their right to work, of which they are deprived by notorious capitalist "rationalisation". Most militant are the trade unions which are part of the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo) or are affiliated with it. Sohyo has a membership of 4.5 million, including most of the civil servants. But the government's policy of denationalisation and the pressure exerted by the monopolies

³ *Le Monde*, Nov. 9, 1979.

have been steadily reducing the membership of Japanese trade unions over the past nine years. By late 1984 the number of factory and office workers in trade unions dropped to a record-low level of less than 30 per cent of all working people, numbering 12 million.

The example with Nissan cited above is clear proof that the "triad of divine treasures" is not universal and only strengthens dualism of the labour market. In fact, all Japanese working people can be subdivided into two unequal groups. One includes experienced regular workers in bigger monopolies, who benefit from the boons offered by the "triad" (they account for less than 20 per cent of the able-bodied population). The other one includes all the others—the overwhelming and most exploited majority of the Japanese working people.

So, who are the others? In the first place, the "life-long employment" system in no way concerns farmers and those working in the service industry. But the professional affiliation is not the only exception. In industry the advantages of this system do not extend to the steadily increasing number of part-timers who are paid much less than regulars and who can be easily laid off. A part timer often means that one is in this more discriminated category of working people. More often than not, "part-time work" lasts eight or more hours six days a week.⁴

The workers who are not on permanent staff are no better off. Their labour is used, according to official data, by about 65 per cent of the Japanese enterprises. They are not covered by social insurance, are not paid gratuity and cannot join a trade union. The most unfortunate among them are day-labourers, seasonal workers and students who have to earn money to pay for tuition.

The giant monopolies, "zaibatsu" and "keiretsu", symbolising Japanese economic successes, cannot exist without many thousands of small and medium companies acting as subcontractors and suppliers. Suffice it to say that 56 per cent of the Japanese workers and employees are working at enterprises with a personnel of less than 100 people.

Their technological level, productivity and labour conditions, wages and salaries, and social insurance are far below those of the corporations for which they work. The small and medium firms are used as a "buffer" reducing the market fluctuations for the patron company. It is namely these firms which are the first to be sacrificed in a slump. In the first half of the past year alone, about 9,500 Japanese companies went bankrupt, mostly small and medium ones, while their personnel joined the army of "redundant people" who numbered 1,650,000 in early 1986.⁵

Women are most discriminated against. Their status, according to the *Asia Pacific Community*, is an average between the position of a bird and that of a man. Japanese women are paid a bit over a half of what men get for equal work. They are in fact barred from managerial posts and are made to sign an obligation to quit the job "voluntarily" in case of marriage or childbirth, and are the first to be fired in the event of financial difficulties.

About 600,000 Koreans living in Japan and also 3 million "burakumins", the descendants of medieval "untouchables" are subjected to most ruthless exploitation. About 30 per cent of them are unemployed. They are not allowed to live and work together with other Japanese, to marry them and to acquire higher education. They live in poverty in dirty ghettos.

However, to find a job at a factory of a big firm it is not enough to be a male and a "pure-blooded" Japanese. In the conditions when Japanese

⁴ *Le Monde*, Apr. 7-8, 1985.

⁵ According to the trade unions, the actual unemployment level in the country is 100 to 200 per cent higher. This view is shared by Western economists who point out that the Japanese official statistics are incomplete.

industry, which lays a special stress on the priority growth of science-intensive industrial branches, is, in increasing need of young and well-educated workers, ever more preference is given to university graduates.

Special priority is given to a small number of privileged universities. The higher the private university's prestige, the higher the tuition. For those who aspire to enroll there, the study at school (the school should be privileged, too) is a nightmare. The 16-hour working day for pupils who are 16 years of age and younger has become an ordinary occurrence. A huge number of senior pupils attend "juku", a private evening course during which they are prepared for examinations. "Harsh rivalry at school, at the university and then in industry has a strong psychological impact, causing insecurity, which... is directed and used by the capitalist system in order to enslave the individual,"—this is how *Le Monde* summed up the situation.⁶

These facts show well that in order to gain access to the few advantages offered by the "life-long employment" system, the Japanese at a very early age have to join the fierce battle for a place under the sun. But is this real "life-long" job security after all? The answer is "no". As they reach the age of 55 (there may be slight deviations), regulars are discarded like trash. Benefits paid to them by the firm, while the pension system does not exist, run out within a few years. As the money is spent up, writes *Le Monde Diplomatique*, these people "can often be seen in a workshop doing dirty work, and some of them pick up cigarette butts at railway stations."⁷

"We in Japan cannot fire the people we have employed", Akio Morita, President of Sony, once said. Indeed, until recently dismissals at big Japanese factories were relatively rare. To avoid lay-offs during "rationalisation" or at a time of economic difficulty, the entrepreneurs preferred to transfer workers to other shops, other factories and even other industries, sometimes moving them from one end of Japan to the other, with or without their families.

But the opportunities offered by this practice, which the entrepreneurs often label as "aid" to workers, seem to have ended. Not so long ago, for instance, the administration of Ishikawajima-Harima Jukogyo, a major Japanese ship-building concern, announced a lay-off of every fifth worker. Thousands of ship-builders were thrown out. Reports of this kind become ever more frequent.

Since the end of the Second World War, when the "life-long employment" system got firmly established, and right up to the 1974-1975 crisis "life-long employment" was a source of Japan's economic growth. But in the conditions of greater economic difficulties, automation of production and the fast "ageing" of the population, it gradually becomes meaningless. "There can be no life-long employment during a slump," said Kaoru Ota, a leader of the Japanese trade-union movement. All this forces the monopolies to find ways of preserving in this system a cobweb of ties making maximum use of the worker and minimising the obligations this system imposes on the corporation owners.

In a bid to retain the weakening ties between the worker and the factory, big business in Japan stakes on strengthening the mechanism of so-called decision-making by general consent ("ringi"), thus increasing the feeling of being one of the group. Japan feels like a "family" because nearly all take part, one way or another, in administering society, *Time* wrote with emotion. Regardless of what group is concerned—the tiniest business just getting off the ground or a huge billion-dollar corporation,

⁶ *Le Monde*, Nov. 8, 1979.

⁷ *Le Monde Diplomatique*, November, 1984.

no actions are taken until everyone involved comes to a unanimous decision.⁸

But the situation seems to be like this only to those who are poorly informed. "Ringi," says *Le Monde*, "has never impeded the principle of power. Besides, 'ringi' which is often used for confirming a decision already made, is designed for creating an impression of unanimity. This, in turn, facilitates decision-making, ruling out protest at the outset, because everybody believes it meets his own interests. Meanwhile the entrepreneurs have always been opposed to workers' representation on the administrative level: at best they could allow regular consultations on matters of workers' health and working conditions."⁹

In analysing the problems involved in the much advertised participation of Japanese working people in production management, special attention should be paid to the so-called quality circles which are widely cited as practical implementation of the widespread slogan: "Every employee is a manager". The circles are not a Japanese invention. They cropped up in Japan some twenty five years back as a replica of the American faultless work groups, after which they were quickly transformed into an original form of workers' participation in matters of enhancing production efficiency. They are small groups of workers (as a rule made up of 6 to 12 persons headed by a foreman) set up on the shop floor on a voluntary basis, as the entrepreneurs allege.

"All workers should think"—this is the attitude of Japanese businessmen to their personnel. But who stands to gain from this thinking? According to Japanese estimates, about \$5,000 a year is saved, on the average, by giving effect to a single proposal made by a "quality circle". The remuneration received by the innovators is symbolic. For example, a worker at Matsushita Denki received a mere 100 dollars for 60 innovations which had been used in production. There is an impression that backpatting is the most widespread way of rewarding Japanese workers, H. Takeuti of the Harvard Business School remarked ironically.

It is logical to ask in this context: are these "quality circles" voluntary after all? In most cases, the idea of setting them up belongs to the management, as is testified by many workers. Pamphlets issued by workers show that the pressure of the surroundings and the hierarchy, compelling the workers to discuss labour productivity matters after a tiresome working day, is agonising.

Summing up, I should like to say that one can and should learn from the Japanese, including their instant use of scientific and technological achievements and innovations in production, elimination of intermediate stages in management, and the utmost participation of the personnel in the drive for top-quality output. But one should not take the myth about a "social harmony" in Japan at its face value, for in Japan ruthless exploitation, which has nothing to do with national culture, has become the norm.

⁸ *Time*, March 30, 1981, p. 16.

⁹ *Le Monde*, Nov. 10, 1979.

South Korea: Mounting Resistance to the Anti-Popular Regime

D. K A P U S T I N

The recent events in South Korea have been closely followed by the broad international public, a fact that is accounted for by a number of internal and external circumstances.

It is common knowledge that following the assassination of Park Chung Hee by the head of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency in October 1979 state power was in actual fact seized by another clan of top-level brass headed by Chun Doo Hwan, then commander of the country's military security forces. This clan removed the rival group of generals, imprisoned many leaders of the opposition, and in May 1980 drowned in blood the popular uprising in Kwangju. Having received unequivocal support from the USA at the height of the reprisals Chun Doo Hwan and his soulmates forced the provisional civil government to resign and, making use of the state of emergency introduced after the assassination of Park Chung Hee, ensured the "proper" composition of the electoral college which elected Chun Doo Hwan President of South Korea.

In an atmosphere of strict police surveillance a new South Korean constitution was adopted in October 1980. Restricting the presidency to a single seven-year term, it preserved many anti-popular features left over from the Park Chung Hee regime. This concerned above all the system of indirect presidential elections and the procedure of parliamentary elections.

The reactionary essence of Chun Doo Hwan's regime became clear from the outset. Kim Ioung Sam, a prominent figure of the opposition and former leader of the disbanded New Korea Party, said: "We had several dictatorial regimes, but this one is the worst of all. Repressions, censorship and the control held by the police force have become even greater."

Indeed, in South Korea overt opposition to the Chun Doo Hwan regime has been virtually suppressed even according to the meager standards of "bourgeois democracy". All kinds of Draconian laws in force in the country like those on "national security" and on the struggle against "terrorism", enable the Seoul rulers to apply them to any undesirable political activity. The role of the parliament has been reduced to mere rubber-stamping of the regime's laws, for its cunning election system (only two-thirds of the 276 parliamentarians are elected, and of the remaining 92 seats 61 are automatically handed over to the party that received a majority vote at the direct elections) enables Chun Doo Hwan's ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP) to easily net over half of the votes in the National Assembly. Unaffected by the votes of the opposition or independent parties, it is able to pass any bill.

The DJP scored a majority vote at the February 1985 parliamentary elections (148 seats). However, this time the New Korea Democratic Party, founded less than a month before the elections, vigorously asserted itself. In the new National Assembly this party uniting in its ranks mainly the liberal-nationalist wing of the South Korea bourgeoisie,

the intelligentsia and the urban strata won 67 seats. Shortly thereafter, however, it was joined by several petty opposition parties and a number of deputies from other opposition and independent parties. This gave it 100 seats in the National Assembly and turned it into an imposing force. It launched a vigorous countrywide campaign for Chun Doo Hwan's resignation, for holding free and direct presidential elections and changing the present Constitution.

The NKDP's "spiritual leaders"—Kim Dae Jung (who returned to South Korea four days before the elections and has since been under police surveillance) and Kim Joung Sam—advocated waging a broad campaign to collect 10 million signatures in favour of changing the Constitution. It was launched in February 1986, sponsored by the NKDP and a specially founded council for promoting democracy in South Korea uniting representatives from the country's leading opposition forces, and came up against bitter resistance from the government. Raids were made on the NKDP headquarters and the council's office. The country's Procurator's Office threatened anyone taking part in the campaign with a seven-year prison term. As a preemptive measure all the deputies of the oppositional New Korea Democratic Party then in South Korea were arrested. However, despite the increasing repressions the fight for democratisation is gaining momentum.

Students and youth whose political activities often draw the intelligentsia, different working class sections and religious circles play an important role in the country's political life. Incredible as it may seem in the last few decades the results of these actions against the dictatorial regimes each time played into the hands of a new clan of the South Korean brass which came up with "its own" dictator. Accounting for such failures are the students' poor political organisation, their isolation from the broad strata of population and inconsistency among other reasons. Brutal terror methods are widely employed against students. The Japanese newspaper *Mainichi* reported that 30 per cent of Seoul University students were expelled yearly for "incitement activities". Some of them are recruited into the army where they are subjected to harrassment often leading to the death of student leaders.

Nevertheless the South Korean youth have not ceased their struggle. It acquired a particularly wide scope last year and has been gaining momentum in the first half of 1986. The number of participants in demonstrations, meetings and other forms of protest has topped a million. The range of their demands is particularly wide: from observance of academic freedoms to the ending of police terror, democratising society and achieving Chun Doo Hwan's resignation. The authorities have repeatedly used mobile police units, water hoses and even armoured cars on campuses, employing tear gas and US-made shock truncheons. Several thousand students were arrested and put on trial.

An indicative feature of the present-day students' actions is their sharp anti-American nature. Students have repeatedly gained hold of premises belonging to different US establishments in South Korea, and among them the US Chamber of Commerce in Seoul, the Bank of America offices in Pusan, branches of the USIA and the US cultural centre in Kwangju. Their slogans demanded the ending of US interference in the country's affairs and its support for Chun Doo Hwan's dictatorial regime.

Seoul authorities claim that the participants in these events comprise but a few thousand students (of a total of 1,000,000) instigated to action by a number of "die-hard radicals". Facts show, however, that these demonstrations have a more profound nature. The Japanese magazine *Asahi Dzanaru* wrote that dozens of underground circles in charge of students' demonstrations were functioning in South Korea.

The regime's repressions are aimed not only against students. In all of South Korea the atmosphere is one of total terror and universal surveillance. According to the South Korean press, short of 40,000 persons are undergoing "indoctrination" in military camps. The Agency of National Security Planning (ANSP), which is nothing more than the same South Korean CIA with a different face, remains a notorious symbol of "democracy" South Korean style. Western specialists in Korean studies had indeed hit the nail on the head when they called this department of dirty dealings a "mixture of the American CIA and FBI and Italian mafia". In its new role the ANSP may have become more obscure, yet no less scandalous: nearly one of every ten Koreans is its informant, and it keeps a sharp eye on people's activities and frame of mind in virtually every sphere of life, in establishments and enterprises, universities and villages.

The brutality of Chun Doo Hwan's regime is the reverse side of his uncertainty as regards his position and the lack of political stability in South Korea. Western observers openly admit that political instability in the atmosphere of propaganda hysteria over a "threat from the North" and the "need to consolidate in the struggle against communism" are becoming a norm of everyday life. Many foreigners arriving in South Korea are struck by the wave of war hysteria over the country. The capital is girdled by a ring of anti-tank defences; sandbags have been piled around many office buildings. On the 15th of each month air alert tests are held in Seoul and other Korean cities. The impression is that all of South Korea is being turned into a huge war camp with endless military manoeuvres.

Indeed for the last ten years US-South Korean Team Spirit military exercises have been held regularly in February-April. This year they involved 200,000 men and officers and as before their chief element was a simulated nuclear strike against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Team Spirit exercises usually give way to other "training operations"—"to combat the North Korean threat" or "to repel the attack from the North". They are followed by naval exercises which have been recently held in the Sea of Japan. These are completed in time for the "autumn military exercises"—and the round is repeated. It is obvious that the building up of military activity pursues aims that are not only of a strategic or foreign policy nature but is also supposed to instil the South Koreans with fear of the army as an instrument of diktat on the part of the ruling groupings.

While regarding countryside terror as one of the main bulwarks of the present Seoul regime Chun Doo Hwan and his soulmates are eager to obtain a "more respectable" mainstay of their rule in the form of economic achievements. Following a sharp industrial slump in 1980 Seoul succeeded in restoring its rather high GNP growth indices. However, 1985 brought the beginning of another slump. At the same time it exposed even more fundamental problems of the South Korean economy. Two years ago the British *Financial Times* wrote that ever more facts were confirming that as never before in the last thirty years South Korea was virtually chasing after the vanishing shadow of an economic miracle that had once seemed indisputable and endless.

Indeed it is well known that the economic boom in South Korea was triggered off by the US aggression in Vietnam. Just as the Korean war had become a gold mine for Japan, the US Vietnamese venture brought in hefty profits to South Korea. The participation of South Korean troops in the war brought lucrative military orders and dollar "bonuses", which according to the Japanese magazine *Chuo Koron* accounted for more than one-third of South Korea's national budget for that period.

Today the sway of foreign capital, and above all that of the USA and Japan, the numerous credits and investments, the country's one-sided orientation on the USA and Japan, and the very nature of its economy's "exports pattern" (where approximately 30 per cent of its GNP falls to exports) have increased its foreign debt to \$46,700 million as of December 1985, or over 57 per cent of its GNP, with interest charges consuming 16 per cent of its exports revenue. According to *The Financial Times*, the claim that South Korea's strong point rests on a mount of debts may not be far from the truth. These cardinal problems have already exacerbated the difficulties experienced by the financial sector which, experts believe, is in an unsatisfactory state and is fraught with scandals.

There is no doubt that the military expenditure of the Chun Doo Hwan regime, which even by official estimates swallows up one-third of the state budget, are a heavy drag on the economy. The lion's share of military spending is used to purchase high-priced US military equipment and maintain the huge 600,000-strong South Korean army, which ranks fourth in the world in strength. For several years now the country's military spending has been consuming 6 per cent of the budget, setting it above the leading NATO countries.

No means are overlooked for the sake of economic "success", and among them a prominent place belongs to the ruthless attack on decent working conditions. Seoul's allocations for social needs and raising the people's welfare barely reach 2 per cent. Housing conditions are deemed by specialists as critical. Social insurance is virtually non-existent, and disablement and death benefits, meagre as they are, are paid only in cases classified as industrial injuries.

Thus the actual state of economic and social life in South Korea is a far cry from what one sees on glossy billboards. On the one hand, there are the quite favourable mean economic indices, on the other—the steadily growing prices and galloping inflation. On one pole, there are the multimillion dollar incomes of the business tycoons, on the other, the paltry wages of the working people and unemployment. And last but not least, the fashionable tourist centres with their sauna baths and swimming pools, and only a few blocks away—the slums of Seoul's and Pusan's suburbs. These contrasts are virtually responsible for the mounting social and political tension in South Korea.

The country's present economic situation and the regime's domestic policy are closely linked with Seoul's foreign policy course and the country's role in the global plans of world imperialism. The 30-year-old dictatorship is the direct result of the extensive and diversified US aid. To this day the USA, linked as it is with the Seoul regime by a termless "mutual defence" treaty (1954), remains its chief military and economic "donor". The total sum of US aid to South Korea, which has been flowing in an uninterrupted stream since 1945, tops \$11,000 million, not less than half of which is made up of military deliveries. According to official data, in the 1985 fiscal year US military aid amounted to \$209 million and was expected to go up in 1986 to \$232 million. At present US loans and credits account for more than a quarter of all of South Korea's foreign capital receipts. Moreover, the USA absorbs over one-third of the country's exports and provides about 40 per cent of its imports.

The US ruling circles regard South Korea first and foremost as a military-political testing ground, the only one they have retained on the Asian continent. US troops have long ensconced themselves in South Korea. Since 1971 their number has stood invariably at 40,000. Forty US

military bases are sited over the country along with over a hundred other military facilities; about 1,000 nuclear weapon units have been deployed there and nuclear mines have been stationed near the demilitarised zone along the 38th parallel.

US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who visited South Korea this spring, confirmed once again that the USA would preserve its military presence in the Peninsula as long as it was necessary, alluding in this context to US "vital interests" in Eastern Asia.

Under the present US President the "strategic value" of the entire region with regard to US interests was raised to a new level. By its statements and practical undertakings Washington made it clear that it regarded Japan and South Korea as a single military-strategic whole, as "front-line bases". Activity has been stepped up to set up "NATO's far-eastern counterpart" based on US military-political alliances with Japan and South Korea. Efforts to create a tripartite political structure linking Washington, Tokyo and Seoul which lacks only a single element—a military alliance between Japan and South Korea—are being applied along practical lines.

It must be said that the Japanese government has also stepped up its efforts in this context. A joint communique issued during Zenko Suzuki's visit to the USA in May 1981 contained the first official approval of US intentions to keep its land forces in South Korea. The Nakasone Cabinet went even further. It showed its active "subscription" to US strategy in the Korean question by offering the Chun Doo Hwan regime a huge \$4,000 million loan that would serve to still further strengthen the latter's military-economic potential and increase military-political ties between Tokyo and Seoul in scope and depth (and this notwithstanding the existing mutual disgruntlement and suspicions).

Serious changes have taken place in the role of South Korea as a front-line base of nuclear weapons. The transfer to South Korea of two US F-16 air squadrons with a 3,500 km range of flight has greatly increased the range of possible nuclear blows, making it possible to reach the territory of the DPRK, many provinces of the People's Republic of China (including its capital), several Far-Eastern areas of the USSR and even the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. Moreover, as announced a short while ago, US ships calling in the South Korean ports Pusan and Chinhe carried nuclear weapons.

Two years ago US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's unequivocal hint on the possibility of employing neutron weapons in Korea reverberated throughout the world. Then came the cruise missiles. In February 1983 the US magazine *Aviation Week and Space Technology* wrote of the Pentagon's plans to deploy land-based Tomahawk cruise missiles in Japan and South Korea. They would be used "in extraordinary circumstances" to block the three international straits in the Sea of Japan and "lock in" the Soviet naval forces. Their deployment will begin in 1986. And, lastly, information has recently been leaked to the world press that Washington intends to deploy Pershing-2 cruise missiles and binary chemical weapons in South Korea. Today even US specialists admit that the USA has raised South Korea's military status to that of a European theatre of war and views it as a region of its "vital interests" and not merely as a "zone of special interest", as it did before.

Seoul's "attachment" to Washington's policy is seen as linked to the important issue, of an obviously sovereign nature, of reuniting the Korean nation. The Seoul authorities invariably reject the DPRK's constructive initiatives on this score while advancing proposals lacking a key component—the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea.

One of these "Nays" came from Seoul in reply to the broad political

action programme concerning the reunification of Korea adopted at the 6th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea (1980) and based on the idea of establishing a confederation of the North and the South (Democratic Confederative Republic of Koryo) as one of the stages towards achieving a peaceful and democratic solution of the Korean problem without outside interference. It is highly indicative that the new significant initiative advanced by Pyongyang in January 1984 on holding tripartite talks (DPRK, South Korea and the USA) for the signing of a peace treaty between the DPRK and the USA to substitute for the existing truce agreement of 1953, as well as to work out a declaration on non-aggression between the North and the South, was also rejected by Seoul following the US President's unfavourable opinion on this subject.

It must be said that the DPRK's initiatives on the reunification of Korea evoke worldwide response and invariable support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. During the friendly official visit by Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the DPRK in January 1986 emphasis was laid on the Soviet Union's inflexible solidarity with the course of the WPK and the DPRK government on the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea and the country's reunification on a peaceful democratic basis without outside interference. Support was given to the DPRK's proposals to set up a Democratic Confederative Republic of the Koryo through dialogue and talks between the interested parties, substitution of a peace treaty for the truce agreement, and working out a declaration on non-aggression between the North and the South along with constructive steps for developing a broad peaceful dialogue between the two parties. Eduard Shevardnadze again emphasised the relevance of the DPRK government's proposal to withdraw all types of nuclear weapons and all troops of the USA from South Korea and turn the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace.

As stated in a joint communique on the results of the visit, the Korean party gave support and stressed the importance of the Soviet proposal to find a common comprehensive approach to the solution of the security problem in Asia. Both sides noted the positive nature of the initiatives advanced by the socialist and non-aligned countries to ensure peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region.

The stand of South Korea and the USA is quite different. The only thing to which the South Korean authorities agreed to in 1984-1985 was to renew negotiations through the Red Cross societies, which had been broken off many years ago, and to establish preliminary contacts in several other spheres of activity. Small but obvious progress was achieved when in September 1985, during the 40th anniversary of Korea's liberation from the Japanese colonial yoke, for the first time since the split of the Korean nation, delegations were exchanged along the lines of Red Cross societies, which comprised members of disunited families and artists. Nevertheless Seoul teams up with Washington in sabre-rattling and building up tension in the Korean Peninsula and around it. Disregarding DPRK government's decision as of February 1, 1986 to abstain from conducting any large-scale military exercises on its territory and its appeal to discontinue all military manoeuvres while the North and the South were engaged in talks, the US and South Korean authorities held their regular Team Spirit military exercises this February-April on the territory of South Korea. Under such circumstances the holding of these large-scale exercises was an overt challenge to the Korean people and the worldwide peace forces, a provocation fraught with grave complications with regard to the situation in the Korean Peninsula and the rest of Asia.

For all appearances the present South Korean authorities have no

intention of achieving a profound understanding between the two Korean parties or establishing broad contacts in different spheres of activity, i. e. of creating conditions conducive to the achievement of an effective political settlement. Seoul's political credo was and remains "dialogue from positions of strength".

Thus, facts show that in the mid-1980s, like in the preceding four decades, South Korea remains a political instrument for satisfying the imperial ambitions of US imperialism. Moreover, stocked as it is with nuclear and other modern weapons and boasting its own powerful war machine, it has in effect become Asia's "powder keg". In the hands of those who are far removed from the interests of the Korean nation it can easily become the object of new provocations on the part of US imperialism that are a threat to peace in Asia and far beyond its borders.

One thing is absolutely clear: the past decades have clearly shown that the attempts to turn South Korea into a "showcase of the free world" along either social or economic lines have met with failure. And this cannot be achieved either through dollar injections, or protectionism, or direct military aid. A well-known historical regularity has again been confirmed: anti-popular regimes bolstered by guns and foreign aid have no future.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND ERRONEOUS ARGUMENTS OF ITS OPPONENTS

(Continued from page 23)

licy of peace, the desire to bring about a dramatic improvement in the whole international situation and to turn events towards detente,

●
The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as the 27th CPSU Congress stressed, is one of unswerving commitment to peaceful coexistence, a firm stand in matters of principle, tactical flexibility, readiness for mutually acceptable compromises and to dialogue and mutual understanding. It is now up to the USSR's partners in the world community, their political will, awareness of their responsibility for the future of the world, readiness to interact constructively with the socialist countries. Today's reality offers no other choice but peaceful coexistence. And sooner or later the choice will have to be made. For in the present-day world there is no realistic and mutually acceptable alternative to peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

B. P Y A D Y S H E V,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

There are grounds for saying that the idea of an all embracing system of international security put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress is gaining more and more weight to become a key constructive factor in international affairs.

The Soviet appeal for closer and more productive cooperation to create such a system is addressed to governments, parties, public organisations and movements which are truly concerned over the destiny of peace on the Earth. It has met with wide response. To be sure, reaction to the idea of an all embracing security system had not been uniform, running the gamut of political shades from resolute support to a wait-and-see policy which includes a wish to take a closer look at the essence of the new Soviet initiative, reservations about its various aspects and doubts that such large-scale restructuring of international relations is a feasible proposition. To complete the picture, one must add that the reply from some circles has been a definite "no".

And yet the main thing is that the idea of an all embracing international security system is winning people over, prompting lively discussion and serious hopes that it will at long last be possible to find a way out of the present state of international relations which is growing more complicated day by day threatening mankind with a suicidal nuclear conflict.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states, held on June 10-11 in Budapest, authoritatively gave top priority to that idea. The allied socialist states stated their intention to establish a comprehensive system of international security embracing military and political, as well as economic and humanitarian fields. They stressed that their foreign policy line, confirmed in the decisions of the congresses of the ruling parties, is aimed at building world security, a world without weapons, without wars.

What is it about the Soviet initiative that rivets the attention of political leaders and the world public at large?

Foreign commentators stress that the idea of an all-embracing international security system reflects the innovative approach of the Soviet leadership to the state of world affairs, an approach based on the perception of the world as a complex, contradictory and ever more interconnected whole. The truth about international life today is that the security of each nation directly depends on the security of all other nations, which makes it meaningless to be concerned only about one's own security, let alone security to the detriment of the other side. National security

will become weaker unless it takes into account universal security and all the nations feel they are in an equal position.

Furthermore, the relevance of an all embracing international security system can be seen from the fact that it fully reckons with the grim realities of the nuclear and space age which to all intents and purposes make the prevention of war synonymous with mankind's survival. Traditional political categories like "war" and "victory in war" are increasingly seen as unacceptable and senseless. No state, however great its military and technological potential, has a chance of protecting itself by military and technological means alone. The preservation of peace cannot indefinitely continue to be built on fear of retaliation, and the doctrine of "deterrence". In addition to the absurdity and amorality of the situation in which the whole mankind is becoming a nuclear hostage, such doctrines encourage the arms race which may sooner or later get out of control.

Finally, foreign reactions stress that for the first time in history the international community has been presented with a programme for ensuring peace which brings all the essential components of present-day international relations into a balanced complex and treats them with a high sense of responsibility. The fundamental principles of an all-embracing system of international security formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress envisages a clearly defined range of measures in the military, political, economic and humanitarian fields. Taken together, they assure steady advance towards eliminating the threat of thermonuclear conflict from the life of human society and making peaceful coexistence the supreme and universal principle in international relations. All the measures proposed are feasible and devoid of the element of propaganda.

The new political strategy formulated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU considers the goal of preserving civilisation more important than the narrow interests of blocs, nations, and so on. The full import of this new approach has not perhaps been understood in the government and political circles in the capitalist world. Apparently, not all people have realised that many of the centuries-old differences, disputes and convictions built into modern life become meaningless in the face of the increasingly tangible threat of a devastating explosion of even part of the existing nuclear arsenals. Lenin at the dawn of this century foresaw that the trend in the development of military technology could in time pose a threat to life on the Earth. Today the military applications of scientific and technological achievements have brought humanity to the ultimate line.

I

Thus, all issues and the very destiny of humanity depend on whether it will be possible to stop and reverse the arms race and take effective measures to prevent a nuclear war. It is only logical therefore that in an all-embracing international security system proposals in the military field are given top priority.

The Soviet Union proposes that the *nuclear powers agree to renounce war—both nuclear and conventional—against each other or against third countries.*

The idea of outlawing wars had engaged the best minds of humanity since time immemorial. History knows of many projects of eternal peace and renunciation of military methods of settling disputes arising between states. The desire to rule out aggressive, unjust and plunderous wars from the life of humankind first acquired concrete substance in the first legislative act of the Soviet government, i. e., Lenin's Decree on Peace adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on November 8, 1917. Throughout the decades that

followed Soviet diplomacy has been firmly committed to this idea, to implementing Lenin's behest to rid mankind of the fear of war.

One instance to prove it is that the Soviet government joined the Paris treaty on the renunciation of war on September 6, 1928, ten days after it was signed. Further proof of the Soviet government's commitment to peace was the signing on its initiative in Moscow in February 1929 of the protocol to bring into effect this pact ahead of schedule.

Foreign comments on Moscow's initiative concerning an all-embracing international security system often contain the question: why is it that only the nuclear powers are offered to renounce war? The answer is, because their actions can threaten mankind's existence. But there is another side to the matter. To call for universal renunciation of war means to put forward a task that is patently unattainable in the present-day conditions. Today's world, made up of almost 200 various states, contains too much "combustible material" to make the prevention of all conflicts a realistic proposition. This is not a task that can be solved today while the prevention of a nuclear war is not only within the power of the international community, but an imperative because otherwise there can be only one outcome—the end of human civilisation.

This is not to suggest that in appealing above all to the nuclear powers the USSR is indifferent to how relations are forming between all other states. The Soviet Union has exerted and continues to exert serious efforts to put out seeds of war in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and other regions where armed conflicts between non-nuclear states arise. Socialism's ideal is life without wars.

One requirement for getting the nuclear powers to agree to renounce war as an instrument of politics is a drastic change in the mentality of people, notably state policy-makers, a departure from the deep-seated conviction that wars and armed conflicts in the relations between states are as natural as the succession of day and night in nature. Bringing about such a change is no easy matter, but there is simply no other alternative.

The Soviet Union is ready for it. The entire history of the Soviet state proves that the Soviet people only took up arms when forced to do so by aggressors and interventionists and that all the wars it has waged over its seven decades of existence have been exclusively defensive wars. This is an unassailable truth widely admitted by people abroad, including many authoritative members of the US establishment who have an objective perception of history.

Their general line of reasoning goes like this: Moscow has always seen military force as a means of defending the socialist cause and has not considered force to be the decisive element in the advance of the historical process. The Russian attention to military potential reflects Russian history, including Western attempts to disrupt the Bolshevik revolution and the human losses the Soviet Union suffered during the Second World War. Raymond Garthoff, a noted American international affairs expert, stresses in his major book *Detente and Confrontation. American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* that Soviet leaders today are convinced that detente meets the interests of the Soviet Union and that nuclear war should be prevented.¹

As for the militarist circles in the USA, Garthoff notes that they often tend to base their military decisions on dubious data and speculations about Soviet intentions, often on the rather "strange" principle whereby US leaders impute their own plans and aspirations to the other side.

¹ See R. Garthoff, *Detente and Confrontation. American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, Washington, 1985.

The policy of the United States has always included a powerful military stand. Not infrequently weapons still hot from one clash were put to use in another. Researchers from the US Taft University, have calculated that in the period between the end of the Second World War and the mid-1980s the USA used force in various-intensity conflicts and military actions overseas about once every two months, and the Pentagon resorted to nuclear threats almost every other year. None of these wars was a defensive or just war on Washington's part.

It is no secret that the West still has scenarios of nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. An attempt is being made to mislead the public on the issues of war and peace and make it believe that war, a nuclear conflict included, is as normal and acceptable a perspective as peaceful development. Moreover, it may even be desirable as "there are things more worse than war." Americans above all are being told that they need not fear a nuclear showdown. Arguments that the USA could be safe in a third world war and hopes to win the global confrontation by force using the most monstrous types of weapons are not confined to fanaticism of anti-communists or the scholarly research of some politicians, scientists and writers. Such suicidal illusions are inherent in Washington's official policy.

The Soviet Union cannot afford to ignore all this. While showing the necessary measure of concern for the defense capability of the USSR and its allies, the Soviet leadership is committed to a military policy that would not give anyone cause for fears, even imaginary, for its security. One direct way to achieve it is political agreement among the nuclear powers not to use weapons against one another.

This was the substance of the May 1972 Soviet-American document The Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. On June 22, 1973, a Soviet-American Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War was signed in which both sides committed themselves to act in such a way as to preclude nuclear war between them and between each of the sides and third countries. Subsequently, renunciation of nuclear war as a matter of principle became part and parcel of the documents the USSR signed with Britain, France and some other countries. The United Nations has repeatedly voiced its full agreement with this principle.

Declarations adopted at such authoritative levels do not pass unnoticed in the international community. They bring home to statesmen and the public at large that political means and agreements can erect a reliable barrier in the way of the military danger. In this connection, considerable significance is attached to the Soviet-American statement issued by the Geneva summit in November 1985 to the effect that nuclear war must never be unleashed and there could be no winners in it. While admitting that any conflict between the USSR and the USA could have catastrophic consequences, the leaders of the two states stressed the importance of preventing any war between them, nuclear or conventional. The two sides will not seek military superiority.

The Soviet Union is acting in precisely this way. And it persistently calls on the other side to act accordingly. If, as it happened in Geneva, an agreement has been reached, it has to be backed up by practical steps to eliminate the war danger, to head off a nuclear war and to stop material preparations for it.

II

This forms the essence of another set of proposals of the 27th CPSU Congress dealing with the all-embracing system of international security in the military sphere: viz., *prevention of the arms race in outer space*,

cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons, a ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons and renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation.

The Soviet state has come up with a concrete programme for nuclear disarmament set out in the Statement of January 15, 1986. The struggle to realise it, stresses the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee must form the main direction of the Soviet foreign policy for the coming years. The "fulfilment of this historic programme, which is epoch-making in its scope and significance, would open for humanity a fundamentally new period of development, the possibility of concentrating on constructive work alone."²

The Soviet Union, together with the fraternal Warsaw Treaty countries, is ready for the broadest cooperation with other countries in the key areas of effort to build a secure world for all.

Stopping nuclear weapons tests is the most natural and the easiest step to take in limiting the arms race. The way to solve this task is a mutual Soviet-American moratorium on nuclear explosions, immediate commencement of negotiations on a total ban of nuclear tests under strict control. In his address on Soviet television May 14, Mikhail Gorbachev announced that in the conditions when nuclear issues command growing attention, the Soviet government, having weighed all the circumstances pertaining to the security of its people and all mankind, has decided to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until August 6, 1986, i.e., the day when, more than forty years ago, the first atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima killing hundreds of thousands of people. "We again call on the United States," said Mikhail Gorbachev, "to consider the extent of the danger hanging over humankind with all responsibility and to heed the opinion of the world community. Let those who lead the USA demonstrate their concern for the life and health of people by their deeds."³ More recently the USSR has appealed to Britain to launch a joint initiative to resume the tripartite talks broken off in 1980, all the more so because at that time the three powers were agreed that nuclear weapons tests had to be banned.

Another important area of effort to prevent the war danger is the total liquidation, on a mutual basis, of Soviet and American medium-range nuclear missiles in the European zone. The USSR has proposed a concrete proposal to that effect at the current Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons, a proposal that offers a real chance of an early agreement given US goodwill.

As for the "interim agreement" on medium-range missiles proposed by the American delegation at the Geneva talks, it contains a built-in flaw because the proposed formula would enable the USA to more than double the number of its nuclear warheads on its medium-range missiles in Europe while the number of corresponding Soviet missiles would be cut.

The Soviet Union by its practical acts seeks to help progress at the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space weapons with a view to meeting the task set in the joint Soviet-American statement of January 8, 1985, namely: to prevent the arms race in outer space and halt it on the Earth.⁴

² *27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1986, p. 111 (in Russian).

³ *Pravda*, May 15, 1986.

⁴ *Soviet-American Summit Meeting. Geneva. November 19-21, 1985. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p. 14 (in Russian).

Progress at the Geneva talks, however, is being obstructed by the American side. Throughout all five rounds the American side has failed to introduce anything new from what it had said earlier and what was clearly unacceptable. This applies to the US position on outer space, on strategic arms and on medium-range nuclear weapons. The US delegation was chary even of making cosmetic changes, let alone essential changes in its stand. The official American contention that the USA introduced a fresh element in the negotiations on November 1, 1985, and February 24, 1986, is simply not true.

The Soviet Union has carefully studied the American proposals at the Geneva negotiations. It has said to the American side that what it proposes means not a reduction of nuclear weapons but their increase, not an end to the arms race but an invitation to one. In particular, the US proposals sidestep the main priority in the present strategic situation—to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space because the objective state of affairs being what it is, efforts in nuclear arms reductions, let alone deep cuts, would become meaningless without a ban on strike space weapons. By replacing the problem of preventing the arms race in outer space with a vague concept of stabilisation of the interconnection between offensive and defensive armaments, the USA virtually proposes to legitimise the arms race both in outer space and on the Earth.

As for US considerations about strategic offensive weapons, on closer inspection they envisage a buildup of strategic arsenals even though, on the face of it, they speak of a 50-per cent cut. Instead of the summary level of 6,000 nuclear warheads on strategic carriers mentioned by the American side as the target for our countries, the USA, if its proposal were adopted, would see the number of its nuclear charges increase to over 15,000. This would happen because the Americans have proposed not to count nuclear warheads on all the heavy bombers that they would still have and about 5,000 warheads would escape the count. Besides, no limitations would be imposed on sea-based long-range cruise missiles.

The US proposals, were they to be adopted, would also break the structure of the Soviet strategic forces while preserving the structure of the American strategic forces. They would like us to break those systems which form the backbone of our strategic forces.

Recently, striving to reach a mutually acceptable accord in Geneva, the Soviet Union proposed the following option to the USA: an accord should be reached on compliance with the US-Soviet Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems for the next 15 years, while the work on the SDI should not go beyond laboratory research. The strategic offensive weapons (ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers) are restricted by equal levels.

In that case the issue of medium-range weapons reaching the territory of the other side, including land-based long-range cruise missiles, is settled separately.

As for the draft of an agreement on the medium-range missiles in Europe, the USSR agrees that the British and French missiles in the present quantities can remain stationed in the European zone with the zero correlation of this type of weapons. The USSR also stated that it would not increase the number of medium-range missiles in Asia.

The Soviet Union is firmly committed to complete destruction, before the end of this century, not only of nuclear weapons, but also of chemical weapons and the industrial basis for their manufacture. The more detailed proposals introduced by the socialist countries at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament have the way for a quick solution of these problems.

While putting forward a total ban on and destruction of chemical weapons as the main task the Soviet Union believes that in the present situation some intermediate and partial steps towards that goal are possible. An agreement could be reached, for example, on the non-proliferation of chemical weapons, i. e., on preventing its further geographical spread. Specifically, the proposal is, first, not to transfer chemical weapons to anyone; and, second, not to emplace chemical weapons on the territories of other countries. The USSR has always adhered to these principles in its own policy. It is essential that other states follow its example and exhibit similar restraint. If the number of states possessing these weapons increases and they appear in ever new regions of the planet, this would impede the talks in banning these weapons and heighten the danger of their use. The programme for manufacturing binary weapons by the USA, with possible storage and, use in Europe, approved by the NATO Military Planning Committee's session in Brussels in May, has caused grave fears among the world public.

It is only natural that along with the ban on nuclear, space and chemical weapons the Soviet Union proposes to renounce the development of other mass annihilation weapons.

Yet another area of the Soviet Union's efforts towards military détente is to bring about a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms on the global and regional level. The Warsaw Treaty countries propose to begin such cuts in Europe where the concentration of troops and armaments has reached a particularly dangerous scale. Facing each other in Europe are armed forces possessing the most modern tanks, missiles and planes. And it is known that conventional weapons are constantly being improved, are becoming more sophisticated and powerful approaching mass annihilation weapons in their effect.

The USSR and its socialist allies propose to agree on significant cuts in all the components of the ground forces and tactical aviation of the European states and corresponding cuts in the US and Canadian forces. Geographically, the cuts should cover the whole territory of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

And this process should not stop at that stage. The allied socialist states propose that the process of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons of NATO and the WTO should continue. Substantial reductions in this direction would make it possible to draw other European states into this process.

These proposals are radical and realistic at the same time. As a first step it is planned to make a one-time mutual reduction of the numerical strength of the armed forces of the military-political alliances by 100-150 thousand men on each side. The WTO states are prepared to make immediate further reductions of the armed forces. As a result, given the reciprocal readiness of the NATO countries, by the early 1990s the land forces and the tactical strike aircraft of both alliances in Europe would be reduced by about a quarter compared to the present level.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that at all the stages of conventional arms reductions and disarmament the Soviet Union proposes real and effective verification in all fields with the use of both the national technical means and international procedures, including on-the-spot inspection when necessary. In particular, it is intended to establish an international consultative commission composed of the representatives of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, interested neutral and non-aligned states and other European countries with the aim of establishing verification of the reductions of the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee reads in part: "The USSR is open to verification... All-embracing, strictest verification

is perhaps the key element of the disarmament process. The essence of the matter, in our opinion, is that *there can be no disarmament without verification and that verification without disarmament makes no sense.*"⁵

III

The third group of all-embracing international security measures in the military sphere proposed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU is *a strictly controlled lowering of the levels of military capabilities of countries to limits of reasonable adequacy.*

This is a new and fundamentally important approach. It runs counter to the American philosophy of endless buildup of military arsenals which would bring nothing but irreparable damage to America and to other countries. The Soviet Union does not intend to pile up mountains of armaments. It is in favour of a level of military potentials that guarantees the defense of states, their security against external attack.

The Soviet military doctrine fully accords with the above-mentioned principles. It is distinctly defensive in character. The Soviet Union is a staunch enemy of any war, especially nuclear war, and it would like to see mass destruction weapons out of circulation. But it is clear that the nature and volume of a reasonably adequate military potential of the USSR are limited by the stands and actions taken by the USA and their partners in blocs. Under these conditions, *the Soviet Union "lays no claim to more security, but it will not settle for less,"* as the 27th Congress of the CPSU stressed.

The fourth group of measures in the military sphere proposed by the 27th CPSU Congress has to do with *the disbandment of military alliances, and, as a stage towards this—renunciation of their enlargement and of the formation of new ones.*

The division of the European continent into two opposing military political groupings is not our choice. The Warsaw Treaty was created as a necessary response to the setting up of the North Atlantic bloc six years earlier. The new proposals on disbanding the military groupings are evidence of the continuity in Soviet foreign policy, for the Soviet Union has repeatedly come out with the initiative of disbanding the military blocs, their military organisations as a first stage, both individually or jointly with its Warsaw Treaty allies.

To this day the West has failed to respond to these initiatives. On the contrary, recent years have seen further enlargement of the NATO bloc by the drawing of Spain into it. Washington has also put forward some ideas on possible expansion of the NATO bloc area, on "shared responsibility" of the bloc's members for the situation in the Middle East, in the South Atlantic, and so on. These are not mere words. The involvement of certain European NATO countries, notably Britain, in the US aggression against Libya lends substance to these ideas.

As long as Europe has opposing military-political groupings which the Warsaw Treaty states want to see disbanded their proposal to sign a Treaty on the Mutual Renunciation of the Use of Armed Force and on the Maintenance of Relations of Peace, to be open for other states to join, remains in force. The socialist allies do not rule out direct contacts between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO as organisations in order to take the edge off the present confrontation.

Europe needs a revival of detente, advance towards a more stable phase of detente. This is the only way to overcome the split of Europe and ensure peaceful development for all the continent's countries.

Finally, the fifth military measure towards an all-embracing interna-

⁵ 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, p. 67 (in Russian).

tional security system is *balanced and commensurate reduction in military budgets*.

This is the idea the Soviet Union and its allies have put forward more than once. Proposals on military budget cuts put forward at several sessions of the UN General Assembly envisaged 10-per cent cuts for the states permanent members of the Security Council. The Warsaw Treaty countries have also proposed military budget cuts collectively in the declarations of the Political Consultative Committee meetings. In 1984, the Warsaw Treaty countries came up with detailed proposals for the freezing and reduction of military spending of the states. The Budapest appeal of the allied socialist states emphasised that the specific measures in the field of nuclear disarmament they proposed and the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons should be accompanied by correspondingly reducing military expenditures and transferring these means for economic and social development programmes.

Unfortunately, there has been no progress in that direction because of the opposition from NATO countries although the international community as represented by the UN has repeatedly voiced support for military budget reductions.

And yet progress on these issues could be useful not only for strengthening the security of the peoples but also for facilitating the solution of urgent problems facing many nations.

Such, then, are the military provisions of the Soviet programme for an all-embracing international security system.

In this complex and difficult time, when a holocaust, unless it is averted, would be equally disastrous for every country, large or small, distant or near, the stark question is: what must be done to save the human race? Who can be expected to come up with a safe and realistic answer?

It is clear that at present the governments of the USA, the leading West European NATO countries and Japan are on the whole committed to escalating military confrontation with the socialist world and the national liberation movements, to gaining military superiority through the "star wars" programme.

Indeed, the US Administration has taken a risky step by declaring that it refuses to observe the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2). This has evoked a wave of indignation in the USA itself and in the NATO countries, to say nothing of the political circles and the public at large in the non-aligned and neutral states. The policy of confrontation, far from promising stable peace and universal security, is fraught with grave and real dangers and aggravation of existing local conflicts. This inexorable fact is increasingly brought home to sober-minded leaders in the major capitalist countries and, coupled with the mounting worldwide antiwar, antinuclear and antimissile movement, is emerging as an important factor in domestic and foreign policies, a factor capitalist governments find it ever more difficult to ignore.

All this convinces mankind that the trail to military detente, to a world without arms and wars is being blazed by the vigorous foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. As it was noted in the Resolution of the June (1986) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the WTO states unanimously feel that what is needed is greater dynamism and a bold approach to solving both old and new problems connected with the struggle against the war threat and for consolidating peaceful coexistence. In their totality, the proposals in the military sphere made by the 27th CPSU Congress provide a realistic basis for an all-embracing international security system and offer a safe perspective for ending confrontation of force, the arms race and eliminating the nuclear danger.

USSR-DENMARK: GOODNEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS

Yu. DENISOV

To formulate an entirely new approach to the realities in the world today it is necessary that all states take responsible decisions and actions to that end. This concerns, above all, those of them which have considerable international prestige and, possessing great military, economic, scientific and technological potential, bear special responsibility for the course of world events. However, it is obvious that the present dangerous tensions can be eased only through the joint efforts of all countries, large, medium or small. Each of them can contribute to the cause of peace and international cooperation. These opportunities do not always directly depend on the size of a country, its population, and economic potential. Different social systems and affiliation with opposed military-political alliances should not prevent countries from working together to prevent another war.

Among the smaller countries of Western Europe interested in expanding constructive East-West dialogue by using their experience and possibilities are Europe's Northern countries. They include not only Finland which steadily pursues the course of peace charted in the 1948 Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance; or Sweden which pursues a policy of active neutrality. Elements of political realism, and tendencies to change the approach to the world developments have also been growing, though to a varying degree, in the foreign policy of those Scandinavian countries which are members of the North Atlantic alliance. This can be most vividly illustrated by examining Denmark's policy.

Denmark's membership in NATO since 1949 has, of course, considerably influenced its foreign policy. As regards its NATO commitments and practical participation in the alliance's military activity in Northern Europe, Denmark is just as loyal a partner of the USA and NATO as other members of the alliance.

Following the script written by Atlantic strategists in Washington and Brussels, NATO is preparing Danish territory as a launching ground to be used against the USSR and other socialist countries. In Denmark with its population of five million and an area smaller than 50,000 sq km, there are six air-force and two naval bases serving the needs of NATO, though formally remaining under national jurisdiction.

In Greenland, which belongs to Denmark, there function two US air and naval bases, which are among the Arctic's largest. The tropospheric communications station NARS on the Faeroes, which, like the US bases in Greenland, are closed for Danes, are part of the communications and

control system of the US nuclear forces in Europe. A NATO centre of electronic reconnaissance and control of the AWACS type has been built in southern Denmark.

In recent years, the Danish government, like that of Norway, gave its consent for use in "an emergency situation" of its country's airfields by US and British "reinforcement units". Work is under way to build an infrastructure (additional airfield equipment, materiel storage, etc.) for receiving these troops. In May 1985 alone, three of the six NATO large-scale exercises were conducted to rehearse the transfer of "reinforcement units" to Denmark.

Though the Danish government has repeatedly declared its determination to unswervingly pursue a policy, proclaimed already at the time of its entry into NATO, of not allowing foreign armed forces bases on its territory in peace time, the facts cited above show that the USA and NATO have managed largely to violate this major provision which limited the country's membership in the bloc. Everything considered, Denmark's Atlantic partners are going to keep expanding their military presence in the country.

The Danish island Bornholm near the borders of the Warsaw Treaty states, has become the object of close attention for NATO strategists. Beginning in 1984, the island has been used by US and West German combat aircraft and warships. This occurs despite assurances, made by the Danish government to the Soviet government in 1946, that no foreign troops and administrations would be located on Bornholm.¹

On the whole, NATO directives, including the notorious "frontline" and "flexible response" concepts, the habit of thinking primarily in military terms continue to influence the political thinking in Danish official quarters. Since it has become hard today to convince anyone that the Soviet Union has aggressive plans with regard to Denmark or any other NATO country for that matter, NATO is again spreading the false notion about some dangerous "military-political vacuum" which can allegedly appear, and in the event of a "major war" would inevitably encourage the "nearby great power" to seize these countries (regardless of whether the motives behind its actions are offensive or defensive).

This assertion, which is nothing new (such apprehensions were expressed in 1949 by Hans Hedtoft, the then Prime Minister of Denmark) largely underlies the report "Denmark's Position in Security Policy in the 1980s" drawn up by a special government commission in November 1984 (Dyvig Commission) and now being debated by the Folketing (parliament).²

In other words, there is no reason to expect that Denmark's main foreign-policy orientation may undergo major changes in the foreseeable future. So long as mutual distrust and tensions remain in the world, and opposed military alliances exist, with Denmark being a member of one of them, the task is to do everything to prevent becoming secluded in the framework of a policy of blocs and to minimise its negative effects, to search for more common ground between countries with different social systems, conduct constructive dialogue, and promote goodneighbourly relations.

The great Danish scientist, Niels Bohr, was strongly in favour of open cooperation of all states, whatever their social systems. Just after the end of the Second World War he tried to win the US government over to

¹ *Dansk sikkerhedspolitik 1948-1968*, Copenhagen, 1968, p. 129.

² *Berlingske Tidende*, Dec. 2, 1984.

this idea and then, having lost his former illusions, addressed the world in 1950 with his famous "Open Letter to the United Nations." He was one of the first in the West to point out the danger of a nuclear arms race. His opinion was not only that of a world-renown scientist who foresaw the possible consequences of manufacturing the first atom bombs, which he had helped to develop theoretically. This was the authoritative voice of a representative of the Danish people long known for their freedom-loving and adherence to the ideas of peace, as well as for sober, realistic thinking.

At the turn of the 1980s, the course of the US Administration towards nuclear war preparations with a view to achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and other socialist states squarely confronted Denmark, like all other USA's partners in NATO, with the question of how "atlantic solidarity" can be tied in with Denmark's national interests. Can the country's security remain dependent on nuclear arms? This was the main question raised in the heated public debate which flared up in Denmark.

Among the West European countries of NATO Denmark is most insistent in demanding that the nuclear war threat be lessened and in some instances it occupies a different position in the framework of the bloc, not fearing to be with the minority. This line was largely aided by the formation of the "anti-missile majority" in the Folketing in the early 1980s, which brought together the major opposition parties in the country. As distinct from a number of other Western countries, the Danish parliament has real possibilities to influence the formation of the country's foreign and domestic policies.

The leading role in the "anti-missile majority" is played by the Social Democratic Party. A number of positive changes have taken place in its foreign-policy line in recent years. Remaining adamant about Denmark's membership of NATO and stressing their unwillingness to help weaken the alliance, the Social Democrats at the same time refuse to back up the US line of confrontation with the Soviet Union and of upsetting the existing military strategic balance in Europe and the world as a whole. In keeping with the programme adopted at the latest party congress in 1984, the SDP comes out for keeping the country free of nuclear weapons not only in peace-time but also in war-time.

The "anti-missile majority" (apart from the Social Democrats it includes Radicals and Popular and Left Socialists) managed in 1983-1985 to get about a dozen resolutions through the Folketing, resolutions that not merely registered Denmark's special stand on a number of key East-West issues but made it binding on the government to fight for this stand in NATO and in other organisations.

When Pershings and cruise missiles began to be deployed in a number of West European countries, the Folketing was clearly opposed to that, and the Danish government was compelled to make a few provisos on this major issue at the sittings of NATO's supreme bodies. It also complied with the Folketing decision to discontinue the payment of the Danish share in the financial contribution to building an infrastructure for the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe. By contrast with many other NATO members, Denmark disagreed with the NATO decision on an annual 3-per cent increase in military spending.

One of the most significant anti-militaristic moves of Danish parliament was the resolution passed on May 3, 1984, according to which the government committed itself to come out for any measures which could help build confidence in East-West relations: for a nuclear arms freeze; for refraining from the first-use of nuclear weapons through reaching an international agreement, including an agreement between NATO and the

Warsaw Treaty; and for halting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles.³

An important addition to it was the Folketing resolution adopted on November 14, 1985, making it incumbent on the government not to give its consent in NATO on deployment of new or updated nuclear weapons "including short-range nuclear arms, nuclear artillery munitions, air-based nuclear arms, and neutron weapons."

Ever more prominence is now given in the foreign-policy debate in Denmark to creating a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. Not rejecting this idea in principle, the Danish government does not display, however, preparedness for its practical realisation, and toes the NATO line on these matters. Parliament, for its part, backing up the well-known idea that a "broader European inter-relationship" is necessary, backed the government to work vigorously in favour of a non-nuclear status for Northern Europe. Danish MPs were most active in the inter-parliamentary conference of northern countries on problems concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, held in November 1985 in Copenhagen.

The US "star wars" plans were received in Denmark as a grave threat to peace. The opinion of Danes was clearly expressed in the Folketing resolutions of March 26 and May 14, 1985, which make it obligatory for the government to speak up in NATO and all international organisations against the deployment of arms in outer space, against participation in research related with these weapons and against the development of such weapons; to speak up for the observance of the Soviet-American anti-ballistic missile treaty and for a new East-West treaty preventing space militarisation. As a result of the stand occupied by Denmark and some other countries, the United States has failed to get the Strategic Defense Initiative mentioned in the communique of the spring 1985 session of the NATO Council.

The country's antiwar movement is gaining strength. According to an opinion poll held in September 1985, 70 per cent of the Danes are opposed to deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe, and two-thirds back up the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. The antiwar demonstrations in Denmark have reached unprecedented proportions. In Copenhagen antiwar demonstrations involving 50-100 thousand people, have become quite frequent. About one million Danes took part in the "Peace Strike" staged during the Disarmament Week last October. During a mass demonstration of protest against the sending to the Baltic Sea of the US battleship *Iowa* carrying cruise missiles as a "demonstration of force" the Danes demanded that the government take measures preventing the calling of warships carrying nuclear missiles at Danish ports. Under pressure from Danish peace activists and a number of political parties and public organisations it has been decided to hold the World Congress devoted to the International Year of Peace in Copenhagen on October 15-19, 1986.

The anti-missile and, in a broader context, anti-militaristic sentiments in Denmark, and the shaping of a special "Danish line" in NATO is viewed by the alliance's leadership as provoking serious discord in "Atlantic solidarity". Washington has sounded several angry warnings though it has not gone as far as imposing "sanctions". For instance, Richard Perle, US Assistant Secretary of Defense, put it bluntly in the summer of 1984 that the role of Denmark in the cooperation of the NATO countries was

³ *Fortryk af folketingets forhandlinger*, May 1984.

unseemly, unwise and for the future incompatible with Denmark's membership in NATO.

Irritation over Danes' independent actions in matters concerning the deployment of US Euromissiles in Western Europe and the "strategic defense initiative" has been expressed by the US President and Secretary of State, George Shultz, during the Washington visit of Poul Schlüter, Prime Minister of Denmark, in September 1985. At the luncheon in honour of the head of the Danish government, the US Secretary of State said that the practice of reservations with regard to NATO resolutions threatened peace which "we all wish to see". These words were received in Copenhagen as an unprecedented US official "reprimand" to the Danes. Having reiterated in this connection that Denmark remained a "true ally of the USA", Schlüter stated again: "There are areas in NATO internal policy about which we in Denmark have our own ideas."⁴

The statement by Lord Carrington, NATO's Secretary General last December to the effect that by its parliamentary resolutions Denmark withdrew itself from elements of NATO's nuclear strategy, evoked an angry response in the Folketing. B. Elmquist, a Venstre bourgeois party deputy, remarked, in particular, that NATO leadership "should have refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of Denmark and respect its parliament's resolutions passed by a majority vote".

However, pressured by the USA and NATO, the Danish government did not confine itself to assurances of its firm determination to remain in the bloc. Attempts have been made also to hamstring and split the "anti-missile majority" in the Folketing. To that end, much stress is laid on separating Social Democrats from the rest of the opposition, to incline them to make compromises, leave it without foreign-policy initiative, which largely helps the SDP to remain a major party in the country.

There have been continued actions designed to isolate the Communist Party of Denmark, which plays an outstanding role in the massive anti-war movement. The message of greeting of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark, held in May 1983, said: "It is well known in the Soviet Union that the Communist Party of Denmark, together with all progressive forces in the country, is strongly opposed to the implementation of the US and NATO vicious plans in Western Europe and demands that Northern Europe be made a peace zone free of nuclear weapons."⁵

The government saw the initiative of the Social Democrats to hold a discussion of the main issues of the policy of security and the military policy of Denmark in the summer of 1984 as a good chance to channel heated debate between the ruling parties and the opposition into a calmer area of compromise. The above-mentioned report of the Dyvig Commission on the policy of Denmark's security was placed for consideration in parliament. The main idea of the report, which on the whole is moderately worded, is that Denmark should observe the commitments it assumed in the NATO framework and proceed in its actions from common NATO guidelines. Expressed in the report was a desire to weaken the positive aspects that had taken shape in Denmark's policy under the influence of the "anti-missile majority". At the same time it calls for strengthening the "West European aspect" in NATO's activities and promoting East-West dialogue.

The striving for independent thinking and actions, and for taking due account of the objective realities and requirements of today's world

has on many occasions been displayed by Denmark in international affairs. Displaying interest in ensuring peace and security and improving mutually beneficial cooperation in Europe, Denmark backed up efforts to establish and promote European detente. Way back in 1966, the Danes spoke at a session of the NATO Council for holding an all-European conference. Despite NATO's negative attitude, their position did not change at the meeting of the foreign ministers of northern countries held in 1969 in Copenhagen.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, Anker Jørgensen, SDP chairman and former Prime Minister, stated: "We see no alternative to continuing and promoting detente in the relations with the Warsaw Treaty countries, despite possible difficulties. The USA must understand that we do not wish to close the door, nor do we want to fall under the influence of a global, purely American strategy."

The only Common Market member among North European countries, Denmark is extremely cautious about plans for greater political integration within the EEC framework and of strengthening of the supra-national character and pro-NATO, that is, pro-American orientation of the Common Market. In keeping with this line Denmark responds with restraint, and sometimes even negatively, to the plans of turning the Common Market into a political alliance. At the meeting of the heads of state and government of ten EEC countries held in the summer of 1985 in Milan, at which the delegates discussed setting up the so-called European alliance, the Danish representative pointed out the danger of infringing upon the national interests of some countries which would limit their independence in international matters. Together with Britain and Greece, Denmark voted against the convocation of an inter-governmental conference to revise the Treaty of Rome. The European act, approved at the conference, received no wide support in Danish parliament.

Ignoring the pressure exerted on it by the EEC leadership, the Folketing rejected by a majority vote, late in January 1986, the EEC draft for revising treaties and agreements and called a national referendum on the issue. However, the government managed, by a slight majority, to secure support for the above reforms.

Not rejecting in principle the idea of improving foreign-policy cooperation within the Common Market, the Danish official circles insist on a more effective use of the existing mechanism for expanding mutually beneficial ties between West European and socialist states. The fact that over 57 per cent of the Danes, eligible to vote are for the country's withdrawal from the EEC is a sign of growing critical attitudes towards the Common Market in Denmark. Apart from the Popular Movement for the Withdrawal from the EEC, there has emerged a new labour party uniting the opponents to the Common Market. It is appropriate to recall here that Greenland, an autonomous Danish territory, left the EEC on January 1, 1985.

In some instances Denmark has demonstrated its specific foreign-policy image in the United Nations as well. This does not mean, of course, that the Danes are abandoning the main coordinated Western positions. But on a number of issues their approach is more West European than American, and they tend to be unbiased with regard to the positions of the great powers. Thus, at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, in 38 instances when the US and Soviet positions differed, Denmark voted with the USA in 19 cases, and in 19 cases it voted with the USSR. Denmark, no doubt, can express its weighty opinion in the Security Council as well, in which it has been a non-permanent member since January 1, 1985.

The political dialogue between Denmark and the Soviet Union and their goodneighbourly relations in the Baltic Sea have long standing traditions, dating back to the 15th century, when two Russian diplomats, D. Paleolog and D. Zaitsev, arrived in Copenhagen in 1493 at the invitation of the Danish royal court to sign the first Russian-Danish treaty "on friendship and eternal alliance". Never since that time relations between the two countries have ever been marred by armed conflicts.

Denmark was among the first countries in the capitalist world to recognise the Soviet state in 1924, which marked a change of attitude by Western politicians towards the realities of that time. At the initiative of Martin Andersen-Nexø, a well-known writer and Communist, the Society of Danish-Russian Cooperation was set up (now Denmark-USSR Friendship Society), the first organisation of its kind in the world.

When the anti-fascist Freedom Council addressed Moscow in April 1944, proposing that relations be established with "Fighting Denmark", the Soviet government immediately accepted the proposal. Considering the scope of the Danish Resistance movement, the Soviet Union agreed also to regard Denmark as an allied state which joined the United Nations, and in May 1945 it suggested that Denmark be invited to take part in the UN founding conference in San Francisco (at that time normal diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored).

In May 1945, the Soviet Armed Forces took part in the liberation of a part of Danish territory—the Bornholm Island—on which a German garrison was still putting up resistance even after the Hitlerites surrendered in Denmark itself. In the spring of 1946 Soviet troops were withdrawn from the island.

Denmark's entry into the North Atlantic alliance could not but affect Soviet-Danish relations. It was to a large extent a drag on the promotion of fruitful cooperation between the two countries and narrowed down the possibilities for broader use of the old traditions and their goodneighbourly potentialities. But in these conditions, too, their striving for a dialogue, for expanding the sphere of mutual understanding and, consequently, communication and cooperation, made itself felt.

Milestones on the path of the Soviet-Danish top-level political dialogue doubtlessly included visits to the USSR by Prime Minister of Denmark Hans Christian Hansen, one of the first heads of government in the North Atlantic alliance to visit the Soviet Union (1956), and also the visits by Prime Ministers J. O. Krag and Anker Jørgensen (1964, 1965 and 1973). The heads of the Soviet government visited Denmark in 1964 and 1971. The year 1975 saw an official visit to the USSR of Queen Margrethe II. European detente, cessation of the arms race and North European security have often been the focus of attention at talks between the foreign ministers of both countries.

The Soviet-Danish protocol on consultations, signed a decade ago,⁶ expressed the wish of the two countries, having different social systems and belonging to different military-political alliances, to work for the implementation of the Final Act of the European Conference. The Soviet Union and Denmark have agreed to regular consultations on different levels to discuss issues of importance to both countries in political, economic and other areas and international problems, including promotion of detente, attaining progress in arms limitation and disarmament, European development, and situations causing tension in various parts of the world.

In the present situation, complex as it is, Article 2 of the above-mentioned protocol sounds most relevant: "In situations which in the opinion

of the sides jeopardise peace, violate peace, or cause international tensions, both governments shall contact each other to exchange views on what should be done to improve the situation". The Soviet-Danish accords do not concern, of course, the commitments earlier assumed by the sides under international agreements to which they are signatories, nor are they directed against any other state.

Positive experience has been accumulated to date in the practice of Soviet-Danish political consultations. Ministers of foreign affairs and their representatives meet to discuss important issues, and delegations of both countries maintain working contacts at international meetings. Contacts between the parliaments and political parties of the two countries help them promote mutual understanding and expand goodneighbourly cooperation and interaction in efforts to safeguard peace.

Further dialogue between the USSR and Denmark in all areas and on all levels will certainly help to find, despite the difference in views, a common approach to the problems that are of concern to both countries determined to work for their solution. Mutual interest is quite obvious here. This was pointed out, in particular, by Prime Minister Poul Schlüter: "Denmark highly values the dialogue between our countries, which has been maintained for many years now and which we constantly wish to develop, hoping that in this way we can not only help to consolidate good relations between our countries but facilitate further efforts to promote East-West understanding, which is of decisive significance for the future of the whole world."⁷

Another outstanding problem is that of broadening the material basis of goodneighbourliness. Though trade between the two countries, has tripled over the past decade, reaching the mark of about 400 million rubles in 1985, there still are ample opportunities for increasing it and perfecting its mechanism, enriching it by new forms of economic cooperation. These questions were on the agenda of the 25th session of the Inter-Governmental Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation held in Copenhagen in January this year.

In the jointly elaborated long-term plan for economic and industrial cooperation stress is on priority projects in the agro-industrial, shipbuilding and chemical industries. Due account is taken of the fact that Denmark, being a small country, can nonetheless offer most advanced technologies and equipment in some areas. The deliveries of Soviet oil and oil products, ammonia and other chemical industry products, apatite concentrate and some types of machines and equipment are of considerable significance for Danish economic growth.

Developing mutually beneficial cooperation in the economy, science, technology and environmental protection, the USSR and Denmark can jointly help to carry into effect the provisions of the second section of the Helsinki Final Act and establish equal all-European cooperation.

A good deal is yet to be done, of course, to improve the atmosphere of trust and concord among the Baltic neighbours and to make dialogue among them still more effective. It is important that in this process the prospects of their relations be determined by political realism, objective and lasting factors, common experience and an unbiased look at the future.

Soviet-Danish relations can be enhanced to a higher level. There is no doubt about that. Making use of the possibilities for further developing goodneighbourly relations between the two countries is in the interest of the Soviet and Danish peoples. In the all-European context, it can serve as their effective contribution to overcoming the present East-West differences on the major issues of security and international cooperation.

⁷ *Udenrigsministeriets nyhedsoversigt*, No. 231, Nov. 30, 1983.

Militarism and Economic Expansion of the USA

V. K O N O B E E V, S. M E D V E D K O V

Lenin's 1908 definition of modern militarism as the vital expression of capitalism¹ is still relevant today. The state monopoly capitalism of the USA and other NATO countries sees the powerful militarist machine as a means of self-preservation and of defending its international military-strategic, economic and political positions.

As stated in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, in the 1980s "militarism is thriving on the arms race greatly, and also strives gradually to gain control over the political levers of power. It is becoming the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century. Because of its efforts, the most advanced scientific and technical ideas are being converted into weapons of mass destruction."

The continuing arms race is not only a threat to humanity's future; it is already doing enormous economic damage since the material and human resources spent on military preparations are forever lost to the economy. This is felt most acutely in those capitalist states where military business has become an especially profitable sphere of investment and where the ruling circles' course of further building up military might and deteriorating the international situation is increasingly determined by the global interests of the military industrial corporations.

A special place among such states belongs to the USA, which remains the "locomotive of militarism". Stockpiling arms on an unprecedented scale and banking on its military and economic potential, the USA is drawing many other capitalist countries into this race. What is more, by concentrating in its own economy other countries' growing financial and material resources, the USA directly or indirectly places them at the service of its gigantic military programmes.

The realisation of these programmes is accompanied by US state monopoly capitalism's political and economic expansion on an ever broader scale as manifested in international financial manipulations, in the sharpening struggle with its military allies, which are trade rivals on world markets, in the exploitation of developing countries' natural resources, in the expansion of American military export, and in other spheres of interstate relations.

A main cause of the USA's more acute financial problems, in particular the unprecedented rise in the federal budget deficit, is the rapid hike

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963, p. 192.

in military spending at the turn of the 1980s, especially when the present Administration took office.

Between 1979 and 1985, US military appropriations rose from \$128,000 million to \$293,500 million (in current prices), that is, just short of a 130 per cent increase. And the effects were immediately felt: over that period the federal budget deficit went up from \$40,000 million to \$212,000 million, that is five-fold, and the national debt from \$834,000 million to \$1,828,000 million. Debt interest payments alone exceeded \$129,000 million in fiscal year 1985.²

The US Administration has had to borrow on the domestic capital market in order to compensate for the growing federal budget deficit and increase spending on military programmes. This enormous borrowing has raised interest rates and made credit more expensive.

The high interest rates have attracted many billions of dollars to the USA from a number of capitalist countries, both industrialised (in the form of loan capital) and developing (in larger debt repayments), which are in dire need of these funds to develop their own economies. Moreover, the capital inflow resulted from the growing expansionism on the world financial market by the USA itself, which is making broader use of foreign loans to finance the deficit. In the last few years interest payments on these loans have accounted for 30 per cent of all US payments for imported capital and 15 per cent of national debt repayment.³

According to figures released by the US President's Economic Council, the 1982-1984 inflow of capital from abroad meant a net investment of \$90,000 million in the American economy, which was almost 40 per cent of the overall increase in private investment in the USA⁴. American economist Jan Tumlir notes that without this "injection" of foreign capital the USA "would have more inflation, shorter recovery [following the recession of 1980-1982.—*the Authors*] and more unemployment."⁵ But that has not been able to erase the grave economic effects of the arms race for the United States.

First, the high interest rates mean less investment by national firms, which have no access to the "cheaper" foreign capital markets. Second, both principal and interest payments have to be made on the capital lent by foreign creditors. This indebtedness, combined with the foreign trade deficit (which stood in 1985 at \$148,500 million) has turned the USA into a debtor country, keeping it dependent on foreign capital inflows. US economist Fred Bergsten feels that by 1990 the USA could owe foreign creditors more than one trillion dollars.

As a direct consequence of this, the value of the dollar has risen, that is, its exchange rate has gone up by roughly 50 per cent (from 1980 to the beginning of 1985). The developing countries importing mineral raw materials and energy sources, especially oil, have been particularly hard hit by this, since payments are mostly made in US dollars, and these countries have to exchange their "devalued" currency for "more expensive" US dollars in order to pay for their imports. This has also caused an actual increase in the debtor countries' indebtedness, making it harder for them to repay the US banks. The fall in the dollar's exchange rate in 1985 and at the beginning of 1986 is far from enough to ameliorate the grave financial situation facing the developing countries.

The high interest rates are having a particularly bad effect on the de-

² *Budget of the United States Government. Fiscal Year 1987*, Washington, 1986, pp. 6e-17, 42, 43.

³ Calculated from *Survey of Current Business*, March 1985, p. 41; *Budget of the United States Government. Fiscal Year 1986*, pp. 9-59.

⁴ *Economic Report of the President—1985*, Washington, 1985, p. 101.

⁵ *The Foreign Trade Dilemma: Fact and Fiction, Hearings*, Washington, 1984, p. 38.

veloping countries, which are already heavily indebted to the USA and other imperialist states. Far from being able to repay their growing debt, they are barely able to meet the interest payments, and some cannot do even that.

All this notwithstanding, many developing states have been forced to keep on borrowing to maintain their economies from the international banks, which have long since set up a system of financial enslavement based primarily on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), where the USA has the final say and the right of veto. The French newspaper *L'Humanite* has rightly called the IMF the "financial gendarme of American policy". These banks interfere brazenly in the internal affairs of the debtor states, create favourable conditions for transnationals, American transnationals primarily, to penetrate their economies, and impose an economic policy which best meets the creditors' self-seeking interests. Countries which fail to fulfil the IMF and IBRD "recommendations" cannot bank on receiving any more vital credits and loans.

US imperialism is bent on securing not only "freedom of action" in many regions of the world but also guarantees that its investments are inviolable. Reporting on the Pentagon's programmes for fiscal year 1984, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger stated flatly that the USA must be able to defend its citizens' "vital interests" abroad against military attacks, and to encourage an "international order" that is in keeping with US goals.

The essence of these "vital interests" can be partially expressed in dollars. According to US Department of Commerce figures, direct private American investments abroad exceeded \$233,000 million at the end of 1984. In 1984 alone, American corporations made \$23,000 million in profits on this capital, the largest portion—over 44 per cent—coming from the Middle East, about 23 per cent from Asia, almost 15 per cent from Africa, and 9 per cent from Latin America. The cheap labour, the considerably less funds spent on environmental protection, and low taxes enable the US transnationals operating in the developing countries to make incomparably higher profits than in the USA.

Of importance to US foreign and military policies is the problem of ensuring for American capital a monopoly on the exploitation of foreign mineral resources, a problem which the USA still frequently tries to resolve with military force and direct economic diktat. The draft US federal budget for fiscal year 1986 directs the Pentagon to "maintain sufficient maritime strength to assure our ability to deploy US forces to critical regions overseas to protect our interests... and assure continued access to essential resources".⁶

In practice, the US ruling circles understand "our interests" to mean, besides direct American investments abroad, the oil of the Middle East, Nigeria, Mexico, Venezuela, and Indonesia, the tantalum and niobium of Brazil, Thailand and Malaysia, the cobalt of Zaire and Zambia, the tungsten and tin of Bolivia, Thailand and South Korea, and the vanadium, lead, copper and uranium of other developing countries. American and other Western corporations also have their eyes on the natural resources of other states like Nicaragua (gold, silver, rubber), Angola (manganese, zinc, copper, gold, diamonds), Mozambique (tungsten, manganese, gold, bauxites), and Chad (uranium, thorium).

As a result of the inequitable trade relations imposed on them by the leading capitalist states, the developing countries have virtually no say in the setting of the price of their exports. Lacking their own capital and

⁶ *Budget of the United States Government. Fiscal Year 1986*, pp. 5-4.

industrial technology, they are still unable radically to change their role in the international division of labour, which is why a paradoxical situation exists: these countries' foreign indebtedness is increasing even as the world consumption and the volume of raw material exports from the developing states grow.

Thus, for example, Mexico supplies the USA with almost 100 per cent of its strontium requirements, 61 per cent of its graphite, 18 per cent of its antimony, and a substantial volume of oil, yet its foreign indebtedness rose from \$63,000 million in 1981 to \$97,700 million by the beginning of 1986. Brazil provides 66 per cent of US niobium needs, 11 per cent of its mica, 13 per cent of its manganese, and agricultural products, but its debt increased over the same period from \$64,000 million to \$101,930 million. It is also significant that American corporations import mineral raw materials from developing states not only for home consumption but also for resale to other consumer countries at hiked prices.

The oil market best illustrates the largest monopolies' enhanced role as "distributors" of mineral resources in the capitalist world. The oil companies, coming together around such giants as "Seven Sisters", among which American companies dominate, are the sole purchaser of oil from oil-producing countries and the sole oil vendor to consumer countries.

Growing foreign indebtedness and simultaneous export to the USA of raw materials and cheap manufactured goods is typical for many developing states. "There is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these countries and the more than trillion-sized growth of US military expenditures in the past ten years," says the CPSU CC Political Report to the 27th party Congress. "That is why militarism has a direct stake in maintaining and tightening the system of neocolonial super-exploitation."

Small wonder that US economic policy toward the developing countries is a direct reflection of its military strategic objectives. The fact that the USA has increased military "aid" to developing states while reducing its payments to the Agency for International Development (which is supposed to give the poorest countries loans on easy terms) reflects its intention not to "waste" funds on "multilateral aid" but rather to earmark them on a bilateral basis for those states which are important from the standpoint of American military, political and economic interests.

To this end the Department of State set up a special commission in 1983 to study ways to "integrate US development aid policies" with its "strategic objectives" in the developing countries. The nature of the commission's tasks became clear when Frank C. Carlucci, president of Sears World Trade Inc., one of the largest US commercial companies, and until then Deputy Defense Secretary, was appointed the commission's chairman.

The commission's recommendations underline that "economic growth and rising standards of living [in the Third World.—*the Authors*] are vital to internal stability and external defense. Threats to stability impede economic development and prosperity."⁷ In order to make the countries with pro-American regimes more "stable", enhance their "defence" capability, and prevent democratic forces from coming to power, the US Administration has begun to place more emphasis on coordinating the work of the state bodies responsible for the economic and military "aid" programme for the developing countries. This programme clearly reflects the

⁷ *Multinational Monitor*, January 1984, p. 10.

greater interweaving of the military, economic and political aims which US state monopoly capitalism wants to realise in the developing world.

Of course, the USA used economic ties to consolidate its military and strategic positions in the world in earlier years as well, but it is in the 1980s, with the activation of the extreme reactionary grouping of the ruling circles in the USA bent on military superiority over the USSR, that American militarism has been able to strike the firmest roots in the whole system of relations with developing states by intensifying the interconnection between the economic, political and military means of ensuring US "national interests" in the international arena.

The US-accelerated arms race is taking the processes of militarisation of the capitalist economy onto the level of the world economy, involving more and more capitalist and developing countries in military production and the international arms trade, and not only as arms purchasers but also as arms vendors. Among those countries are Brazil, Egypt, Argentina, Pakistan and Turkey. Israel is building up its export potential on the basis of American military technology. According to *Fortune* magazine, arms deliveries from the developing countries now total almost 15 per cent of world arms exports.⁸ It is also apparent that such activity of some developing countries increases the danger that existing regional conflicts will worsen and that new ones will emerge, pushes the arms race further out of control, and diverts more and more financial resources which these countries sorely need to resolve the pressing problems of their socio-economic backwardness.

This state of affairs suits the USA quite well because these "novices" of the arms business have to seek financial and technical assistance from industrialised states, primarily the USA, to establish their own production of some types of arms. The granting of the necessary credit, licences, technology as well as the sending of experts spells profits for the "donors" and an additional burden and greater economic and political dependence on foreign capital for the recipient countries.

A special place in the US "aid" programme is held by arms deliveries, which have long ceased to be aid since, with rare exceptions, they are made on a purely commercial basis. Military export, which includes deliveries of weapons, ammunition, spare parts, accoutrements and other troop supplies, construction of military facilities, and services, has become a powerful means of US economic and political expansion, which of late is increasingly oriented toward developing countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Between 1974 and 1983 this export totalled over \$152,000 million⁹, almost three times the 1951-1970 figure.

All US military export is now under government control and the bulk of arms deliveries abroad (almost 90 per cent) are made on the basis of intergovernmental agreements. With the USA's worsening financial and economic problems, the Administration has been doing its utmost to expand military export, acting in the interests of both the military-industrial corporations and the Treasury.

Addressing the US Congress, the Chairman of the International Committee of the National Security Industrial Association, Walter Edgington, pointed out the benefits which derive from this specific business: "The sale of military products abroad contributes to higher employment at home, maintenance of a secure industrial base, an improved balance

⁸ *Fortune*, Aug. 5, 1985, p. 34.

⁹ See *Whence the Threat to Peace*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984, p. 55 (in Russian).

of payments, added profits for capital formation [and] technology and productivity investment, potentially lower unit prices for the Department of Defense and the much enhanced opportunity to expand our commercial activities with those countries purchasing defense items and services."¹⁰ To this should be added that, besides the direct profits from arms sales, the USA also receives considerable interest on "military" credits since the majority of purchasers of American military goods who are short of money are obliged to borrow from the USA to pay for them.

The states whose armed forces depend on US supplies are forced to make significant trade, economic and political concessions so as not to lose this source of military "aid". The Department of State, the Pentagon, the CIA and other federal departments take advantage of this circumstance to place "their" people in leading political and military quarters of the importer countries, getting them to pursue a policy that suits the USA.

It is common knowledge that US military aid gives priority to the reactionary dictatorial regimes, which use American arms against the revolutionary and national liberation movements in their own states, and often in neighbouring ones as well. These regimes are virtual assistants of the American "rapid deployment force" and armed forces units stationed at the hundreds of US military bases scattered world-wide and defending the global "vital interests" of US monopoly capital. There is good reason why tension remains in a number of the world's hot spots: it is advantageous to the most reactionary US circles since it creates favourable conditions for expanding US arms sales and interfering in the internal affairs of the states concerned.

Militarisation of the US economy is making American goods, science-intensive ones included, less competitive on world markets, above all because of the diversion of a considerable and constantly growing part of scientific research to military purposes. Thus, while in 1980 47 per cent of all public spending on research and development went to military purposes, in 1985 this figure neared 70 per cent. Moreover, a large part of the "non-military" federal expenditure went to research and development in outer space and power industry, which are directly related to the military strategic spheres of scientific and technical progress. In effect, as the US Congress library research service estimates, only 0.3 per cent of federal spending on scientific research now serves civilian fields, while in Japan and the FRG this share is close to 12.5 per cent.¹¹

This redistribution of public funds in the USA in favour of military research is taking place at a time when the US position in the foreign trade of high technology goods is slipping. While in 1981 exports of this type of goods exceeded imports by \$26,000 million, in 1983 the figure was \$17,000 million, and in 1984—\$7,000 million.¹² The disappearance of the surplus in the trade of high technology goods over that period was connected mainly with the dollar's high exchange rate, which raised export prices and lowered import prices.

It is quite clear that the roll-back in government financed civilian research is already limiting the scientific and technical inventions, ideas, and fundamental discoveries which could be realised commercially in the 1990s. In the USA, the federal government traditionally financed the bulk of all major design and development work, and also those spheres of research which private business considers risky and therefore avoids. This

¹⁰ *CQ Weekly Report*, Apr. 3, 1982, p. 724

¹¹ *The Washington Post*, Feb. 3, 1985.

¹² *The Economic Situation in Capitalist and Developing Countries*. Supplement to the magazine *World Economy and International Relations*, 1985, p. 112-113 (in Russian).

sphere of research has now been substantially narrowed by the militarisation of scientific and technical progress.

The Pentagon's intensification of the arms production programmes, which yield high profits for its contractors, encourages the movement of capital from civilian to military sectors of the economy, further lowering the competitiveness of American industry. That is precisely the situation which exists in such major US industries as automaking and metallurgy. The American transnationals General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler are, on the one hand, rapidly increasing imports from their overseas subsidiaries and making available their market network in the USA (and often their trade marks as well) for the sale of foreign cars, including those of their competitors, and, on the other hand, are speedily building up their investments in military production.

General Motors is streaking ahead with the development of military production. Between 1982 and 1984 the volume of its sales of ground and space military equipment rose by 64 per cent to a total of \$1,300 million, a figure which the monopoly's directors intend to triple by 1990. In 1984 General Motors bought Electronic Data Systems, which provides computer services (the use of computers for management), for \$2,600 million, and in 1985 it acquired Hughes Aircraft (producing combat aircraft and space equipment) for \$5,000 million. Chrysler is becoming actively involved in the production of military aviation and space equipment. In 1985 it absorbed the large Gulfstream Aerospace (aviation equipment). Ford is also seeking companies to buy out in order to expand in the military aviation and space equipment sphere.¹³

These changes in the entrepreneurial strategy of major US transnationals result directly from the US Administration's intensified military programmes, which guarantee large orders and high profits for Pentagon contractors in the 1980s and 1990s. The development of the process of militarisation of the US economy is leading to the further transfer of financial, production, scientific and research resources from civilian sectors to military business, and to the spread of the military-industrial complex beyond US borders not so much because the military corporations are broadening production and expanding overseas as because the largest transnationals are moving increasingly from the civilian sector of the economy into military business.

There is a widening circle of corporations involved in the arms race, resulting in a greater interweaving on a militarist basis of the interests of industrial and financial monopolies and the state. Commenting on the latest State of the Union address, *The Washington Post* wrote on February 6: "President Reagan offered the American people yesterday another snapshot of the kind of government he has struggled to create for five years: an expanding military and a shrinking federal role in every thing from farming to housing, to travel, to college education."

All this is leading to unfavourable structural changes in the economy and the one-sided development of a number of very important sectors, and is slowing down scientific and technical progress in the civilian sector. It is this which is a main cause of the drop in the competitiveness of American goods on both the domestic and overseas markets.

Faced with this reduced competitiveness and an enormous trade deficit, the USA has been bringing direct pressure to bear on its principal trade "partners"—Japan and Western Europe—to open up their markets more to American goods while "voluntarily" limiting deliveries of goods

¹³ *The Washington Post*, June 20, 1985.

to the USA and refraining from giving state support to their export sectors.

"Free trade" and "honest competition" are the official slogans of US trade and economic policy, yet the slide toward protectionism is increasingly obvious. In 1981 the USA forced Japan to limit auto sales on the American market. In 1982 the EEC and Japan agreed to cut steel deliveries to the USA in keeping with set quotas. In 1983 the USA sharply hiked some import duties. Well-known American international trade expert Harald B. Malmgren, who was Deputy Trade Representative under Presidents Nixon and Ford, believes that the present Administration's protectionist actions have no parallel in US trade policy since the Great Depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Typical in this respect is the "new trade policy for the 1980s" announced by the President in September 1985 and aimed, as he made clear in his State of the Union address, "...to counter unfair trading practices and to pry open closed foreign markets". But the measures which the USA has taken (lowering somewhat the dollar's exchange rate to increase the competitiveness of US goods, introducing new restrictions on EEC imports, subsidising agricultural exports) show that the USA is in fact seeking to gain easier access for American firms to overseas markets while lessening competitors' "import offensive" on the American market, thus helping to liquidate its own huge trade deficit.

The US policy of drawing its competitors into the arms race plays a significant role in weakening their positions on the world market. Under various pretexts, the USA constantly pressures its allies to increase their military budgets annually, but more military spending—as the example of the USA itself graphically illustrates—disorders public finances, creates imbalance in foreign economic ties, and undermines the competitiveness of national firms. In the countries of Western Europe, where the state has traditionally played a greater role in economic life and where the overall economic situation remains quite sluggish, the diversion of more and more resources for military purposes could have even graver effects, including on their international economic positions.

Meanwhile, the USA is supplementing its military cooperation with other NATO countries with military-economic cooperation. At its December 1985 session, the NATO Council announced the member countries' agreement to invigorate interaction and cooperation in the development and production of the latest arms. And more recently, the Pentagon has decided to enlist a French firm, jointly with an American one, to produce a microwave communication system that has not yet been developed in the USA.

Participation by West European countries in the US Administration's "star wars" programme (SDI) could have even more serious economic consequences. The USA has been persistently trying to lure its allies into this programme, describing for them bright prospects of strengthened national security, scientific and technical progress, and great possibilities of making commercial use of the relevant scientific research. While political and economic considerations are keeping the governments of the majority of these countries from rushing into the SDI, their military industrial corporations, which foresee big profits, are eager to work jointly with US corporations on space weapons.

In its efforts to draw its partners into a new round of the arms race, the USA is clearly reckoning on imposing an additional financial and material burden on them which will slow down their economic development, check the expansion of their export possibilities, and ensure an inflow of scientific and technical achievements to the USA, thereby allowing it to maintain its leading position in science and technology.

An equally clear-cut demonstration of interweaving of US military strategic and economic interests was given in the early 1980s when the USA used the events in Afghanistan to try to impose on Western Europe and Japan economic "sanctions" against the USSR and other socialist states, and also restrictions on the supply of new equipment and technology to them. But at that time only two per cent of US foreign trade deliveries went to the USSR, while the corresponding figure for Western Europe and Japan was almost 20 per cent. This obviously meant that a policy of bans and restrictions on exports to the socialist states would primarily undermine the trade possibilities of Western Europe and Japan.

In addition to drawing its trade partners-competitors into a "technological blockade" against socialist states through COCOM (Coordination Committee controlling exports to the socialist countries), the USA is making broad use of other methods of limiting their freedom of action. Thus, in line with the Export Administration Act, amended in 1985, the US Administration may, in keeping with its "economic and foreign policy objectives and for reasons of security", ban exports to all countries without exception whose companies are contractors of American corporations. This Act provides for sanctions against overseas firms which breach the US "export control" rule or COCOM decisions. Such firms could face having their products banned from the American market.

The Act lays special emphasis on the US intention to restrict raw material imports from socialist countries: "Exclusive dependence of the United States, its allies, or countries sharing common strategic objectives with the United States, on energy and other critical resources from potential adversaries can be harmful to the mutual and individual security of all those countries."¹⁴

The selfish interests of American monopoly capital (including military industrial capital) are therefore pushing the USA to increase economic expansion and pursue a foreign policy that ensures that expansion. In so doing the USA continues to rely on its military machine as a very important instrument of a foreign policy that creates and heightens international tension and the danger of a world thermonuclear conflict.

The USA's manipulation of interest rates, the arbitrary actions of its transnationals, its politically-inspired trade restrictions, boycotts and sanctions foster tension and distrust in international economic relations, disorganise the world economy and trade, and undermine its legal basis.

It is abundantly clear that the US ruling circles' course towards militarisation of the economy has far-reaching negative effects for the whole system of world economic ties and is incompatible with the world community's natural desire to establish sound and mutually beneficial economic relations. That accounts for the broad positive response to the proposal made at the 27th Congress of the CPSU to set up a comprehensive system of international economic security, a system which, alongside disarmament, could be a reliable basis for international security in general since it would protect all states equally from discrimination, sanctions and other attributes of the imperialist, neo-colonialist policy.

¹⁴ *Export Administration Act of 1979. As Amended in 1985. Prepared by Office of the Assistant General Council for Export Administration, July 22, 1985, p. 2.*

International Monetary Fund: An Instrument of Imperialist Policy

As the developing countries have invigorated their anti-imperialist struggle for independent economic development, the imperialist powers have increasingly resorted, in spite of their mutual contradictions, to such methods of collective state-monopoly regulation of international economic and monetary-financial relations of capitalism as would enable them to intensify the neocolonialist exploitation of the young states.

In the field of monetary-financial relations, interstate regulation is being exercised by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since its establishment over 40 years ago, its functions have undergone considerable changes. At first, the IMF included a roughly equal number of developed and developing states (44 states in all) ¹ and played the role of a reserve fund from which the member countries could draw a supply of foreign exchange to help them cope with their payments problems, mostly connected with competitive factors. The Fund's resources were meant to enable its member countries to effect external payments without interruption and without resorting to devaluation of their national currencies, trade restrictions or other measures that would obstruct the development of international trade and economic ties.

In practice, however, the IMF's activities have from the very beginning been geared to promote the economic and monetary expansion of the US monopolies and to thrust upon its member countries (in exchange for credits) economic development programmes that would primarily benefit the USA. Exercising absolute control over the IMF as the country with the largest quota in the Fund and thus also with the largest number of votes in its governing bodies, the United States made the recipients of IMF credits follow an "open doors" policy with regard to US monopoly capital, denationalise transport and heavy industry, reduce state subsidies to the national economy, lower wages and cut outlays for social needs.

In spite of the tough terms being imposed by the USA through the IMF on other countries, the latter were obliged to resort to IMF credits, for Western (primarily US) financial monopolies saw compliance with IMF terms as the best guarantee of high profits and backed up the "recipes" offered by the IMF. By rejecting the IMF's "stabilisation programme", the government of any capitalist country would risk confrontation with the whole Western banking community, with the bosses of the international exchange markets.

¹² Up to the late 1960s, almost all the capitalist countries were regular users of IMF credits, submitting to the US diktat in this field. From 1947 to 1958, Western states were in effect the sole recipients of IMF credits. So long as the West European countries and Japan needed credits to rehabilitate their economy after the Second World War, the IMF virtually ignored the pressing need of the developing states for borrowed funds. Even at that time, the IMF was already acting on the principle which was to become

Today, the IMF has about 150 member countries.

crucial to its interstate regulation of international monetary relations: that of giving priority to the interests of the strongest partners.

Changes in the correlation of forces in the capitalist economy in the 1960s and 1970s entailed a sharp aggravation of interimperialist contradictions in the monetary-financial sphere. The strengthening economic positions of the FRG and Japan led to a considerable increase in their gold and currency reserves, to a strengthening of their national currencies. The monetary positions of France, Italy and Holland also changed, though to a lesser extent. The monopoly role of the dollar was shaken, and there was a sharp fall in the international importance of the British pound sterling. All these factors influenced the functioning of the IMF. Since the mid-1950s, Japan, the FRG and Holland have not resorted to IMF credits, and their own currencies are being used in the Fund's credit operations on a par with the US dollar.

The IMF's activities have also been considerably affected by the increase in the scale of world trade, movement of capital, extension of services and banking operations, something that has exacerbated the monetary-financial difficulties of the leading capitalist countries. Their trade and payments imbalances are beginning to reach such dimensions that due stability in the monetary sphere can no longer be ensured either by their national gold and currency reserves or by the relatively small resources of the IMF. The numerous devaluations and revaluations of the leading Western currencies in the 1960s and the subsequent collapse of the fixed exchange rate system in the early 1970s showed the unsoundness of the methods of interstate regulation being used by the IMF to stabilise the monetary relations of capitalism.

In the conditions of the crisis that engulfed the Western international monetary-financial system in the 1970s, the leading capitalist countries were unable to coordinate their monetary policies within the IMF framework, where the developing countries drawn into the conflicts between them sought, for their part, to uphold their own interests. Fearing that the persistent contradictions could wreck the whole system of Bretton Woods monetary-financial institutions, the Western powers took the road of establishing narrow parochial groupings, within whose framework they continued to coordinate their monetary policies. For these purposes, they set up the Group of Ten and the Group of Five, which include the leading capitalist countries.

As for the IMF, its influence on the solution of Western monetary problems and its financial contribution to a settlement of the payments difficulties facing the leading Western countries have substantially decreased. In the early 1970s, when the capitalist monetary-financial system entered a critical phase, the IMF was barred from involvement in the solution of the most important problems relating to the Western monetary crisis. Most of the decisions were taken by the Group of Ten or even unilaterally. For instance, on August 15, 1971 the US Administration announced that the dollar would no longer be convertible into gold in settlements between official monetary bodies and devalued the dollar, so triggering off a monetary crisis, from which the Bretton Woods system could no longer recover. The adaptation of the monetary system to the new conditions was a spontaneous process, while the IMF merely tried to "legitimatisé" the new situation.

The IMF gradually turned into a negotiating centre between the West and the developing countries, with special organs for discussing urgent monetary-financial problems, such as the Committee of 20, the Interim Committee or the Development Committee (set up jointly with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). The real decision-making which influences the working of the capitalist monetary system is concentrated within the above-mentioned narrow groupings of the leading

Western powers, which sign agreements reflecting the current balance of power between them, while the IMF mechanism is being used to make these agreements binding and to put them into effect on the scale of the Western monetary-financial system as a whole.

However, set up within the IMF framework the mechanism of inter-state regulation of monetary relations has retained its importance for the policy of the imperialist states, and in some areas its role has even increased. IMF activities connected with the problems of the developing countries have become much more important in recent years. The bulk of IMF credits now goes to these countries. From 1947 to 1985, the IMF extended 95,000 million SDRs² worth of credits to its member countries, with 30,000 million SDRs going to the developed capitalist countries, and 65,000 million SDRs to the developing countries.³ Ever more attention is being devoted to the latter in the IMF's practical activities. This includes "missions of inquiry" and the work being done to draw up and agree "package financing" projects and to elaborate standard "recipes" for restructuring the whole domestic and foreign economic policy.

None of that means, however, that the IMF has altered its policy in the interests of the developing countries. On the contrary, it has been taking ever more vigorous action to suppress the latter's striving for economic independence, for strengthening their national economy. The IMF's recommendations, programmes, etc., primarily meet the interests of the imperialist powers, which use the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation being exercised by the IMF in the monetary sphere in order to resolve the strategic task of retaining and pulling the developing states deeper into the orbit of capitalist exploitation.

In recent years, researchers from the developing countries have examined that line of IMF activity from various angles. Many of them have drawn the conclusion that the IMF is turning into a "financial sheriff"⁴ of the transnational banks in the Third World: it supplies these banks with the necessary information on the developing countries and induces the latter (under agreements on standby credits and "stabilisation programmes") to accept terms which meet the interests of the Western monopolies.

Many developing states realise the danger of IMF "recipes" and often reject them, do not abide by the terms of agreements, etc. As they come out against the IMF diktat, they are confronted not so much with the organisation itself, as with the Western powers and their monopolies in whose interests the Fund operates. Hence a "critical situation" in the IMF's relations with this or that developing country being subjected by the imperialist powers to the whole arsenal of coercive economic measures.

An analysis of such "critical situations" helps to bring out a definite system, a set of measures being used by the IMF in an attempt to make the governments of the newly free states follow a policy that would suit imperialism. A team of Jamaican economists analysed the operation of that system of measures in the case of the relations between the IMF and the Manley government in 1974-1980.⁵ Here is a general outline of how it operates.

The IMF's place in the policy of the imperialist powers aimed at retaining the developing countries in the sphere of neocolonialist exploitation:

² SDR (Special Drawing Right)—a unit of account used in IMF settlements.

³ *International Financial Statistics*, November 1985, p. 26.

⁴ I.-S. Abdalla, "The Inadequacy and Loss of Legitimacy of the IMF", *Development Dialogue*, No. 2, 1980, p. 50.

⁵ See N. Girvan, R. Bernal, W. Hughes, "The IMF and the Third World: the Case of Jamaica, 1974-1980", *Development Dialogue*, No. 2, 1980, pp. 113-155.

The government of a developing country launches an independent economic policy, turning down IMF "recipes" and credits.

Local and foreign entrepreneurs "lose confidence" in the government's policy, investments in the economy are suspended, foreign-exchange reserves shrink, and so on. The government turns to the IMF for monetary support.

The IMF prescribes a devaluation of the national currency, cuts in budget appropriations, wage controls, a scale-down of the state sector of the economy, etc.

The government carries out the IMF's prescriptions, suspends the progressive transformations in the country.

The government loses its popularity, its former policy is discredited, the support it enjoyed among broad social strata begins to wane, and there is a threat of a change of government.

The government resorts to further "unpopular" measures and is prepared to deepen its external dependence in order to obtain new credits. There is growing pressure on the government inside the country.

The government is obliged either to give up the progressive socio-economic transformations and follow a Western-oriented policy in exchange for periodic currency injections or once again to reject the IMF "recipes", with all the ensuing economic consequences.

The pressure exerted by the IMF on Jamaica's progressive government and the set of IMF-imposed measures are something of a classical example of Western monopoly interference in the economy of a developing country with the help of the IMF, which acts as an instrument of collective state-monopoly regulation by the imperialist powers of their relations with the newly free states.

In the 1980s, IMF practice has known many examples of that kind, and if the West has not always managed to attain its goals with the help of the traditional "set of measures", that is primarily due to the governments of the developing countries themselves, which forgo IMF services in solving their payments problems. As for the IMF's "recommendations", these remain virtually unchanged: devaluation of the national currency, curtailment of activities in the state sector, denationalisation of the key branches of the economy, creation of optimal conditions for foreign investments and repatriation of profits, a lowering of the people's living standards, cuts in appropriations for social purposes, education, and so on. The IMF's conditions for granting credit, and the "structural economic reform" it imposes and at times direct interference in internal affairs are too high a price to pay for the use of the IMF's resources and the "generosity" shown by the Western finance monopolies. This is ever more convincingly proven by the experiences of those countries which entered the IMF in the hope of overcoming their economic difficulties with its help.

In other words, the IMF's policy is aimed at creating conditions for the uncontrolled operation of foreign monopolies at the expense of the interests of broad popular masses. So, the IMF assumes the unseemly role of imposing upon the states shackling terms of "cooperation" with the West, which the Western countries themselves refrain from offering within the framework of bilateral relations for fear of criticism from independent states. The West has entrusted that dirty work to the IMF, which draws most of the developing countries' criticism, while the Western monopolies quietly reap the fruits of IMF activity, extracting huge profits from the economy of the newly free states.

The imperialist powers have been making most extensive use of the IMF at a time when the developing countries' foreign debt crisis has taken a grave turn. The scale of that crisis and the immensity of the indebted-

ness⁶ pose a real threat to the monetary financial relations of capitalism. The crisis is rooted in the very system of inequitable relations, in which the developing states are the target of neocolonialist exploitation. As for the immediate cause of the crisis, it was the policy of large-scale lending to the developing countries followed by the Western banking monopolies, a policy which, in view of the unfavourable economic outlook, set a "debt trap" for the developing countries. However, when it became clear that the "debt bomb" could actually explode at any moment, the banking monopolies commissioned the governments of their countries and the compliant IMF to settle the crisis. The IMF was to act as a "catalyst" in rescheduling the debts of the developing countries. IMF credits, and primarily its "lending terms", which include the old set of measures, have become a binding element of the "package financing" of the developing debtor-countries, which are entitled to receive not only IMF credits, but also credits from foreign states and private financial institutions only in case they agree to the IMF terms.

A characteristic point to note is that whereas in the 1970s IMF "recipes" were applied mostly episodically and were prescribed for individual countries, so that their influence on the state of affairs in the developing world as a whole was fairly limited, in the period of the foreign debt crisis Western policy, as effected through the IMF, came to exert a much stronger influence. In 1983 and 1984, the IMF took part in 32 agreements on rescheduling the debts of 26 countries to the effect of \$137,000 million.⁷ The IMF-imposed measures of domestic economic policy lead to a decline in the living standards of millions of people in Latin America, Africa and Asia, and serve to hold back the development of the state sector and progressive socio-economic transformations in the Third World, while creating exceptional conditions for TNC activities. In "helping" the developing countries to settle the debt problem, the imperialist powers are in effect trying to resolve their own major problems. They use the IMF as an instrument in an attempt to undermine the economic sovereignty of the developing countries, to prevent them from elaborating a platform for collective action in matters of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

The governments of many developing countries have sharply criticised the IMF's activities. Speaking at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, former President of Tanzania Julius Nyerere gave a clear enough assessment of the IMF's role in the system of neocolonialist exploitation. The developing countries, he said, live in the "new anti-internationalist climate, reflected in the actions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This institution is now little more than an instrument used by the wealthiest and most powerful nations for the international enforcement of their own economic policies on the under-developed countries of the world."⁸ President Alan Garcia Perez of Peru told the United Nations that the adoption of IMF-imposed programmes by his country had plunged the Peruvian economy deep into debt, and that the "letters of intent" being circulated by the IMF to spell out the terms of these programmes were an expression of colonial submission and injustice. Peru turned down the IMF's services in rescheduling its foreign debt, and its example was followed by Bolivia.

The growing neocolonialist oppression, the worsening problem of external indebtedness and the Western countries' toughening economic policy

⁶ According to the IMF, the total debt of the developing countries on state and private lines reached \$1 trillion in 1985. In 1977 their debt was under \$300,000 million and debt service payments came to \$40,000 million, whereas today these exceed \$140,000 million.

⁷ *IMF Survey*, Nov. 25, 1985, pp. 359-360.

⁸ *A/40/PV.13*, Sept. 27, 1985, pp. 17-18.

with regard to the developing countries, in which the IMF plays a significant role, have given a powerful impulse to anti-imperialist, anti-Western feelings in the developing states. Initiatives on monetary-financial matters were an important part of their activity at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. As a result of Western pressure, however, the developing countries were unable to secure the adoption of their draft resolutions on monetary-financial issues.

Such a stand taken by the West at the United Nations shows its reluctance to renounce its monetary-financial diktat with regard to the developing countries. Under the IMF auspices, write the US economists R. Dornbush and S. Fischer, "the 'system' is working in the uncompromised interests of the creditors, and debts are scheduled to be paid to the last penny".⁹ Since the problem of the Third World debt has acquired a long-term character and is bound to affect the future economic policy of the developing countries, the IMF's influence on the formation of that policy will remain. According to the Argentine financier Aldo Ferrer, "this implies indefinite subordination of domestic sovereignty to creditors and IMF criteria. This is the worst threat to the right of the self-determination that our countries have faced for a long time. The IMF's interference in the debtor's economic policies and long-term future cannot be accepted".¹⁰

In the face of the developing countries' discontent over the IMF's policy and the decision by Peru, Bolivia, Nigeria and some other countries to forgo its services, the Western imperialist states are looking for a means of regulating monetary-financial relations that would enable them to divide the young states, to undermine the platform of their joint action. The United States has recently been urging Western governments and banking monopolies to join their efforts in resolving the monetary-financial problems of the developing countries, primarily their foreign debt problem. The "new mood" of the US Administration was embodied in the so-called Baker Plan, put forward by the US Secretary of the Treasury at a session of the IMF and the IBRD, held in Seoul in September 1985. Under that plan, commercial banks are to extend over the next three years new credits to a number of major debtor-countries, including Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. The IMF is also to extend more credits to the poorest countries (mostly African) with chronic balance of payments deficits. On the principle of an "individual approach" to the solution of the developing countries' debt problem, the Americans hold that in order to qualify for credits under the Baker Plan the debtor-countries should primarily follow a well-considered macro-economic policy, supported by international financial institutions, the IMF above all.¹¹

The Baker Plan has met with a guarded response both in the developing and in the Western countries. Western banks, except those of Japan, have shown no enthusiasm over the proposal to take part in settling the debt, which arose primarily as a result of the credit expansion of US banks. Many developing states feel neglected by the international financial institutions and banks, since most of the additional credits are meant for a handful of countries. Under US pressure, however, some of them (Argentina, Ecuador) are already involved in negotiations on the basis of the Baker Plan proposals, with the IMF leadership, which warmly supported the US initiative from the very beginning, playing an active part in these. The experience gained by the IMF over the years as an instrument for im-

⁹ R. Dornbush, S. Fischer, "The World Problem: Origins and Prospects", *Journal of Development Planning*, No. 16, 1985, p. 80.

¹⁰ Aldo Ferrer, "From the Debt Crisis to Financial Viability", *Journal of Development Planning*, No. 16, 1985, p. 128.

¹¹ See *The Economist*, Oct. 12, 1985, p. 75; Oct. 10, 1985, p. 15; *IMF Survey*, Nov. 11, 1985, p. 349.

posing the collective will of the Western financial-monopoly circles on the developing countries is of considerable importance at these negotiations.

As is evident from an analysis of the IMF's history and the new tendencies in its activity, that agency is a major lever in the hands of the imperialists for putting economic and political pressure on sovereign, independent states, especially those which take the road of socio-economic transformations and follow an independent foreign policy line. The IMF is also an effective instrument of imperialist expansion, helping the Western monopolies to exploit the working people in different parts of the world. With the IMF's help, the West prevents the developing countries from exercising their sovereign rights, thwarts their striving to use international economic relations in order to accelerate their economic development, and tries to lash them to the world capitalist economy, in which they are seen as an object of neocolonialist exploitation, a raw-material supplier and a market for Western goods, as a source from which the West extracts multibillion profits, dividends and interest on foreign debts.

In our day, that Western policy is an anachronism and cuts across the striving of most states for a normalisation and improvement of international economic relations. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised, "it is about time to hold a broad debate on matters of establishing equitable international relations free of any discrimination, a new international economic order, including the problem of the developing countries' debt".¹²

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries support the developing countries' demands to democratise the activity of international monetary-financial institutions and implement the initiatives aimed at restructuring international economic relations in the interests of all states. That principled line of the socialist countries is reflected in the programme for an improvement of international economic relations put forward by the CMEA countries' Economic Summit, and also in the Soviet government's Memorandum, International Economic Security of States as a Major Condition for an Improvement of International Economic Relations. It was reaffirmed in a Statement issued by the Warsaw Treaty member states in October 1985, which said, in particular: "The socialist states hold that international monetary and financial relations should be put in order so that they do not become a means of political pressure and interference in internal affairs."¹³ With that line, the socialist countries countered the discriminatory policy of the West in international economic relations, its course of neocolonialist exploitation and of undermining the economic security of states, a course in whose implementation the imperialist powers assign an ever greater role to the International Monetary Fund.

G. MARKOV

¹² *Pravda*, May 28, 1985.

¹³ *Pravda*, Oct. 24, 1985.

"NEW" ASPECTS OF THE USA'S POLICY TOWARDS INDIA

The questions pertaining to ensuring peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region feature prominently in the wide and diverse spectrum of urgent international problems. Asian public opinion has received with great interest and attention the latest Soviet initiatives in this field, the essence of which lies in enlisting the countries of the region for achieving this end, for gaining it on the basis of a comprehensive approach, carried out in stages.

The positive response of the Asian states to the Soviet proposals alarmed the US Administration, which, in its turn, started speaking of some "new aspects" in US policy with regard to a number of states of the continent, India first and foremost. American officials and politologists are now speaking and writing about a "new stage" in American-Indian cooperation, about overcoming the atmosphere of mutual suspiciousness, and about the emerging similarity of views on a number of international issues.

The improvement of relations between India and the USA could, doubtless, appreciably ameliorate the political situation not only in South Asia, but also on the Asian continent as a whole, and such a process would certainly be welcomed. However, facts show that such optimistic appraisals are voiced mostly unilaterally, on the part of Washington, which is no more than wishful thinking. As to the Indian side, while coming out in favour of improving relations, it cannot help underlining the deep differences in the stances of the White House and Delhi on a wide range of international and trade-economic problems and notes that the "new" aspects of US policy with regard to India exist, so far, only on paper.

Various aspects of Indo-American relations have been dealt with, of late, in a number of works by well-known Indian publicists and politologists, in particular, in the book by V. Chopra, *Pentagon Shadow over India*.¹ The passages from this book referred to below give a clear enough picture of the US approach as regards India.

American-Indian relations, says the author, are an integral component of the fabric of contemporary international ties in all their diversity. Occupying, by virtue of its economic potential and international prestige, the leading place among developing countries, India represents, quite naturally, an exponent of their political and socio-economic contradictions with the United States. Here one should take into account the fact that India, being one of the founders of the non-aligned movement and playing a prominent role in it, is doing much for the consolidation of its ranks in accordance with the anti-imperialist platform. The independent peace policy of India, her consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist course, her flat refusal to get involved in the USA's

¹ V. Chopra, *Pentagon Shadow Over India*, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, 223 pp.

designs against the USSR and other socialist countries—such are, in a nutshell, the principal causes of the contradictions between India and the USA, clearly discernible already in the first years of the existence of independent India.

The contradictions between India and the USA continued to exacerbate. The USA's aggression in Indochina, crimes committed by the American military in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea caused legitimate condemnation throughout the world, including on the Asian continent. The Indian government and broad public circles in India resolutely condemned the aggression. The success of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and the establishment of a united Vietnam, the strengthening of India's positions regionally and internationally, the growing prestige of the Republic in the non-aligned movement, and, above all, the further development of friendship and cooperation with the USSR, the book emphasises, caused serious damage to the USA's designs and impelled the White House to apply additional pressure on India with the object of making her abandon the chosen political course.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that over the 36 years of relations between the USA and India the efforts on the part of Washington have been aimed at urging Delhi to reconsider the legacy of J. Nehru and his independent policy and at bringing India into the orbit of American influence, says the author of the book. This led to the growth of contradictions between the two countries as regards the key problems of the present time: detente, disarmament (nuclear disarmament in particular), proclaiming the Indian Ocean a peace zone, the non-aligned movement, etc. Besides, the approach of India and that of the USA to a variety of regional problems, particularly to the problems of South Asia, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, are diametrically opposite. Relations between the USA and India have always been influenced by the USA's geopolitical interests.

After the coming to power of the present Administration in 1981, the problems of Indo-American relations began to be viewed in light of the US military-political strategy aimed at confrontation with the Soviet Union. As applied to the developing countries, this spelled developing relations with regimes that might help increase US influence in a given region. In South Asia, the USA is seeking to consolidate its economic and political ties with Pakistan.

Such factors as the further development of economic, diplomatic, military, scientific and cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union, Delhi's refusal to support Washington in the anti-Soviet campaign in connection with the situation around Afghanistan, its unwillingness to take part in any actions against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and appeals for a political settlement of the problem by way of negotiations with the participation of the legitimate government of the DRA are bringing about indignation in Washington, notes V. Chopra. The Delhi's position of principle represents a serious obstacle in the road to realising Washington's designs for uniting the countries bordering on Afghanistan on an anti-Soviet platform. The USA is also rather displeased with India's recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea led by the Heng Samrin Government and with the establishment of diplomatic relations with it.

The author of the book, as well as a number of other well-known publicists and politologists in India, arrive, with reason, at the conclusion that over the past decade relations between India and the USA have not improved. The relations are exacerbated by the negative state of affairs in US-Indian trade and economic ties—to say nothing of contradictions on a variety of urgent international problems, of American active participation in the militarisation of Pakistan, and of Washington's support

of the anti-Indian separatist and subversive elements striving to create in India a situation of political instability.

Economic problems occupy an important place in US-India relations. These embrace, in particular, the questions of economic assistance, which is rendered on tough terms and is widely used by Washington as a tool of military-political pressure. Thus, Delhi's requests for postponing the repayment of loans are declined, whereas similar desires on the part of Pakistan are readily met by the White House.

There are also serious contradictions in the sphere of trade between India and the USA. The trade turnover between the two countries amounted in the 1982 fiscal year to \$3,000 million. However, the trade balance is, as a rule, in favour of the United States. This, in the opinion of the author, stems from numerous US restrictions on the import of Indian goods.

In the summer of 1980, the USA in defiance of its own obligations, increased its customs duties on Indian exports, including textile and leather footwear. As a result, many trade transactions were annulled, and the Indian companies suffered considerable losses. Washington did not care to conceal that these measures were, above all, aimed against the burgeoning enterprises in the state sector of the Indian economy. Indian economic analysts view this step as an attempt on the part of the White House to impose on India unequitable partnership and turn it into a mere supplier of raw materials for US industry.

The USA, holds V. Chopra, takes an anti-Indian stance in international economic organisations (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.). Washington uses its influence in these organisations to make the loan raising terms more rigorous and to demand from India the reconstruction of its economy for long term, in particular to promote private investment. Thus, as recognised by the former US Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, in the postwar period the USA has 25 times officially denied Delhi credit through the World Bank. In connection with the USA's obstructionist line, India's access to other international monetary funds also became difficult. For one thing, Washington raised an objection to India's receiving a \$2,000 million loan from the Asian Development Bank.

Despite all the pronouncements about a "new" approach to India on the part of the USA, currently voiced by representatives of the White House and politologists, facts show that the situation with regard to relations between the two countries not only remains the same, but becomes even more acute because of a variety of reasons. In the opinion of Indian analysts, the main reasons are the US military preparations in the Indian Ocean and burgeoning military-strategic ties with the Pakistani regime. Specifically, the latest actions by the White House, which approached the US Congress with the question of stationing US military personnel in Pakistan on a permanent basis, are viewed in India as giving Islamabad the opportunity to effectively use the newest weapons systems coming from the Pentagon and to effect constant surveillance of secret installations in Indian territory, noted the monograph *Strategic Analysis* by a well-known Indian military expert R. J. Sawhyney.

Indian politologists are unanimous: whatever the pretext is for the militarisation of Pakistan and for building up the US military potential in the Indian Ocean, these are directed against India and other peace-loving states in the region which pursue an independent, anti-imperialist line in their foreign policy. The special cause for concern is the build-up by the Pentagon of its nuclear potential in the Asian-Pacific region.

One should bring to light Washington's intention of stationing Pershing-2 nuclear missiles in Pakistan, says the author. This intention is part of the USA's nuclear preparations all over the world. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger hinted that by deploying new American missiles the Washington Administration by no means intends to limit itself to Europe. Washington is going to station these missiles as far away from the territory of the USA as possible. By placing Pershing missiles a long way from US shores, it wants to turn the inhabitants of other countries, whether in Europe or in Asia, into the Pentagon's nuclear hostages. The threat to India's security in connection with the new trends in military cooperation between the USA and Pakistan is solidly substantiated. Deliveries of modern armaments to Islamabad, a string of naval and air force bases which are being built in Pakistani territory as part and parcel of the Pentagon's military strategy in the region, involvement of Pakistan in the system of the "rapid deployment forces", the proposal to station Pershing-2 missiles in Pakistan—all this should be viewed as a complex.

The "encirclement of India" is by no means limited to the arming of Pakistan or the Pentagon's feverish military activities in the Indian Ocean. What one should also take into account is the drawing of other states of the region into Washington's designs directed in particular against India.

The book notes that relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are an inseparable part of India's foreign policy. Soviet-Indian relations play an important role in maintaining peace and stability in Asia and the rest of the world. Friendship and diverse cooperation between the two countries have stood the test of time. Both countries hold identical views on important international problems like securing peace, eliminating the threat of war, ending the arms race, observing the principles of peaceful coexistence and developing practical steps for settling military conflicts and preventing new ones from arising. In the period after Indira Gandhi this political course is being continued by Rajiv Gandhi.

In considering the wide range of issues pertaining to Indo-American relations, V. Chopra states that the contradictions between the two countries will deepen, if India pursues an independent course aimed at realising the programmes of socio-economic development and consolidation of economic independence and follows the line of non-alignment based on the platform of anti-imperialism and the development of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

M. LEONIDOV

A Bulwark of Peace and Socialism in Southeast Asia

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**M. P. Isaev, *The Modern Revolutionary Process in Indochina*, M., Nauka  
 Publishers, 1985, 240 pp.**  
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The book under review investigates the main trends in the development of the modern revolutionary process in Indochina. Special attention is placed on analyzing the character, driving forces, the ideological principles, forms and methods of the national liberation movements in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea in 1945-1975, the development of the national popular democratic revolutions in South Vietnam and Laos into socialist revolutions, the specifics of the initial transition stage in the construction of socialism in the SRV and LPDR as well as the national democratic revolution of 1979 in Kampuchea and this country's progress in building a new society.

The history of the national liberation, revolutionary movement of the peoples of Indochina is a chronicle of their joint struggle against a common enemy during the course of which the unity and cohesion of all patriotic forces of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were strengthened and developed. Strategically important for Southeast Asia, the countries of Indochina were often subjected to foreign aggression after the Second World War. The colonialists and imperialists either invaded all three countries or, having gained a stronghold in one of them, used it as a bridgehead for attacking the other two. In other words, for foreign invaders Indochina was always a unified theatre for military actions. "Under these conditions," as is justifiably noted in the book, "the revolutionary alliance of the three countries' patriotic forces turned into an objective factor ensuring each country's success in their struggle for freedom and independence" (pp. 208).

It is noted in the book that the valuable experience gained by the peoples of Indochina in the national liberation struggle

against the forces of colonialism and imperialism and internal reaction, is convincing proof that international conditions highly favour the development of the revolutionary process. External factors not only had an effect on the content and character of the revolutions in Indochina, but also on how they were carried out. The 1945 August revolution in Vietnam was waged using basically peaceful methods, which to a great extent was due to the victory of the Soviet Army in the Second World War. This victory had a powerful effect on Vietnam, with the Soviet Army fulfilling its liberation mission without actually entering the country. The experience of the revolution shows how diverse are the forms of the interaction between internal and external revolutionary factors, the international alliance of struggling former colonial peoples and the international proletariat, and the world socialist community. At the same time, as the author stresses, "in no way does this deny the need for ripe internal conditions for revolutionary development, for a revolutionary situation" (p. 8).

Indeed, socialism will only take root when objective demands of social development in a given country exist.

The example of Indochina bears out as well the Marxist-Leninist principle that armed struggle is far from being the one hard and fast means for achieving a social revolution, that the application of any form (military or peaceful) depends on the correlation of forces in the world arena and in individual countries, on the intensity of class and other contradictions, the degree of resistance by the exploitive elements, etc. The national liberation forces, especially in South Vietnam and Laos, gained valuable experience of an effective and flexible com-

bination of various forms of struggle—military and peaceful, legal and illegal—in order to obtain these goals. The author traces in detail the stages of the national liberation struggle in the countries of Indochina, showing and analyzing its forms and their combinations.

Of great interest is the analysis of the maturation process of the revolutionary situation in the south of Vietnam and in Laos and its transformation in 1975 into a national popular democratic revolution. The national democratic revolution of 1979 in Kampuchea became a unique phenomenon in the history of the modern revolutionary process. A specific feature of this revolution, which was of a genuinely popular character, was that in striving to reach democratic goals, it was directed not against imperialism (the anti-imperialist objectives of the revolution were for the most part reached in 1975 when the pro-American Lon Nol regime was overthrown), but against the puppet Pol Pot regime which personified direct control by those forces which entered into collusion with imperialism against the revolutionary liberation forces of Indochina.

In the monograph it is noted that as a result of the victory of the national liberation revolution in Indochina from the mid-1970's a qualitatively new political situation formed in Southeast Asia, characterized by the fact that for the first time in the history of the three independent states—the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea—they are solving the tasks connected with the socialist reconstruction of society, each country at its own stage of social development and in conditions of friendship and cooperation. These countries achieved this having closely united and with the support by world socialism.

"The experience of building a new life in a united Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea," the author points out, "once again demonstrates convincingly that the scientific basis of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties' policies, and the effective results of their activities, provide the correct approach to combining the general and the national-specific, to creatively applying general laws to concrete conditions of a specific country" (p. 10). "The experience amassed by Indochina in

constructing a new society, bears testimony once more to the historical significance of the general laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism, and confirmed in practice by socialist construction in the USSR, and shows that the laws of social development take diverse forms in countries with undeveloped economies, in particular as regards the pace, methods and duration required for bringing about the socialist transformations of society.

Historical experience, including the revolutionary experience of Indochina, convincingly demonstrates the relevance of the Leninist principle that all nations will inevitably go over to socialism, but not in exactly the same way. Each makes a unique contribution to one or another form of democracy, this or that variant of proletarian dictatorship, this or that pace of socialist transformation of various aspects of social life. The examples of Vietnam and Laos, the author underlines, are confirmation that the content of the transition to socialism, bypassing capitalist development, in countries with multi-structured economies, a weak material-technical basis, undeveloped industry, backward agriculture, a low cultural level characterized by an old-fashioned ways of thinking, small producer mentality differs substantially from the transition period from capitalism to socialism" (p. 231).

All these and many other aspects of the development of the national liberation revolutions into socialist ones using Indochina as an example are illuminated in the book. However this work is not without its shortcomings. In part the author only mentions in passing violations of socialist principles which took place when social reforms were carried out in the Vietnamese countryside which created certain difficulties in carrying out collectivisation. It should be noted that the author fails to mention a series of events in the political life of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea which influenced the social-economic processes in these countries.

Of course, it is not always possible to keep up with the development of events, especially in a region as dynamic as Indochina. Analyzing and appraising these events is even more complicated. On the whole, however, the author succeeded in coping with the task at hand.

A. SILANIN

Realities of the Persian Gulf

V. V. Mashin, A. I. Yakovlev, *The Persian Gulf and the Plans and Policy of the West*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 240 pp. (in Russian).

The book under review deals with various aspects of the situation in the Persian Gulf in the 1970s and 1980s, mainly with regard to the plans and policy by the United States of America and other countries of the West. The work's relevancy is evident in the light of Washington's attempts to establish military-political control over the Persian Gulf, which has been proclaimed by the USA to be an area of its "vital interests" and is viewed as a bridgehead for the struggle against the Arab peoples' national liberation movement.

The authors of the book, citing numerous facts and carefully analysing the political course and practical actions of the Washington Administration, convincingly show that no other area on the globe, so distant from the USA, can possibly be on a par with the Persian Gulf as regards the scope of accelerated US military preparations. Erecting military bases and installations, concentrating naval ships in the area, forming "rapid deployment force" aimed at the Persian Gulf—all this has contributed to the creation in the region of a powerful military strike force. The installment of the so-called Central Command (Centcom) has also substantially contributed to escalation of the interventionist plans and military interference by US imperialism in the affairs of the littoral countries.

The book under review considers in detail the West's efforts to foist an unrestrained arms race on the Persian Gulf countries. Such countries as Saudi Arabia and Oman, pressured by the USA, have reached the highest level in the world in military spending (more than 30 per cent of the state budget). "One can draw the sole conclusion that Arab reaction intends to use this weaponry to defend its power and privileges in the struggle against the growing liberation movement" (p. 111). Meanwhile, the process of the Persian Gulf's militarisation is in conflict with the national interests of the regional states, which are battling against century-old backwardness and consolidating

their economic and political independence.

Another aim of the Western powers, the authors say, is to draw, under the guise of "partnership" and "interdependence", the littoral states into such forms of "cooperation" which could preserve, reproduce and even increase their economic dependence on the leading centres of capitalism. "The major Arabian bourgeoisie, while developing under specific conditions of an "oil boom", is ever more becoming part of the world bourgeoisie and uses its economic and political supremacy for consolidating the capitalist foundations of their countries' development" (pp. 139-140). As a result, the gap between the capitalist and non-capitalist structures in widening, polarisation of Arab society is accelerating, including in terms of class composition.

Summing up the influence of the West on the socio-economic development of the oil monarchies, the authors note that the self-seeking policy of Western monopolies and the governments of imperialist states simply "exacerbates the difficulties of the transition period in the development of Arabian society, negatively affects the economic development of the subregional countries, and is conducive to the exacerbation of national, religious and class conflicts" (p. 154).

The West's policy and its true objectives in the Persian Gulf can also be traced through analysing the attitude of the USA and its partners towards the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has brought about a grave element of destabilisation in the region and around it. In stirring up the conflict, Washington is seeking to deepen the split in the Arab world and to neutralise Arab resistance to the American-Israeli plans in the Middle East. At the same time, Washington is using sharpening tensions in connection with the hostilities between Iran and Iraq "for an intensive buildup of US military presence in the Persian Gulf zone to preserve and defend by all means its own interests in the subregion" (p. 101).

The development of events in the Persian Gulf, the authors note, shows with ever growing evidence that despite the Arab countries' considerable dependence on the West there is growing indignation and discontent with the USA's imperial claims to the region and with the attempts to recolonise it. There, one is beginning to see ever more clearly the principled difference between the political lines pursued with regard to that region by the Soviet Union and the USA. The book emphasises that respect for sovereignty and independence, non-interference in internal affairs, and readiness for mutually beneficial cooperation as antithesis to threats of force, blunt diktat and to the predatory striving to seize others' oil represent those evident principles to which the Soviet Union firmly adheres.

It is only natural that in relief in the book is the policy of the USA in the Persian Gulf

zone. However, the work would doubtlessly be more comprehensive, if it contained a more detailed analysis of the line and actions by other imperialist states. Additional attention should have been devoted to the activities of the Council for Cooperation of Arab States in the Persian Gulf, to its role in the region, first of all with regard to cooperation with the West.

The book, on the whole, is vivid and interesting. But, for one, presentation is not always smooth, and, for another, some passages are fragmentary or overloaded with quotations. However, by way of compensation, political soundness combines with interesting descriptions of everyday life, which will be useful for expanding the Soviet reader's knowledge of the Persian Gulf region.

V. GUREV

Abandoning Trite Cliches

M. Lavigne, *Economie internationale des pays socialistes*, Armand Colin Editeur, Paris, 1985, 255 pp.

Most of the bourgeois publications dealing with the matters of the economy of the CMEA member countries present the economic situation there in a distorted light. The book under review by Marie Lavigne, a prominent French economist and a professor of the Paris University-I, who writes about the economy of the socialist countries, differs favourably from other publications on the same subject. While studying these issues for two decades now at the Centre of the Socialist Countries' External Economic Problems at the same university, which she has founded and heads, she has written and co-authored several monographs, a number of articles and surveys on the subject.

Naturally, we cannot agree with all the ideas and the propositions of the author. However, we cannot question her intent to objectively examine the external economic ties of the socialist countries and to probe into the processes observed in this field. The book heavily relies on publications produced by both Western researchers and scientists from the socialist countries.

In analysing the economic ties of the CMEA countries with the outside world, Lavigne pays particular attention to their involvement in the world economic processes in the 1970s and 1980s and to the problem of the complementary nature of the economy of the states belonging to the two different social systems against the backdrop of the East-West commercial and economic relations. Relying on her own statistical calculations and other researches the author draws the conclusion that in the past ten to fifteen years the socialist countries have noticeably extended their participation in the international division of labour (pp. 32-33, 45, 239-240).

At the same time, it is noted in the book that in the conditions of the profound economic crisis gripping the Western world since the middle of the past decade the numerous protectionist and other barriers erected, in particular, by the EEC countries are a serious impediment to the development of economic exchanges between the socialist and the capitalist states (especially in trade

in ready-made articles). According to Lavigne, the unified Common Market customs tariff is essentially discriminatory towards the CMEA countries, as are quantitative restrictions and the anti-dumping practices (pp. 114-118).

Such a policy of the West, Lavigne notes, consolidates the notorious "asymmetry", i. e. an undesirable warping in the East-West trade exchange, and this is happening in conditions when the sales of Western companies on the CMEA markets actually ensure employment for many workers in Western Europe. For instance, as the author recalls, the participation in the construction of the Urengoi-Uzhgorod gas pipeline has delivered a number of West-European firms from pending financial collapse (p. 169). Writing with regret that nowadays regular business contacts are only maintained with the socialist community countries by a limited number of Western companies and include a narrow range of commodities, the author reasonably links this with the fact that the ruling circles of the USA and the NATO countries have toughened their control over the exports to the CMEA member states.

Throughout the book the author reiterates that the Soviet Union is an "ideal partner for the West", taking into account its capacious market, well-known solvency and reliability as a supplier (p. 53). Lavigne advocates the restoration of detente and intensive development of the mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states of the two different systems. To substantiate this tenet she points out objective factors which underlie the long-term interest of the West European countries in expanding trade and economic relations with the socialist community states.

In this connection, the author writes, in particular, that with the intensifying competition and the mounting protectionism such a promising form of East-West cooperation like industrial cooperation is being developed insufficiently (p. 72). Lavigne is quite critical of the blockades, embargoes and sanctions used by the USA and its NATO allies in their relations with the East, especially the extension of the "black-lists" for exports to the CMEA countries by the US Administration. Thereby, she stated, these actions undermine the opportunity of expanding East-West trade exchanges (pp. 113-114).

For instance, as is stated in the book, it is easier for the Soviet Union to solve the

problem of buying what it needs on the grain market than for the USA to find new buyers of American grain. Therefore, the author notes, the effectiveness of Washington's trade sanctions, for all their intents and purposes, is practically nil, while it was the American farmers who have sustained considerable losses of at least \$5,000 million. It is not by chance that the Soviet-US agreement on grain deliveries signed in August 1983 contains a special anti-embargo clause (pp. 185-189).

Washington's line towards discrimination in trade with the CMEA countries imposed by it on the West-Europeans, as Lavigne proves, invokes legitimate dissatisfaction on their part, the more so since they in Western Europe understand all too well that the USA plays an insignificant part in the sale of technology to the socialist states. Besides, the US suppliers spare no efforts in pushing the exports of their grain and other agricultural produce to the markets in the third countries, unceremoniously elbowing out the traditional West-European sellers (p. 189).

In connection with the arguments and squabbles between the USA and its overseas partners over trade discrimination in regard to the socialist community countries, the author reminds us that even NATO experts had to admit the inefficiency of the sanctions against the Soviet Union (p. 138). Marie Lavigne dwells on mass-scale pressure exerted by Washington on the smaller countries of Western Europe most dependent on US technologies and the deliveries by the American firms of the necessary components and parts. As is noted in the book, the business community in Western Europe is coming out increasingly in favour of those who justifiably warn of excessive dependence on the US technology (pp. 167, 171-172).

Paying particular attention to the problems of trade and economic relations between the CMEA countries and the developing states, the author does not hush up the real scale of the effective aid provided by the CMEA members to the newly free countries. As she writes, in the early 1980s the size of the aid on the part of the Soviet Union was higher than the standards elaborated by the UN (p. 85-86).

By exposing the myth currently heard in the West alleging that East-West trade and economic relations are based primarily on credits, Lavigne stresses that the existing

"consensus" of the capitalist countries as regards export credits to the socialist states is not to France's and other West-European countries' advantage since it virtually blocked, beginning from 1981-1982, an opportunity to sign large-scale contracts with the Soviet Union (p. 211).

We would repeat that we cannot agree with all the ideas advanced in the book. For instance, it exaggerates the importance of trade with the West for the socialist countries and the technological lagging of the CMEA countries behind the West, although

the author admits that it "is quite difficult to appraise it" (pp. 122-125). It seems, however, that on the whole the new work by Marie Lavigne proves that there exists in the French scientific community the tendency to discard the bourgeois stereotypes and a biased approach in favour of a more realistic appraisal of the problems connected with the external economic ties of the socialist community countries with the capitalist and the developing states.

V. PRESNYAKOV

An Argument in Favour of Detente

Raymond L. Garthoff, *Detente and Confrontation. American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1985, XVI+1147 pp.

The book under review contributes to a better understanding of the processes observed in the world arena, the more so because it differs from a wide range of other studies on Soviet-American relations offered by US bourgeois political scientists, who customarily review only isolated aspects of these relations, by its fundamental and specific approach.

Its author is a recognised expert well-known in diplomatic and academic quarters. He was one of the key figures on the American "team" at the SALT-1 talks and later on made his mark in diplomacy as US Ambassador to Bulgaria, in particular. In 1980, he became a participant in the policy-research programme at the Brookings Institution in Washington and published two monographs: *The Perspectives on the Strategic Balance* (1983), and *Intelligence Assessment and Policymaking: A Decision Point in the Kennedy Administration* (1984).

In his new book Raymond L. Garthoff set himself three basic tasks: to study the development of the US-Soviet relations over the decade and a half from 1969 till 1984 with the aim of ascertaining what was actually going on and why; to study the factors that contributed to the improvement of relations in the period of detente in the early 1970s, its sharp deterioration in the second half of the decade, and attempts to

draw up a US policy line vis-à-vis the USSR in the 1980s as well as to draw conclusions from this experience which could be used in US policy-making in the future (p. 23).

Many American publications display a schematic approach to evaluating relations between the two states as if in a "zero option" game when the winnings of one of the opposing parties automatically offsets the losses of the other. As a result, this "equation" leaves out any variants when both sides can win or, on the contrary, risk losing everything.

The study by Garthoff makes clear the fallacy of this simplified, one-dimension picture of the Soviet-American relations. As the author asserts, in the nuclear age, particularly in conditions of the military-strategic parity, which had taken shape by the 1970s, the interdependence of the political destinies of the two powers has grown so considerably that any step towards exacerbating confrontation between them increases the danger for the very existence of the planet. "Rocking the boat" is fraught with the loss of life of all its "passengers".

The author convincingly shows that the multiplicity of the political life at the present stage in the development of international relations is considerably exacerbating the problems of world strategic stability and

that in the past decade and a half regional conflicts more than once nudged the relations between the USSR and USA to a pernicious level.

In particular, in analysing the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1973 Garthoff notes that the Soviet-American effective "cooperation" allowed to prevent that crisis from developing into a large-scale military conflict. As the author believes, these concerted actions could become a "harbinger of great future collaboration by the two super-powers in working toward a resolution of the Israeli-Arab-Palestinian problem" (p. 406).

However, the author is obviously overestimating the "peace-making principle" in the policy pursued by Washington. It is a well-known fact that it has declared the Middle East a zone of its "vital interests" and is not overscrupulous in resorting to nuclear blackmail, while the USSR is a strong advocate of a comprehensive peaceful settlement in that region, does not pursue any selfish interests, and does not seek any unilateral advantages. Therefore, the way out of the 1973 Middle East crisis found as a result of the joint efforts of the USSR and the USA should be rather qualified as a serious test of detente which it stood than a model of the Soviet-American cooperation deserving to be reproduced and disseminated.

In his attempts to evaluate the events of international life as if from above, from the standpoint of bourgeois objectivism, Garthoff presents the positions of the sides in detail, with excessive punctiliousness. In fact, this seeming "full impartiality" of the author is based on the notorious concept of "equal responsibility of the superpowers" and consequently cannot provide an objective answer to the legitimate question: who is the instigator of a new spiral in the arms race?

Meanwhile there are many examples showing how the Soviet Union took steps unilaterally to check the arms race. However, the author is attempting to avoid drawing any definite conclusions from them. At the same time, he does not want to side with those representatives of the American bourgeois thought who are striving to put the blame for the erosion of detente on the Soviet Union. He writes that "the United States almost completely ignored the Soviet move toward military detente. Even when noticed it was usually dismissed as propaganda or attempted misinformation" (p. 785).

Attempting to show a way out of the period of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union which has become the basic feature of the policy of the President, the author notes that "the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union has at all times been a mix of competition and cooperation. Competition was active even at the height of detente, while some elements of cooperation have been present even when confrontation has been dominant" (p. 1009). In other words, in comparing the two periods of the Soviet-American relations the author is not over-enthusiastic about detente; at the same time he does not believe that confrontation is an irreversible phenomenon. The author appeals to make use of all the positive aspects of bilateral relations for confidence-building.

Garthoff shows a realistic approach to the difficulties involved in the revival of detente and admits that it would be useful to abandon certain illusions. And, on the contrary, in his view "what is not useful—indeed is dangerous—is to resurrect in their place cold war myths and misperceptions" (p. 1090).

The opponents of detente frequently oppose it to the concepts of security and national interests. However, as the author justly asserts, "the true antipode to detente is not security or hardheaded national interest, but tension" (p. 1091). Indeed, the critics of detente constantly claim that the Soviet Union uses it in pursuance of its own goals. Why, the author asks, can't the United States stake on detente and negotiations? The opponents of detente cannot supply any satisfactory answer to these questions.

Garthoff sides with a rather wide group of American scholars, members of the establishment and the public who admit that proceeding from the national interests the USA should revive all the positive elements of detente and make a turn to the better in Soviet-American relations. He also advocates an honest and constructive dialogue between the two great powers, welcomes their steps towards each other and criticises all sorts of subterfuges and the attempts by Washington to mislead the public. In appraising the White House's response to the large-scale Soviet peace initiative of January 15, 1986 Garthoff, judging by press reports, admitted that the American counter-proposal could not serve as a sound basis for continuing the talks.

Thus, having posed the dilemma "detente or confrontation", the author favours detente in general. His approach to the present-day burning issues once again confirms that those American scholars who spare no effort in their careful study of the world developments, even from the positions of

bourgeois objectivism, can not but arrive at the conclusion that in our time the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente is the only sensible alternative to pushing mankind to a nuclear abyss.

S. CHUGROV

The Mercenary Recommendations of a TNC Proponent

T. A. Poynter, *Multinational Enterprises and Government Intervention*,
Croom Helm. London Sydney, 1985, 143 pp.

Recent years have witnessed rapid development of transnational capital which has brought about a sharp contradiction between it and national-state form of the political set-up of society. It is no mere accident that the TNCs' activities are scrutinised by the press in the capitalist world, and some of the authors are uneasy about the TNCs' expansion and try to find ways to restrict it, while others, besides attempting to embellish them, are at pains to ascribe to them a "civilising mission" and provide recommendations for beefing up their stability, boosting their profits, etc. The author of the book under review, a Canadian expert on business activities, belongs namely to the latter group.

Thomas A. Poynter asserts that the TNCs sustain considerable losses due to government meddling in their activities and a too passive opposition to this interference. The author writes that "in many situations, their approach has been one of reaction rather than a more pro-active, or at least prepared, management of intervention" (p. 5). In fact, the TNCs are incessantly putting pressure on the governments of the host countries with the aim of sidetracking restrictions which do not suit them. True, their pressure sometimes bears no fruit. However, in these cases the TNCs transfer their activities to the countries with a more favourable climate, or just avoid investing in the regions with a high risk of nationalisation or any kind of restrictions.

The author believes, however, that the TNCs should and can launch an offensive against the national governments. As he wrote "firms can introduce strategies to re-

duce undesired interference and, in addition, provide themselves with an accurate assessment of the risks involved. Intervention, in other words, can be managed" (p. 1). The author's intent was to provide the TNCs with recommendations as regards the regulation of state interference and, eventually, to draw up a "survival plan" (p. 2, 3, 5, 83).

The author describes the "underwater reefs" which are awaiting transnational capital. First of all, he warns the private investors about the heightened risk involved in investing in the developing countries that embarked on the non-capitalist way of development (p. 28). However, he does not dwell upon this subject since it is a well-known fact that relations between the TNCs and this group of countries are somewhat peculiar. The lack of internal resources and the attending circumstances make the socialism-oriented countries draw on foreign capital, including that of the TNCs. The latter, still, do invest despite the fact that in these countries foreign capital's activities are limited and controlled by the state. The author pays particular attention to the regions where, in his opinion, exist tangible opportunities for the TNCs to intervene in the domestic economic policy—the developed capitalist countries and the capitalism-oriented developing countries, in particular.

The author believes that any form of state control over foreign capital entails a certain risk for the TNCs. This includes restrictions on ownership or the nature of business, profit repatriation limitations, control over exports, and hard currency transactions,

price controls, the request to sell ready-made goods on the local market or the use of local resources, the replacement of foreign personnel by local workers specially trained, etc. (p. 14). Poynter believes that it is impossible to avoid such measures, but they have to be regulated.

Indeed, what is the "survival plan" offered by the author to the TNCs? In his opinion it is vital to consolidate their positions. With this aim in view he offers the following measures: first, the introduction of a new and more complex process technology with the use of modern material and machines; second, a significant expansion of exports; third, an increase in the amount of intra-TNC ties and cooperation with other TNCs. The author contends the following: "High complexity [of technology], a large amount of intra-TNC sourcing and high amount of exports—all increased the subsidiary's bargaining power and subsequently reduces the amount of intervention experienced" on the part of the state (p. 45). Simultaneously it is recommended that certain concessions be made which will not be so costly: for instance to changing the firm's name, hiring local clerks and technicians, introducing training programmes.

However, it is quite obvious that these recommendations are nothing but a plan for bolstering up "technological colonialism". The TNCs and their proponents have found sore spots in the economies of the developing countries. By laying their hands on the advances made in science and technology the TNCs tie down the national governments striving to put foreign capital under control.

Another aspect deserves mentioning. The author appeals to the TNCs to coordinate their operations and to pool their efforts in dealing with the national governments. The author makes no bones about the need to set up "a worldwide system of intervention management" (p. 113). There is a wide gap between the recommendations and their implementation. Still, one cannot underestimate the author's ideas, for they are threatening the struggle waged by the developing countries for economic independence.

The author says that the "survival plan", which rather deserves to be branded as an offensive plan, recommends that the TNCs boost their investments without fearing state intervention. Instead of reducing the assets and resources exposed to intervention, successful managements is now necessita-

ting policies which often increase asset exposure, the book indicates (p. 113). There is no doubt that, given the monopolisation of the progress achieved in science and technology, the growth of the TNC's investments will further curtail state intervention and strengthen the financial dependence of the developing countries on foreign capital.

The author also recommends that notice be taken of the interests of some social strata in the host countries, that is, state and political leaders, local businessmen, that they be contacted, which would supposedly help avoid taking decisions unfavourable for the TNCs or learn beforehand about planned actions. In other words, it is a matter of making some concessions to the local capital and the ruling groupings and, in a number of cases, of bribing some officials. This is nothing new for the TNCs, and they will easily survive without these instructions.

While covering the matters at hand the author displays his zeal in teaching, admonishing and intimidating national governments. For instance, he warns that "many, if not a majority of joint ventures are unstable or unprofitable" (p. 17). And the conclusion drawn naturally is that these governments should stay away from the nationalisation of, or taking part in, the TNCs' enterprises. He also asserts that the statesmen of the developing countries are not able to correctly estimate the contribution made by the TNCs to their national development since they are lacking sufficient data. In his opinion, they would have otherwise taken a different stand on the TNCs.

Poynter makes some promises to the developing countries. He states that "the benefits from the successful management of intervention are not one-sided" (p. 136), for the state of affairs which suits the TNCs should suit the national governments as well. Obviously, this assertion is at variance with reality. It is no secret that the TNCs made extensive use of the state-monopoly regulation when it brings in profit. However, when they detect the slightest threat to their profits they violently oppose it. Therefore, the TNCs' activities are becoming virtually unchecked and are a serious impediment to the drive of the developing countries to attain genuine independence. These activities are becoming the material basis for the neo-colonialist policy pursued by the USA and other imperialist states.

N. PANKOVA

Annotation

A. S. Dzasokhov, *Unity and Cooperation of the Anti-Imperialist National Liberation Forces*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1986, 252 pp.

This work is devoted to an analysis of problems connected with the struggle for unity and cooperation of the world anti-imperialist, democratic, revolutionary-liberation forces in the present period. Using extensive factual material the author gives a history of the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity from the moment of its inception right up to the last several years.

An important feature of the peoples' solidarity movement in both continents is its anti-colonialist character. The author uses three indices in his analysis of this: chronological, regional and thematical. This enables him to show the deep time and space dimensions of the modern development of the solidarity movement, reveal its essential problems, show the dynamics of the activities of the various contingents in the national liberation struggle—from the peoples' struggle led by the communist parties in Indochina to the Arab and African peoples' movements. This book illustrates how these peoples' anti-imperialist solidarity was moulded, how their unity with all modern revolutionary forces was formed. Revolutionary democracy, an important component of the present-day revolutionary movement, is also touched upon.

Unifying the actions of the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the nuclear threat, against a new world war, is one of the most important tasks facing the solidarity movement at the present stage. "A war fought with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons presents a real threat of totally annihilating civilisation on a world scale",—emphasises the author (p. 127), convincingly demonstrating that the world public is growing more deeply aware of this—not only the people in the developed capitalist countries, but in the developing countries as well. A more mature approach to the problems of war and peace has propelled the struggle against the nuclear threat waged by the Afro-Asian countries, the anti-war and anti-imperialist activities of the Asian and African peoples' solidarity movement has intensified.

In the book special attention is devoted

to problems of economic independence and social progress in the developing countries. "A historically short period (1970s to the early 1980s) has seen real improvement in the understanding of influential public forces in the Afro-Asian countries of world economic problems," the author notes. It has become common knowledge and the world progressive forces have substantially contributed to this—that the trouble lies not in some partial shortcomings but in the viciousness of the entire system of unequal economic ties established by capitalism, ties which are now going through a deep crisis and degradation. The exploitive character of these ties and the necessity to radically reform them is becoming ever more obvious to those fighting for independence. As a result, the more consistent fighters against imperialism are taking anti-capitalist positions.

Using as an example the solidarity movement, notes the author, it is obvious that with the transformation of socialism into a world system, the revolutionary potentials of the national liberation struggle have sharply increased. At the same time national emancipation of the former colonial peoples meets the class interests of the socialist states and the international proletariat. This creates one of the important premises for anti-imperialist unity of modern revolutionary forces.

Special attention in this book is devoted to a concrete analysis of the activities of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO). The important role played by the AAPSO in the development of organised forms of the anti-imperialist movement, in the unity and cohesion of the Asian and African peoples in the struggle to consolidate independence, for peace, democracy and social progress, is being revealed. The author feels that in the future the deepening cooperation between the AAPSO and the national solidarity organisations and the public in the socialist countries may become an important factor in improving the AAPSO's political line.

A. VASILYEV

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PEOPLE'S MONGOLIA ☆ "THE LAND OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY": MYTHS AND REALITIES ☆ BRITISH CITIES IN CRISIS ☆ THE SOUTHERN BRIDGEHEAD OF AGGRESSION ☆ THE AMAZON BASIN

The Achievements of People's Mongolia

In July of the current year, the Mongolian working people celebrated a momentous date in the life of their country: 65 years of the victory of the people's revolution. It was of an anti-imperialist, antifeudal, popular and democratic nature and ushered in the road to Mongolia's economic and social rebirth, which at that juncture was one of the most backward countries in Asia. The Third Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) in 1924 drew up the general line of the country's advancement towards socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage.

In the past years, leaning on all-round assistance from the Soviet Union and on cooperation with it, and then with other countries of the socialist community as well, the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), in which before the revolution feudal relations reigned supreme, has scored tremendous successes in all spheres of economic, social and cultural life and proved the advantages of the chosen way of development. The MPR has won great prestige on the international scene; it maintains diplomatic relations with more than 90 states and trade ties with over 30 states. Mongolia is a member of the UN and takes part in the activities of a number of international organisations.

The republic's economy develops on a planned basis. 1985 saw the successful fulfilment of the 7th five-year plan (1981-1985) for developing the national economy and culture, which became an important stage in the creation of a material and technological basis of socialism and in the turning of the MPR into an industrial-agrarian country. In 1985 Mongolia's gross social product was 16 times higher than in 1940; the produced national income, more than 12 times; the gross output of industry, almost 50 times; the freight turnover of all kinds

of transport, 586 times; the volume of construction and installation work, 197 times; and the turnover of retail sales, 21 times.

Great successes have been scored in the field of socialist industrialisation. While prior to the revolution the country had practically no industry, at present Mongolia possesses a whole complex of extractive and manufacturing industries. From year to year the role of industry in social production grows. Besides the traditional branches of the light and food industry based on the processing of agricultural raw materials, the electric-power, coal, mining, woodworking, chemical and building materials industries are successfully developing. The share of means of production in the gross industrial output constitutes at the present time more than 55 per cent. The mining, electric-power, textile, knitted wear, and food industries are developing most rapidly. The distribution of industry across the country is being perfected. With assistance from the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, such major industrial centres as Ulan Bator, Darhan, Choybalsan, Erdenet, Baganur, and others have been created.

Radically changed is the image of Mongolia's agriculture, traditional branch of the economy, represented nowadays by the two forms of socialist property (state and cooperative). By 1985 the republic's agriculture had at its disposal 10,800 tractors (1,700 in 1960), 2,600 grain harvesters (1,100 in 1960). Over the past 25 years electric power consumption in agriculture has grown 35-fold. The main sector of agriculture is livestock-breeding, which accounts for about 75 per cent of all agricultural output. The number of cattle in the MPR tops 22 million head. Major work is being done on securing an adequate fodder

base, on consolidating the veterinary and pedigree services, on the construction of livestock buildings, and on pasture irrigation. During the past 25 years, the production of meat in the republic has increased by 26 per cent, that of milk, by 14 per cent, of sheep wool, by 28 per cent, of eggs, by almost 13 times.

Considerable successes have been scored in the development of a new branch in Mongolia — crop-growing — which has been developed with the Soviet Union's assistance. At present, the area of land under crop constitutes more than 750,000 hectares, or 2.8 times more than in 1960. Last year there was a record harvest of cereals, amounting to 889,000 tons. The need for grain is being fully satisfied. Also being successfully cultivated are potatoes, vegetables and fodder crops.

Important for boosting agriculture are the measures envisaged by the 1985 goal-oriented programme for the development of agriculture and for improved food supply to the Mongolian population.

The economic successes of People's Mongolia in recent years are evident, however there still exist unresolved problems in the development of its national economy of both an objective and subjective character. These questions were dealt with in detail in the speech by Jambyn Batmönh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, at the 11th Plenary Meeting of the MPRP Central Committee in December 1985. He pointed that plans for commissioning a number of construction projects were not fulfilled, funds were scattered, that in the past five-year plan period the fixed capital return in a number of industrial branches was decreased, that schedules for supplies of raw and other materials were not met, that material expenditures in the national economy have grown, that installed capacities in industry and agriculture have been inadequately used, that plans for labour productivity growth at some of the enterprises were not fulfilled and that in a number of instances labour discipline and responsibility have not corresponded to the contemporary requirements. By eliminating such shortcomings and mobilising all economic reserves the republic can boost its economic development.

The successes in the development of the national economy bring about prerequisites for a constant rise in the material and cul-

tural level of working people, which constitutes one of the basic gains of the people's revolution and the most important goal of the socio-economic policy of the MPRP and the Mongolian government. In the 7th five year plan period alone the per capita real incomes rose by 12 per cent as a result of the measures aimed at raising the well-being of the people. There is a rise in purchasing capacity, and supply to the internal market of various food and industrial consumer goods is improving. Sale of durables is growing especially fast. At the same time, the supply of some foodstuffs does not yet meet the growing demand for them.

One of the most important gains of the social policy pursued by the party and the MPR government is the creation of a public health system. By 1985 for every 10,000 of the population there were 110 hospital beds, which is higher than the average figure for all CMEA countries. Medical care is improving; the number of doctors and other medical personnel is growing. At present there are 23 doctors per 10,000 of the population, as compared with 1.5 doctors in 1940.

On the eve of the revolution, less than one per cent of the population in Mongolia were literate. Now, in the MPR there are 2,700 students in various educational establishments per 10,000 of the population. In this indicator, the MPR has attained the average level of the CMEA member-countries and outstripped many of the developed capitalist countries.

Active measures are being taken in the republic to improve housing conditions. In the past five-year period alone housing construction amounted to a total of 870,000 sq. m.

Graphic evidence of the rising material and cultural level is the average life span of the population which at present amounts to 68 years — as compared with less than 30 years in pre-revolutionary Mongolia.

One of the most important factors of the historic gains of the MPR during the years of people's power is its all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, with the Soviet Union first and foremost. Assisted by the Soviet Union, Mongolia, back in the pre-war years, laid down the foundations of national industry, of modern transportation, undertook geological prospecting, introduced machinery into farming. The enterprises built in the MPR with the Soviet Union's technical and economic as-

sistance produce more than half of all the country's industrial output, 95 per cent of the electrical energy, 81 per cent of the coal, 85 per cent of flour, 100 per cent of the scoured wool, the fabrics, the felt, the mixed fodder, the copper and the molybdenum concentrates.

After it joined CMEA in 1962, the MPR obtained the possibility to resolve tasks involved in building socialism by way of coordinating its own economic plans with those of the fraternal countries, while widely using the advantages of the socialist division of labour.

Recently the regular 19th Session of the MPRP outlined the broad programme for Mongolia's social-economic development for the next, 8th five-year plan, having underscored the special significance of raising the national economy's effectiveness and intensification of the maximum mobilisation of resources. The gains made by the Mongolian workers are an important contribution to completing the construction of socialism's material and technological basis in the country with the help of the fraternal socialist countries.

L. POTEKINA

"The Land of Equal Opportunity": Myths and Realities

"I see the world as a big apple: take it and bite". This is the motto of an American multimillionaire, John Zachariah de Loreign. When he was arrested for drug-trafficking he did not think twice before coughing up a ten-million-dollar deposit to be released on bail so that nothing would interfere with his luxuriating in his estate near San Diego. Still, Loreign is not among the richest men in the USA. According to the *Forbes* magazine the richest man is "store king" Samuel Moor Walton from Bentonville (Arkansas) «worth» \$2,800 million followed by R. Perot who has lined his pockets with profits obtained from computer production for the Pentagon and Californian David Packard, founder and President of the Board of Hewlett-Packard Co. also mainly working for the Department of Defense. The list of 400 super-rich and rich people comprises the real "bosses" of America: Rockefellers, Fords, Hunts, Duponts, Mellons, Hersts, Cabots, Kennedys and other multi-millionaire dynasties in the USA.

Today the precipice separating the millions of ordinary Americans and the families of multimillionaires has deepened still further. The number of the super-rich has grown from 12 to 14 and their aggregate fortunes have increased by \$ 9,000 million to reach \$ 134,000 million, the savings of all other Americans in the banks amount to \$ 125,000 million, and one should take into account that for the most part this figure includes the holdings of well-to-do Americans.

It was the capital of the «invisible kings» of the USA which guaranteed the present Administration's victory in the fight for the White House, whose head without concealing his admiration for Big Business, declared that his Cabinet would be a carbon copy of a board of directors. Quite naturally, the America of the rich provided the present Washington «team» with all the necessary financial backing and also gave it all its votes. T. Edsall, an American economist, wrote in his book *The New Policy of Inequality* that in the 1980 Presidential campaign, 64 per cent of the voters with high incomes and 75 per cent of those with super-high incomes voted for Ronald Reagan. After the elections one of the biggest American monopolists, E. Dixon, noted that they finally found someone who thinks like a businessman.

In his day Abraham Lincoln had declared that the American government was "of the people, by the people and for the people". In our time, to paraphrase the words of the great President, the United States' government is «of the rich, by the rich and for the rich». The present Administration has already been nicknamed the «government for millionaires» or the «rich man's club».

The Administration's top officials believe it quite natural to advertise their affiliation with the top strata. This fully corresponds to their idea of what America should be like. USIA Director Charles Wick once stated that these people had made their

fortune with their own hands, and have achieved the American dream, that it is pleasant for the economically unfortunate Americans to look at the smart life-style of the members of the Washington Administration, as in the old days it was pleasant for those suffering from the Great Depression of the 1930s to watch the Hollywood stars.

Having received a kind of «mandate» from the rich for the protection of their interests, the Administration has resolutely set about its business. According to T. Edsall, in the 1980-1984 period the actual incomes of the least prosperous families had dropped on the average by 10 per cent, while those of the richest families accounting for 10 per cent of the country's population had climbed by 30 per cent. According to the Congressional Budget Bureau the Administration's reforms, which have been christened a "most-favoured-nation treatment" for the monopolies by the American press, are depriving each poor man of \$390 on the average annually. These reforms bring to those with an annual income exceeding \$80,000 another \$8,270 annually.

According to that Bureau, since the start of the rule of "the millionaire club" low-income families have lost altogether \$23,000 million while the families with high incomes have gotten richer by \$35,000 million. The head of the Washington Administration squeezes out every last cent from the poor so that the rich will become still richer. As a result, as was noted in the study conducted by the Center for Budget and Political Priorities, the distribution of the national wealth among Americans is the most unfair since 1947. At present, 1 per cent of the US populace controls 25 per cent of the national wealth, holds 72 per cent of the shares of industrial corporations and 47 per cent of securities (bonds, bills of exchange, etc.).

Compared to the wealthy America flaunting its luxury, information on the other America—the land of the unemployed, the needy, the hungry and the homeless—produces a dismal impression. According to official statistics about 34 million Americans cannot survive on their own incomes. According to public organisations, since the present Administration took office the army of destitute people caught in the "poverty trap" in the richest country of the capitalist world has grown by 8 million people and now stands at 47 million. Over those years the share of the have-nots comprised 10 to 11 per cent of the total population.

Since 1980 the poverty level has risen to 19 per cent.

The official Washington, manipulating statistics, attempts to prove that it is not that bad; as *The New York Times* wrote, the poor nowadays are not so poor. And the powers that be resort to blatant defamation of the people thrown by the board of life, claiming that almost all of them are alcoholics, drug addicts and schizophrenics. Indeed, many of them are degraded living in desperation. Some of them are ill. For example, every fourth homeless man and every third woman suffer from serious psychic disorders. However, is it not American reality itself which has made them so?

Those Americans who have lost their bearings in the years of the present Administration and have found themselves at the bottom of the society of "equal opportunities" make the backbone of the "new" poor. As was noted by CBS among the losers are thousands of family farms which have gone bankrupt in the past few years, the national minorities, many thousands of small businessmen brought to ruin as a result of the economic slump. The unemployment level is now somewhat lower than it was three or four years ago. However, it is extremely high—eight million people. The trade unions consider the correct figure to be 15 million, justifiably noting that official data does not include the millions of part-time workers who, consequently, earn less, and those who have despaired of finding a job and have stopped registering at the unemployment offices. And only 38 per cent of those deprived of an opportunity to work receive unemployment benefits.

The chronic ailment of capitalism—unemployment—engenders another problem—the problem of the homeless. Here, too, attempts have been made to falsify the real state of affairs presenting most of the homeless as single old people. In actual fact, according to Representative Gary Ackerman, the "typical" homeless person today is 34 years of age. In 21 per cent of the cases they are whole families with children, 13 per cent are single women. More than a half of those who do not have a roof over their heads are school graduates and 30 per cent have attended college. In 1985 there were 60,000 homeless people in New York, and it is expected that this figure will swell by 10,000 to 12,000 this year.

According to the organisation, the US Conference of Mayors, up to 4 million of

those Americans who have lost their jobs and homes are roaming from one place to another looking for means of subsistence. Almost all homeless in the USA are deprived of any rights. In fact, they are not even citizens in their own country. The rigid settlement qualification existing in the USA actually deprives them of an opportunity to take part in elections, Presidential elections in particular.

And if they did, it is hardly possible that anybody would listen to their voices. Indeed, the powers that be in the USA have failed to regard the poor as human beings, cynically

asserting that in American society success, that is, a sizable bank account, depends exclusively on the "capacity for work and the drive" of a person. They simply turn a cold shoulder to those millions of people who are deprived of the very opportunity to work, to live in decent conditions, to sleep in their own apartments, rather than on park benches, to have enough food instead of going hungry. Indeed, for the US ruling class the ideals, the values, and the purpose in life are to procure multimillion dollar profits.

P. VOLPYANSKY

British Cities in Crisis

The wave of rioting that swept the British cities of Birmingham, Liverpool and London last autumn spotlighted one of the most aching problems in Britain—a crisis of its cities. Although the Conservative government hastened to describe the participants in the tough clashes with the police as "ordinary hooligans", even bourgeois press admitted that these conflicts had social underpinnings, in the first place. In the wake of violence in Birmingham, the *Guardian* wrote that irrespective of whether white or black, jobless or partially employed, the participants in the clashes were members of the miserable and destitute sub-class of urban ghettos in present-day Britain. What was the newspaper hinting at?

The grave economic crisis plaguing Great Britain today has plunged the living standards of the broad popular masses to their lowest level since the Second World War. According to the latest statistics, a third of the population earn incomes that are below the official "poverty line", whereas the privileged one-fifth of the population accounts for nearly a half of all the wages and salaries paid in the country. Unemployment has reached a record high—official estimates put it at more than 3 million, while the unofficial estimate is 5 million. As much as 41.3 per cent of the people denied the right to work have been without a job for more than a year. Twenty-two out of the fifty most backward areas in the European Economic Community are in Britain.

Most of these areas are located in Northern and Central England, where steel-making, heavy machine-building, shipbuilding and the textile industry had thrived since

last century, making Britain the richest country in the capitalist world. The fast decline of these "traditional" industries after the Second World War is one of the root causes of crisis in British cities. For example, the number of jobs in the manufacturing industry dropped by a third in Birmingham between 1978 and 1984, leaving 16 per cent of the able-bodied population in that centre of the motor industry in the past without a job. In Liverpool, piers, shipyards and warehouses are idle along the 20-kilometre stretch of the Mersey, with the unemployment level having topped 21 per cent in Merseyside. Formerly a world centre of the wool industry, Bradford is rated as a "poverty zone", in which 37,000 of its 464,000 inhabitants are out of work, and a third of its families live off benefits paid under social insurance programme.

According to some estimates the North accounts for 64 per cent of all jobs closed in Britain since 1977. It takes Northerners 2.5 times as much effort to find a job as it does people in Southern areas where high-technology industries have been burgeoning. Public opinion polls reveal that 10 out of every 100 people living in the North have not enough to eat. A worker in Canterbury, in the Southeast, draws on the average 30 pounds a week more than his counterpart in Leeds, in the North. The unevenness in the development of the North and the South of the country, typical of capitalism generally, is so great that the sensation-hungry *Sun* called Great Britain a "Disunited Kingdom". There is much truth in this statement.

In the past few decades, the successive Labour and Conservative governments have

been giving little thought to a new social phenomenon—degeneration of major industrial centres and surrounding areas into enclaves with stagnating industries and thousands of idle hands. Moreover, the Conservatives speeded up the “disunification of the kingdom” at the city level by making the rich still richer and the poor even poorer. Highly indicative in this respect is the Liquidation Bill, under which the Greater London Council was disbanded and the councils of six other major cities in Britain—Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool and Newcastle, that is, the industrial centres hit hardest by the economic crisis, are to follow suit. In the expert view, the abolition of the local authorities in these cities will aggravate the housing problem still further, in the first place, because there will virtually be no one left to take care of the homeless.

Tens of thousands of homeless people live in London, where thousands of hotel accommodations are vacant. As a rule, these are people without a job, who have no money to pay rent, and people coming to the British capital in the hope of finding a job. Some of them are lucky to put up in a doss-house, such as the Bruce House, built early in this century, and never repaired ever since. In Reuther's view, this is a typical British doss-house, inhabited by some 400 people, 10 per cent of whom are sick with tuberculosis. There is, however, a much greater number of homeless who sleep on the underground's ventilation grates and on benches.

Those of the poor classes who have their own lodging are scarcely better off. In London again, some 240,000 houses have been declared unfit for living, and another 239,000 lack bathrooms, lavatories and hot water, and yet another 480,000 are in dangerous disrepair. According to the Greater London Council, every fourth house in the capital is either unsuitable for living or lacks basic conveniences. This is a common picture for the cities in North and Central England as well. In Manchester, for one, 50 houses have collapsed since 1975.

Many poverty-stricken areas, or “ghetto-cities” as they are presently called, have histories of their own. Some twenty years ago, the British authorities came up with a plan to build a block of flats for the poor within the affluent quarters in an attempt, they claimed, to “smooth out class antagonisms”. The result, however, went against all their expectations. The “ghetto-

cities” became a focus of Britain's innumerable misfortunes. Whereas the average unemployment rate runs at 16 per cent in Birmingham, it soars to 36 per cent in its ghetto, Handsworth, being the highest, all of 50 per cent, among the youth. Manchester has an average redundancy at about the same rate as Birmingham, but its “inner cities” register a 50 per cent unemployment overall, with 70 per cent of its young men out of work. The report recently published by an Anglican Church ad hoc commission puts the jobless rate at as high as 80 per cent in some “poverty-stricken areas”.

Characteristically, most of the “ghetto-cities” dwellers are black immigrants from former British colonies (they make up nearly all the population in London's Brickston and Liverpool's Toxtet, and 60 per cent of Handsworth). This fact adds a racial flavour to the critical social issue.

Britain is notorious for its widespread discrimination because of skin colour: unemployment is twice as high among “coloureds” as among the white population, and an Asiatic worker earns 18 pounds a week less than a white British citizen, while a West Indian's pay is 20 pounds less. According to the *Birmingham Post*, only 99 of the 1,434 school leavers, a mere 8 of them black, in July 1985 could find a job. Many other British cities under a crisis fare no better.

Unemployment and poverty inevitably boost the crime rate, which has assumed dangerous proportions in economically backward areas. Understandably, the economically depressed cities in Northern and Central England and London lead the country in crime incidence. The British capital holds first place in the number of street robberies. Newcastle leads in the number of car thefts, Merseyside is unchallenged in burglaries, etc. In most instances, crimes are committed against poor neighbourhood dwellers. Here is some evidence from Italian journalists working for the *Panorama* magazine, who ventured into the Liverpool “ghetto”: “People are afraid of living in 12-storey or higher houses build a mere 30 years ago: hooligans damage lifts and lay ambushes in stairways, so families cannot leave their flats for days.”

Crisis in its cities is not recent experience for Britain. It is the logic result of crisis rocking British bourgeois society as a whole.

D. VOSKOBOINIKOV

The Southern Bridgehead of Aggression

[NATO's South European Theatre of Operations]

The armed forces of the European NATO members, as well as US and Canadian troops stationed in Western Europe, are attached to three theatres of operations—the Central European, South European and North European. Today we will examine NATO's South European (SE) theatre of operations.*

The SE theatre covers NATO's southern flank, namely Italy, Greece, Turkey, the Mediterranean, the Sea of Marmora and the southern part of the Black Sea. The allied armed forces on this theatre are made up of the contingents detached by NATO members. Western press reports put their strength at more than 1.1 million officers and men (up to 30 divisions, 25 detached brigades and regiments, and units of different arms and services detached by Italy, Turkey and the United States). The allied armed forces have over 1,000 aircraft, 6,700 tanks, some 500 warships and auxiliary vessels. To be fair, we must note that the Greek armed forces are included in the SE theatre's total strength only with certain reservations because Greece had formally withdrawn from NATO's military organisation.

A US admiral, with his staff in Naples (Italy), is commander-in-chief of the SE theatre. He exercises the overall guidance of the allied land forces command in the southern sector of the SE theatre, the allied land forces command in the southeastern sector of the theatre, the theatre's allied NATO air force command, the allied NATO naval command in the theatre, and the naval strike command in the theatre. The fragmentation of NATO commands in the theatre is due to its geographical features (great length, intermixture of land and seas) and controversies between bloc members, primarily those between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus and the Aegean Sea.

The land forces in the southern sector of the theatre are made up of three Italian army corps and the US south European grouping (4 divisions, 8 detached brigades and 5 battalions of tactical and battlefield

missiles). The units attached to this command are deployed in northern Italy mainly along the Yugoslavian and Austrian borders. The Italian units have a double subordination: administratively to the Italian land forces general staff, and operationally to the allied commander of the southern sector of the theatre. NATO planners hold that the chief mission of this command will be, in case of war, to hit the socialist countries lying to the east and to give support to the right wing of the main group of forces in the central European theatre.

The land forces in the southeastern sector of the theatre include Greek and Turkish contingents. The Greek one is made up of 9 infantry divisions (including 3 reserve divisions) and an armoured brigade. The Turkish contingent has: 16 divisions, 16 detached brigades and 4 training divisions. The deployment of Turkish troops shows that they are to operate exclusively against the USSR and Bulgaria. NATO strategists have drawn up plans to set up one more command within this theatre. The command is to control Greek ground troops and be independent of the regional staff run by Turkish generals in Izmir. Larissa (Greece) has been chosen to host the staff of the new command, but these NATO plans still remain on paper because of the special stand taken by Greece which had formally withdrawn from NATO's military structure.

The NATO air force in the SE theatre is made up of two unified tactical commands—the fifth and the sixth. The former is commanded by an Italian officer and comprises 15 Italian and one American (Aviano-based) air squadrons. The latter is under an American officer and includes two Turkish air armies and one US air squadron based at Chigli, Turkey.

In peacetime, NATO's unified naval command in the SE theatre has practically nothing at its disposal, except troop control bodies (staffs and communications centres) in individual areas of the Mediterranean. The Italian, Greek, Turkish and British warships and naval units, designated for this command, are normally under their national commands and are to be transferred to NATO only on the eve of or upon the opening of hostilities.

* About the Central European theatre see *International Affairs*, No. 1, 1986.

FACTS AND FIGURES

NATO's naval strike force in the theatre is the 6th US Fleet commanded in peacetime by the chief commander of the US Navy in Europe. In case of war, the 6th Fleet is to be operationally subordinated to NATO's theatre allied commander in chief, also an American admiral. A specialised (coastal) Naples-based staff under the 6th Fleet's commander has the mission of coordinating operations within the North Atlantic alliance. The 6th Fleet comprises from 50 to 60 warships, including two aircraft carriers with 150 to 180 planes, half of which carry nuclear weapons.

To draw a fuller picture of the South European theatre of operations, mention should be made of NATO and Pentagon bases there.

In Italy there is a dense network of military airfields used mostly by the NATO and US air force units (e.g. Sigonella, Aviano, etc.). The warships of the 6th Fleet often drop anchor at naval bases in Naples, Livorno and Gaeta. NATO has seven large naval and air bases on Sardinia and these often host US forces. US land-based medium-range cruise missiles with high-yield nuclear warheads are deployed at Comiso (Sicily); US nuclear-powered submarines operating in the Mediterranean have a base on the Maddalena Island.

In Turkey there are over 25 large NATO

and US military installations: air force bases are located in Injirlik, Adana and Karamursel; naval bases in Izmir and Iskenдерun.

In Greece, US and NATO air force bases are located in Salonika and Athens, on Crete, Rhodes, Leros and Lennos, naval bases in Piraeus and on Crete. A fact to reckon with is that the Papandreou government plans to dismantle all foreign bases on Greek soil by 1988.

The British naval and air bases on *Cyprus* have been so actively used by the US armed forces that they can be justly called Anglo-American.

Concluding our examination of the South European theatre of operations, mention should be made of "special relations" between the United States and Israel which in Arab quarters is known as a "Mideast NATO member". Israel has earned this apt characteristic by its joint action with the USA, Britain, Italy and France against Lebanon (France, though not a member of NATO's military structure, has stepped up its participation in its ventures). The "multinational" NATO force brought death and destruction to Lebanese soil. The US and Israel also played hand in glove in organising military provocations against Libya in the spring of 1986.

V. VICTOROV

The Amazon Basin

Despite the fact that almost five hundred years have elapsed since Portuguese seafarer Pedro Alvares Cabral discovered Brazil there are quite a few blind spots in the Vera Cruz. Despite all the paraphernalia engendered by modern civilisation a man finding himself in the "green hell" can very well be regarded as a trailblazer.

Indeed, what is Amazonia? First of all it is a "unique case" from the ecologic and other points of view: it is the largest of the existing forests, a natural "oxygen plant". So, it is no mere accident that this area is labelled the "green lungs" of the planet. The trunks of Heveas and palms are shooting out of the soil and water whimsically interweaving with hundreds of other trees and bushes. There are so many species of animals and birds here that it is hardly possible that any of the largest zoos can accommodate all of them.

The basin of the most copious river on the Earth—the Amazon—claims some 60 per cent of the territory of Brazil. However, its western and south-west areas are already within the borders of the neighbouring countries—Bolivia, Peru, Equador, Colombia... If one does not take into account the political and administrative division of the area the Amazon basin should be regarded as a peculiar state which lives now according not to its own laws but to those that the man begins to make.

...On the left bank of the Rio Negro River and twenty kilometres away from its confluence with the Amazon there lies a "capital" of a kind of the Amazonia—a Brazilian town called Manaus. It is quite hard to imagine that this large city with modern buildings, smart hotels and skyscrapers, a city where a wide range of wares is manufactured—from rolled steel to com-

puters—is separated from the rest of the world by hundreds of miles of the impenetrable rain forest—selva. However, it is the reality created by human enterprise.

Unfortunately, the penetration into the jungle sometimes shows the seamy side. The process of gradual destruction of the “green lungs” of the globe has always been accompanied by the expansion of foreign, primarily American, capital in the region. Skyscrapers in the heart of Manaus display flashy ads for foreign companies. They came here to get what the mounted and the unmounted detachments of the Portuguese colonizers “banderantis” had been striving for four or five centuries ago. The “civilising mission” of the American and other Western monopolies is, for all intents and purposes, indistinguishable from the medieval barbarism as concerns its forms and essence....

If one regards Amazonia as a peculiar state there exist within it some “mini-states”—giant estates owned by foreign businessmen. One American millionaire, Daniel Ludwig, owned until recently an estate of three and a half million hectares bordering on the states Para and Amapa. On the European scale it is landed property equaling in size the territory of Holland. However, “project Jari” as this Amazon “mini-state” is called is not just a sizable piece of the jungle but a hub of various natural resources ranging from timber to boxites and gold. Thousands of labourers worked here, wood-pulp was made, planes took off and landed here. However, only the selva knows what Ludwig was involved in here thousands of miles away from his New York headquarters. The way to his holdings was strictly off limits to outsiders. At present, this strip of land is owned by a Brazilian businessman, Augusto di Azavedo Antunes. The latter is not mentioned otherwise as a “right-hand” of Ludwig who has decided to leave in order to... stay.

On one of the *fazendas* (a landed estate in Brazil) in the Para State one can see a well-known emblem—the letter V on a blue background. Is it really the West German Volkswagen Company? Indeed, it is. The world-famous “bugs” and other car models are rolling off its assembly lines. And here, at the *fazenda* they breed cattle, and Brazilian farm-hands are working from dawn to dusk on the farm.

The invasion of foreign businessmen gave birth to another “specimen” of the Amazon

vegetation—barbered wire encircling their estates. It is said that Americans alone hold about 20 million hectares of land. Here, where once the ax cleared the land for Hevea plantations yet another breed of businessmen is looking for the Firebird. The Amazon jungle is now luring foreigners not by Hevea latex but by the glitter of gold and other minerals. The notorious Anglo-American Corporation, which has accumulated a wealth of experience on the extraction of the yellow metal in South Africa, has recently been granted extensive rights on its mining.

The rapacious exploitation of the Amazon basin's natural resources has inflicted irreparable damage on the forest land which now looks like “shagreen hide” shrinking with every passing year. And the warnings that in time our planet will find itself in the possession of a “red desert” instead of the “green lungs” are not abstract or too far-fetched. This menace is, unfortunately, as real as the large-scale extermination of forests in the area is.

It has been estimated that the Amazon jungle has already irretrievably lost three million hectares of vegetation. Forests, especially in the Rondonia, Mato Grosso do Sul and Para, have thinned out. Some development projects in the Amazon basin carried out without due regard for ecological consequences are destroying the flora. For instance, the bosses of the company which had been contracted 15 years ago to build a “trans-Amazon super highway” running through the virgin selva were least of all concerned with the damage done to that region by large-scale cutting down and burning of the forest. As a result, the outlines of the ecological disaster hanging over the region have become even more obvious.

It would be unfair when speaking about the Amazon basin to sidetrack the issue of its native inhabitants—the Indians. The tragedy of this region is their tragedy. Once the jungle served them as a natural refuge, which had saved them from the total annihilation by the Portuguese colonizers. Today, they cannot even dream of this by-gone security. The aborigines have to leave their native parts if their land turns out to be to the liking of foreign or local businessmen “fazendeiros” or just adventure-seeking gold-diggers. And if they put up resistance

(Continued on page 144)

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

The forms of documents used in relations between states are most diverse—statements, addresses, notes, memoranda, letters, telegrammes, aide-memoires, communiques, and reports of official informational services. They include of course all those documents which are issued by the leadership of our country, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, the Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Soviet diplomatic missions abroad. There is also good reason to put on this list certain statements and reports by the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) made on behalf of the state authorities.

The states may also address their diplomatic documents (statements, declarations, letters, memoranda, etc.) to the United Nations. They are registered there as UN documents and are circulated among the organization's member-states.

The generally accepted forms of diplomatic documents often used in correspondence between diplomatic missions, as well as in contacts with the Foreign Ministry of the receiving country, are notes, memoranda, aides memoirs, and personal letters. There are two kinds of notes: verbal and personal. They differ in their forms of expression. The verbal note is written in the third person and unsigned, while the personal note is composed in the first person and is always signed. The word "verbal" takes its origin in the Latin word "verbalis" which means "oral", "in words". As applied to the verbal note the word implies that such note is equal to an oral statement or information. The verbal note is a rather popular and common form of diplomatic document. As any other document it may pertain to a serious question or refer to everyday routine matters—informing the Foreign Ministry of the receiving country about the arrival of a new staff-member of the mission or a delegation, asking for entry visas, etc.

The importance of any document is determined not so much by its form as by its content. It is up to the sender to choose the form of the document in each specific case. For instance, following the Second World War our press published verbal notes of the Soviet government on the German question, an acute problem at that time. The text of those notes often took up a whole newspaper page. In case there arises the need to react to a certain event which cannot be ignored by the mission it also uses the verbal note, however, in this case it may take the form of a protest.

The personal note may also refer both to a very important matter of principle and to a relatively minor problem, or simply contain a piece of information. For example, it is a fact that diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America were established through the exchange of personal notes between the President of the United States F. Roosevelt and the USSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. M. Litvinov. At the same time, the personal note can be sent, for instance, by the ambassador to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the receiving country informing him that the ambassador is leaving the country for vacation, or a mission, and who of the diplomatic staff is replacing the ambassador in the capacity of chargé d'affaires. Personal notes are sent by ambassadors to their colleagues, the heads of other diplomatic missions. They may convey congratulations on the appointment or election to an important state post, express condolences, etc.

Both personal and verbal notes are typed on a special stationery. The form always carries a painted or printed national emblem and the name of the sender (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mission, etc.).

According to tradition, the verbal note begins with an addressing sentence which has a unified form. For example, the verbal note of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia would begin as follows: "The Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and has the honour to inform that...". The personal note starts with the following address: "Mr. (Comrade)

Minister" or "Your Excellency". Both notes end with a concluding compliment (a formula of expressing respect to the addressee): "The Embassy avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry its assurances of its highest consideration" (in the verbal note); "Please, accept, Your Excellency, my assurances of my highest consideration", or simply "Respectfully Yours" (in the personal note.) The verbal note has a mastic official stamp, while the personal note has none; the verbal note bears the number, and sometimes the index attributed to the sender, while the personal note has none.

The memorandum is another, less frequently used form of diplomatic document. Usually, such document describes the factual or legal aspects of a major problem. The memorandum may contain a substantial background on the historical roots of a problem and its development, on the position of the sides, the argumentation and the proposals of the sender. As compared to notes, the memorandum has neither address, nor concluding compliment. To illustrate this, one can cite the memoranda on various aspects of disarmament, sent by the Soviet Union to the United Nations.

If the memorandum is presented as a separate document, it is usually printed in note form (for instance, on the note form of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). In case it is sent with a cover letter or a note it is printed on a note form or just on a thick sheet of paper.

As far as the form of an "aide-memoire" is concerned, its name speaks for itself. It is printed on regular paper and usually has an impersonal form, e.g. "a wish is expressed", etc. As a rule, this document is presented during a talk with the intention of drawing the attention of the counterpart to what has been said, to the importance of the question raised, and, in some cases, to emphasize that the person who presents the papers expects certain measures to be taken on the part of the receiver. Like notes, an aide-memoire may touch upon substantial issues, though it happens quite rarely. More often, it concerns everyday practical matters. In some cases an aide-memoire may be delivered by a courier with a covering verbal or personal note or even with the sender's visiting card.

There exists yet another form of diplomatic document, the personal letter. As to its form, it resembles the personal note, however, it is printed on a sheet of paper bearing the facsimile of the sender or on a thick sheet of paper, sometimes smaller in size. It may refer to a very important question but may also convey greetings, gratitude, condolences, etc. On many occasions the Soviet press published the letters of the USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Secretary General of the United Nations which explained the proposals of the Soviet government on relevant issues.

A personal letter is the most popular form in the relations of diplomatic missions. It may be sent by the head of the diplomatic mission to the officials of the receiving country, or to his counterparts. This form is used in relations with representatives of business circles, the public, cultural workers, etc. Thus, the personal letter is a non-binding document. Moreover, it is recommended that such letters be handwritten. Perhaps, this is the reason why in some publications personal letters are called private letters of semi-official nature. The above shows that such definition may be used only with respect to specific, though frequent, cases.

In the context of diplomatic documents it is impossible to ignore the visiting card. This tiny piece of paper plays an important role in diplomatic practice.

Traditionally, the visiting card is used to introduce in a proper manner a person to his counterpart in a conversation to give him the first and the surname, as well as the address and the phone number of the office. Such visiting cards are used by physicians, authors, journalists, artists, performers, businessmen, etc. Such a card is often printed in two languages—native and foreign. In such cases both sides of the card are used. The owner may order his visiting card in coloured carton.

The visiting card of a diplomat is made exclusively of a thin white cardboard. It has the first and the family name of the owner, his post and the city of residence. The text is printed in the official language of the receiving country. A diplomat may have another card which does not indicate his post. Such visiting card is usually sent to ladies (for instance, to an acquaintance's spouse) on solemn occasions of important days in their family, together with a souvenir or flowers.

The visiting card serves not only the purpose of introducing one person to another; it has several other official functions. For instance, one may use the visiting card to express gratitude or condolences, to introduce a new official or to say good-bye. In certain cases the card is sent instead of a return visit when the owner is incapable of paying the visit in person.

To make the card function, according to tradition, one should write in the lower left corner in black pencil the initial letters of the corresponding message in French: P. f.—congratulations on any occasion; P. r.—expression of gratitude; P. f. N. A.—Happy New Year; P. f. c.—satisfaction with the acquaintance; P. p.—introduction by proxy (marked on the card of the introducing person; the card of the person introduced is enclosed intact); P. p. c.—a farewell by correspondence; P. c.—expression of condolences. It is acceptable to write a few words in pencil in the upper or lower corner of the card instead of the above symbolic letters.

It is practice to respond to the visiting card within 24 hours also by way of sending a visiting card. If the visiting card is used as a return visit it may be left by the owner in the residence of the person who has given the invitation. In such cases one of the corners of the card is usually folded (the upper or lower corner, depending on the local protocol). If the card is sent in an envelope the corner should not be folded.

Those are the main forms of diplomatic documents which at the present time are being used in the relations between states.

O. PAVLOV

THE LESSONS OF NUREMBERG AND THEIR RELEVANCE

(Continued from page 65)

chauvinism and racism, contempt for the rights and interests of other peoples, preaches violence, permissiveness and vicious anti-communism. Its antihuman ideology gives rise to widespread crime and terrorism and prepares people, especially young people, for a repetition of international crimes. The social decay of capitalist society, which has accelerated in the four decades since the Nuremberg Trial inevitably leads to growing reactionary and authoritarian trends, to reckless and adventurist policies pursued by the ruling classes. In this context, the powerful body of the Nuremberg juridical principles retains its intransient value and continues to be an effective factor in the fierce ideological struggle of the time.

THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS

The term "diplomatic corps" denotes the entirety of all diplomatic representatives, ambassadors and ministers (in case of the Vatican, nuncios and internuncios), as well as permanent and ad-interim chargé-d'affaires. However, in a broader sense, the diplomatic corps includes not only heads of missions but also the diplomatic personnel headed by them, i. e. counsellors, counsellor-ministers, first, second, third secretaries and attachés, and those persons who enjoy diplomatic status: trade representatives and their deputies, military, airforce, and navy attachés and their assistants appointed to diplomatic posts (usually a counsellor or attaché), various kinds of experts on economic ties, scientific and technical cooperation (in the absence of a trade representative), culture and agriculture, etc. The diplomatic corps includes also family members of the above-mentioned officials.

The diplomatic corps has no status of a political organisation or a body based on the norms of international law. However, it allows more effective solutions of certain protocol and ceremonial questions of concern to all diplomatic missions in the receiving country, makes it easier to brief them on all the aspects of the country's political course, and facilitates the contacts with the country's official circles and among the missions themselves.

Diplomatic corps is headed by the doyen. Usually, it is the head of a diplomatic mission with longer term of stay in the given country. It should be mentioned that only a high-ranking diplomatic officer—ambassador or papal nuncio may become a doyen. In some countries, primarily catholic ones, papal nuncio is always considered the doyen regardless of the date of his accreditation.

However, in a number of countries the tradition of appointing the ambassador who was the first to present his letters of credence as the doyen of the diplomatic corps, is not observed. Certain African countries, former French colonies, appoint the Ambassador of France the doyen, while in Togo the decision taken in 1984 makes ambassadors of the FRG and France the doyen and vice-doyen of the diplomatic corps regardless of the period of their stay in the country. In Bourkina Faso the doyen is always an ambassador from an African country.

Though the doyen is in no position to give orders to other members of the diplomatic corps, this post has always been most respected. From time to time the doyen holds unofficial consultative meetings with heads of diplomatic missions on different matters of protocol or of a ceremonial nature, usually in the course of a luncheon or dinner organised for heads of missions for that purpose. Such receptions, including farewell parties held in the honour of a head of a diplomatic mission leaving the country, are financed from the contributions of missions themselves. The collection of contributions to the fund of the diplomatic corps is entrusted to the treasurer who is elected, on his consent, from among the heads of missions. Periodically, the treasurer reports to the diplomatic corps on how the resources are spent.

As the head of the mission who has been in office longer than others the doyen may brief his colleagues just arriving to the host country on customs and protocol practice of that country, though his recommendations are not considered obligatory. The doyen often speaks on behalf of the diplomatic corps at festive events in the host country. He has the

right to take steps to protect the interests of the diplomatic corps or some of its members, if he believes that actions of the local protocol infringe upon the privileges of diplomats or violate the *étiquette*.

However, the *doyen* has no right to make any statement on behalf of the diplomatic corps (other than ceremonial), or *démarches* of a political nature. Such statements and *démarches* are inappropriate for the simple reason that the diplomatic corps consists of missions representing states with different social systems and different foreign policies, to say nothing of the fact that such actions would constitute interference in the sovereign affairs of the host country. In the past, however, such actions did take place, which was a form of *diktat* with respect to the countries dependent on imperialist states.

Such actions were attempted by the imperialist states during the first years of Soviet power. These countries plotted a conspiracy against the Soviet state. Their diplomatic missions and consulates helped to prepare and carry out terrorist acts against Soviet party and state leaders. When the Soviet government was forced to take measures against the enemies of Soviet power, including measures to put an end to subversive actions of some foreign diplomats, it enraged those who were behind these activities. Representatives of a number of missions accredited to Russia expressed their protest with regard to the measures taken by the Soviet government against the counter-revolutionaries who were raising up their heads. At that time a note of protest was presented by the then *doyen* of the diplomatic corps in Petrograd, a Minister from Switzerland. Those actions of diplomats were resolutely rejected by the Soviet government as an act of flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet state.

At the present time the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations with more than 130 countries. The majority of them has their missions in Moscow and composes quite an impressive diplomatic corps. Since the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations with other countries only at the level of embassies, the diplomatic corps in Moscow consists of ambassadors and *chargé-d'affaires* who, as senior officers of missions, substitute for Ambassadors when the latter are ill or away from the country.

The diplomatic corps has always been in the focus of attention of the Soviet government and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs holds press-conferences for the diplomatic corps, organises movie previews and tours around the country with the purpose of familiarising diplomats with the life of the Soviet people, economic development of the USSR, visiting historical monuments and places of interest.

On the eve of 1985 heads of the diplomatic missions were received in the Kremlin by the CPSU and state leaders. Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the heads of the diplomatic missions with a statement in which he emphasised the role they are expected to play at this vital point in time. "To a large extent the decisions taken in their respective countries depend on whether their information and assessments are full and accurate; it would not be an overstatement to say that trust between states begins with Ambassadors", he said.

O. PAVLOV

A REPRESENTATIVE FORUM OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY

The 14th Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) was held in Moscow where about 300 delegates represented revolutionary-democratic parties, national liberation movements and mass public organisations from 86 countries of four continents—Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas—and 34 international organisations.

The Council's session was opened by the AAPSO President, the well-known Egyptian writer, Abdel-Rahman El-Sharkawi. He said that it was being convened in the capital of the Soviet Union, a country which had always supported and asserted the principles of peoples' freedom and independence, of solidarity, internationalism and peace. On behalf of the solidarity movement he expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet Union's political and state leadership, to all Soviet people for hosting the AAPSO forum in Moscow, for the warm hospitality.

The session's participants enthusiastically and attentively listened to the speech made by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly Dobrynin, who conveyed to the delegates and through them to the democratic, progressive public in developing countries, heartfelt greetings from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, and best wishes for success in their lofty activity to rally the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for lasting peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples.

"The tasks of strengthening national independence and promoting the social and economic revival of the newly free countries, of struggling to uproot the remnants of colonialism and racism, to liquidate neocolonialism and the seats of military conflict in Asia and Africa and, of course, problems connected with the universal security of peoples are currently in the focus of attention of the solidarity movement and its national detachments", Dobrynin noted. His report presented a clear picture of the multifaceted and consistent struggle conducted by the CPSU and the Soviet government against the danger of thermonuclear war which can become a catastrophe for the whole of mankind, for ending the arms race and for disarmament. He also spoke about the concept of the all-embracing system of collective security set forth at the 27th CPSU Congress and the Soviet initiatives directed, in particular, at the total elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and other means of mass annihilation by the year 2000, at the political settlement of conflict situations in various parts of the world, including such areas as the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the south of Africa and the Asian-Pacific region.

The speaker noted that the Soviet Union also consistently supports the legitimate demands of developing countries for restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The convocation of a world congress on problems of economic security, as suggested by the 27th CPSU Congress, would definitely serve the economic decolonisation of these countries and the improvement of international economic relations, Dobrynin stressed.

The participants in the session of the AAPSO Council, like all decent and unbiased people in the world, were deeply impressed by Mikhail Gorbachev's address over Soviet television on May 14, 1986. The forum's participants sent a special message to the Soviet leader. It was noted in it that he had raised "fundamental problems of ensuring nuclear security for the whole of mankind" and reminded the international community of the "great urgency and extraordinary nature of the task to end nuclear tests, arms race and totally eliminate weapons of mass annihilation". The message highly appraised the Soviet government's decision to extend once again the unilateral nuclear test moratorium, to August 6, 1986, and ardently supported Mikhail Gorbachev's call to President Reagan to meet without delay in a European country or in Hiroshima to reach an agreement on prohibiting nuclear tests. Together with the Soviet people, the document says, we express our profound indignation at the immoral and cynical political campaign currently being waged by the imperialist mass media and also by some high-ranking members of the United States Administration and their allies around the accident in Chernobyl.

Harsh criticism of the imperialist forces, the exposure of their subversive actions against the peoples of the world and against the interests of all mankind were sounded in the report on AAPSO's activities, in the speeches by the participants in the 14th Session of this organisation's Council and were reflected in the resolutions and documents adopted by it. Thus, AAPSO Secretary-General Nouri Abdel Razzak said that the session was being held at a time when imperialism, in particular US imperialism, was intensifying the aggressiveness of its policy and was already resorting to gunboat dip-

lomacy in order to quell its staunch opponents, be it national liberation movements, national or progressive regimes which refuse to take part in the imperialist global strategy of war and aggression.

At the Moscow forum the representatives of the international public noted with alarm and wrath that under the cover of a noisy propaganda campaign and the false pretext of "struggle against terrorism" the United States is openly perpetrating grave crimes of state terrorism using either its satellites and mercenaries as proxies or, recently, directly acting itself. Mention was made of the crimes by imperialists and other reactionaries against the national liberation movements: against the ANC in South Africa, SWAPO in Namibia, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and against such sovereign states as Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Angola and Libya. The barbarous bombings of Libyan cities by the US aircraft served as an example, if not a direct signal, for the South African racists whose armed forces attacked the capitals of three sovereign African countries simultaneously—Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana.

It was said in the statement by the Soviet government in connection with this bandit act: "The Soviet Union firmly condemns the South African racists' attack against Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. Remaining true to its policy directed at the maintenance of peace and the security of peoples, it resolutely demands an immediate end to the criminal policy of terror and violence pursued by the South African authorities". In the course of activities devoted to Africa Liberation Day (observed on May 25) and the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples in the South of Africa the Soviet public wrathfully condemned the imperialist policy of expansion and neocolonialism, the United States' doctrine of "neoglobalism", branded with infamy the South African racists supported by the United States, and confirmed its solidarity with the African peoples and national liberation movements.

Much time was devoted at the Moscow forum of solidarity to a discussion of the drastic worsening of the economic situation of developing countries as a result of the policy of imperialism and the activity of its transnational companies. Speakers noted that, exacerbated by the unbearable burden of debts and growing military expenditures, the situation in most developing countries has deteriorated and is fraught with the danger of social conflicts and disorders, this creating the most favourable conditions for imperialism to impose its hegemony on them and increasing the dependence of developing countries on the world system of capitalism.

The problem of preserving and strengthening peace, of preventing a global catastrophe that would deprive all the activities of people of any meaning was the most important problem among those discussed at the meeting in Moscow. An appeal adopted at the session to the peoples of Asia and Africa, to the world democratic public says that the world has become fragile and vulnerable as a result of the huge stockpiling of weapons of mass annihilation and that the time urgently demands the merging of the mighty potential of the forces of peace, reason and goodwill into a single whole, and tireless struggle to attain the dream of our peoples—to live in a world without weapons and wars, without fear of the future.

In struggling for this lofty and vitally important aim the peoples of the world clearly discern their friends and foes.

We ardently support the concept of an all-embracing system of international security set forth by the Soviet Union, said the Appeal.

We wrathfully condemn US imperialism's unleashing of a relentless arms race. American imperialism is the main source of international tension. It is harbouring sinister plans of militarising outer space, the Appeal stressed.

The newly free peoples of the world and those which are still struggling for their freedom are being subjected to unceasing attacks and counter-attacks by imperialism, its allies, satellites and hirelings. In this sharp and uncompromising struggle the developing countries are not alone. It is stressed in the General Declaration adopted by the forum that since Lenin's famous Decree on Peace to the latest proposal on fully eliminating nuclear arms by the end of this century, the Soviet Union has strongly supported all the peoples of the world in their struggle for universal peace, for international security and national independence".

The participants agree that the 14th Session of the AAPSO Council was successful and fruitful. A concrete action programme was adopted. Thereby yet another important step was taken towards strengthening the anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples.

R. VASILYEV

A ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION OF GLOBAL PROBLEMS

A round table discussion on the subject "A New Mentality in the Nuclear Age" was arranged in Moscow by the Novosti Press Agency (NPA) and the West German magazine *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*.

Taking part in the discussion from the Soviet side were representatives of the Novosti Press Agency, scientists and journalists, and from the West German side—editors of the magazine *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* and staff members of scientific institutions like the Institute on Economic Problems under the FRG Association of German Trade Unions and Bremen University, and journalists and specialists on specific problems of international relations.

A whole number of issues connected with international affairs were discussed, including the importance of a new mentality in the nuclear age, global problems of mankind, Europe's role in the world, the position of developing countries and North-South relations, the scientific and technological revolution and its consequences.

Opening the discussion Valentin Falin, Chairman of the NPA Board, assessed the present international situation, emphasising the danger created by the US Administration's refusal to take any real steps in the field of disarmament that could have started improving international relations. Dwelling, in particular, on the United States' armed aggression against Libya, he characterised it as one of the first attempts by the United States to implement its new concept of "neo-globalism". In its essence it is a continuation of the policy of arbitrariness and irresponsible attitude to international law exemplified by the USA's aggression against Grenada.

As was stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, objective conditions are forming in the world which demand that relations between states of the opposite socio-economic systems develop only in the form of peaceful competition. In the nuclear age no conflict should be solved by military means, all problems should be solved only by political methods. This requires that all world events be re-evaluated, and it is also necessary to learn to think in a new way. Yesterday's formulas do not provide answers to today's problems and still less to tomorrow's problems.

The West German scientist, Professor Reinhard Kühnl stressed the priority of preserving peace because preconditions for solving all the other problems are created only in conditions of peace. The global inter-dependence which finds its expression in all the major problems facing mankind is a specificity of our epoch, he said. These problems include the tremendous social and economic backwardness of the Third World countries and the mounting danger to the ecological basis of mankind's existence. Also among them is the problem of providing food for our planet's steadily growing population and of mastering the resources of the World Ocean and outer space. All these tasks are of a global nature and can be solved only by the joint efforts of states.

According to Kühnl the imperative of the nuclear era is not only to avert war but also to carry out disarmament and develop international cooperation. It is from this point of view that a revaluation of certain social concepts and notions should be made, the West German scientist believes. Kühnl said that our aim should be to isolate those forces which in order to fulfil their plans do not rule out conducting war.

Professor Igor Bestuzhev-Lada from the Institute of Sociological Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, noted that the Soviet Union pays a lot of attention to today's global problems. Some 15 monographs devoted to this theme, including books written by teams of authors, were published in the Soviet Union during the past three-four years. Virtually all Soviet specialists on global problems took part in writing them.

Professor Rudolf Hickel of Bremen University, a specialist on political economy, stressed that today the very technology of manufacturing new types of armaments is fraught with a previously unknown danger of the outbreak of war. To illustrate his point Professor Hickel referred to the US "strategic defense initiative" (SDI). In the FRG, he said, there exists a movement of natural scientists opposed to the adoption of the "star wars" programme. Even specialists professing very conservative political views draw attention to the tremendous risk posed by the development of military technology within the framework of the SDI. As such, the computer systems forming the base of the "star wars" programme are fraught with a serious danger of the outbreak of war.

Professor Hickel also noted that the financing of the arms race, for instance, in the United States generates a large number of social problems. In the final analysis

the policy of intensifying the arms race explains not only the aggressiveness of America's foreign policy but also the growth of aggressiveness inside that country.

Anatoly Gromyko, a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and Director of the Institute of African Studies, dwelt on the need for a new mentality in the nuclear age. The new mentality presupposes unity of thought, word and deed, he said. No task is more important now than that of preserving peace on Earth. Studies of the global consequences of nuclear war conducted by American and Soviet scientists show that the use of even small nuclear charges would result in the onset of a nuclear winter on our planet. That is why the proliferation of nuclear arms in the world is extremely dangerous.

Throughout all the post-war years our country has been proposing disarmament, Anatoly Gromyko stressed. It has formulated major proposals in this field. They are of unprecedented importance because they take into account the security interests of all countries, including the Soviet Union, its allies and friends, the United States and the West European countries. These proposals actually implement one of the main principles of the new political approaches, of the new mentality in the nuclear age: it is proposed that an edifice of universal security be erected, an edifice of equal security for all. To live in peace with one another—such should be the essence of present-day international relations.

The Soviet Union wants extensive cooperation both on the European continent and in Soviet-American relations, extensive international cooperation in the solution of global problems, he said.

The situation in developing countries and new approaches to their problems were a major issue in the discussion. In his remarks the West German scientist, Reiner Falk, dwelt on the question of the interconnection of the arms race and the growing mass poverty in Third World countries. The arms race gobbles up tremendous sums that could be spent on meeting the requirements of people not only in developed but also in developing countries, said the West German scientist.

According to Falk, more and more people in the West are beginning to realise the need to scale down the arms race in order to solve the social and economic problems of mankind's development. But meantime further militarisation is taking place, a phenomenon that could be described as export of militarism through various channels, the export of arms to Third World countries not the least of them.

The speaker also touched on the questions of the foreign debt of developing countries and ways of solving this problem. In particular, he supported Fidel Castro's proposal that these countries refuse to pay their debts.

Soviet participants in the discussion noted the awesome economic backwardness of most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this connection they cited data characterising the hard economic position of African countries. The GNP of these countries is growing at an annual rate of only 2.5 per cent whereas the population there increases at an annual rate of 2.7 per cent. While accounting for about 10.5 per cent of the world's population the African countries produce only one per cent of the world's industrial output. The situation in Africa's agriculture is even worse. The traditional agricultural sectors in many countries are falling apart and production is being increased mostly in the export-oriented branches. As a result, African countries are forced to import foodstuffs worth billions of dollars. The position of these countries is aggravated by indebtedness in which most of them have found themselves, and also by the arms race.

A way out of this situation can be found only through disarmament and radical restructuring of international economic relations on a just, democratic basis. The Soviet Union has suggested a very precise and clear-cut principle—disarmament for development.

Academician Yevgeni Primakov, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences expressed his views on Europe's role in the present-day troubled world. He noted, in particular, that Europe had played the decisive role in forming the processes of detente early in the 1970s. And the United States followed in Europe's footsteps to a certain extent, in fact it was forced to do so. Later on, in the period of departure from detente, Western Europe played a very passive role and the initiative was taken by the United States. But now, when the Soviet Union has come up with a whole number of constructive proposals in the field of disarmament, Western Europe could play an extremely big role in advancing the world towards normalising relations.

At the concluding stage of the discussion its participants considered problems of the scientific and technological revolution and its consequences under capitalism and socialism. Thus, Karl Bredthauer, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, noted that technological advances in the West were increasingly becoming a factor in further aggravating the situation on the labour market and resulting in a further intensification of the labour of wage and salary earners and a growth of unemployment. The Soviet scientists admitted that the development of the scientific and technological revolution was creating certain problems for socialist countries as well, but that in conditions of the new social system all possibilities exist to ensure their successful solution.

Summing up the results of the discussion its participants arrived at the conclusion that they had a fruitful exchange of views, that it was useful and interesting for both sides. It was noted that in contrast to previous epochs, in the present one the development of science and technology gives states and societies a practical opportunity for solving the problems confronting them. The task is to identify and analyse them, to work out correct approaches to them and to adopt sensible political decisions. And here, no doubt, a major role belongs to the scientists of all countries.

O. SOROKINA

THE AMAZON BASIN

(Continued from page 134)

the colonial past replays itself—shots reverberate through the jungle.... Hardly more than two hundred thousand have survived out of at least two million Indians inhabiting the present territory of Brazil at the time of its discovery.

The interest shown in the Amazon basin grew considerably since the civil government replaced the military rulers in March 1985. The authorities have set themselves the goal of making more extensive use of the economic and other potential of the region with the aim of developing the entire country.

A ten-year programme has been adopted, which envisages its economic revival and the improvement of living standards.

It is important that the Amazon basin not turn into a scorched red desert but into a land covered with carefully preserved forests which are imperative for the very life of our planet, and which are imperative to the Indians—the native peoples of Amazonia—so that they might have a decent place to live.

M. MAYOROV

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV MEETS REPRESENTATIVES FROM INTERNATIONAL FORUM OF SCIENTISTS TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTS

On July 14, Mikhail Gorbachev met with a group of scientists-initiators of the forum, at the request of the foreign participants.

Present were: G. B. Marini-Bettolo, Professor of Rome University and member of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences; P. Starlinger, Professor of Cologne University, FRG; K. Fushimi, physicist and member of Japan's Parliament; F. von Hippel, Professor of Princeton University, USA; O. Nathan, Rector of Copenhagen University, Denmark; J. Rotblat, Professor of London University, Great Britain; O. F. Lenci from the Union of Italian Scientists for Disarmament, Italy; P. Derek, Professor of Toronto University, Canada; T. Atajev, Professor of Ankara University, Turkey; A. Balevsky, President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; S. Bergstroem, Professor of Karoline Institute, Sweden; W. Kalweit, Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences, GDR; T. Cochran, Professor and chief geophysicist for seismographs of the Natural Resources Defense Council, USA.

Soviet scientists were represented by: President of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. P. Alexandrov, Vice-Presidents of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. N. Fedoseyev and Ye. P. Velikhov, and Academicians Ye. I. Chazov, R. Z. Sagdeyev, A. M. Prokhorov, G. A. Arbatov, V. I. Goldansky, A. G. Aganbegyan and Ye. M. Primakov.

Prof. G. B. Marini-Bettolo presented Mikhail Gorbachev a declaration addressed to the leaders of all nuclear powers, and especially the Soviet Union and the United States. The declaration had been unanimously approved at the forum.

Handing over the declaration, he said: Dear Mr. General Secretary, it is a great honour and pleasure for me to convey to you, on behalf of all the participants in the International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests, the text of a declaration which we have been drafting for three days. This document is the result of open, constructive and mutually beneficial discussions. Our declaration was unanimously approved.

This was made possible thanks to the atmosphere created by the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing and also cooperation between scientists in the field of seismic monitoring of a nuclear test ban.

Mr. General Secretary, allow me to express the wish and the hope that our actions and efforts will be appreciated and accepted by all heads of state in the interests of all mankind.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: You are guests and I am here at your request, so if anyone here would like to say something, please go ahead.

Prof. Frank von Hippel: I have been asked to say a few words in addition to what my colleague has said. The Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions is of exceptional importance. It has exerted a tremendous influence on world public opinion. It has demonstrated the Soviet Union's growing confidence in a new way of thinking. It further proves that you realise that no new nuclear weapons can change the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States can destroy each other many times.

The new way of thinking is also gaining ground in the United States. The majority of physicists at leading US universities have signed an open letter, in which they say that they consider the SDI programme dangerous and will not work for it.

The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions has also strengthened this new outlook in the US public. Public opinion polls conducted in my country indicate that the majority of people want the United States to join the Soviet moratorium. The latest studies show that 56 per cent of the Americans support the idea.

Though the US Congress normally does not interfere in such matters, they being the prerogative of the President, a considerable minority of Congressmen believe that the allocations for nuclear testing must be slashed.

I think the first such proposal submitted to Congress will be defeated, but if it is supported by a considerable number of Congressmen and if it is defeated by a narrow margin, the positions of nuclear tests opponents will grow much stronger. In that case, we could expect some positive developments within a year. However, this will happen only if the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium continues.

The forces for peace in the United States have firmed considerably thanks to cooperation between the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the US Natural Resources Defense Council. The American public fears that the Soviet Union has secrets to hide and this fear is being exploited by the advocates of new nuclear weapons. Your consent to the installation of American seismic equipment in the area of Semipalatinsk, that is, the Soviet nuclear test range, shows that a new outlook does exist in the Soviet Union and shows itself in the desire to let others see what you are doing.

To judge by an article in *The New York Times*, the American public is showing interest in our joint venture and, evidently, this interest will grow as our joint activity expands. Apart from the fact that seismologists are anxious to dispel fears of some Soviet Union secrecy, they are likewise actually confirming that it is possible, with instruments, to prevent the smallest nuclear blast being concealed.

I have a seismographic chart clearly showing how an earthquake in Kani-chatka was monitored in Norway several years ago. It also shows a monitored small nuclear explosion (500 tons) which was made at the same time roughly 2,000 kilometres away from the device. That indicates that even the most insignificant nuclear explosions can be monitored with this kind of equipment.

Ye. P. VELIKHOV: I would like to say very briefly that scientists from 32 nations have attended our forum, and over 70 people have spoken. Among them are seismologists and physicists who concerned themselves at one time with nuclear weapons development. The consequences of the employment of nuclear weapons were also discussed.

This has been a broad forum, and its main conclusions are the following. It has been shown most representatively that there is practically no problem of control today as a technical problem, and that verification by methods worked out by geophysicists is perfectly reliable. Of course, there are different possibilities for concealing nuclear explosions. But we see that improvements in seismic technology exclude such possibilities, to all intents and purposes. That is the object of the work now being done jointly by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the US Natural Resources Defense Council. Yet another question discussed at the forum was the importance a total nuclear test ban would have. The speakers noted, in particular, that the result of underground nuclear tests had been and would be to develop new means of nuclear warfare, destabilising the world situation. Therefore what is necessary is precisely a total ban on tests to close all channels for the qualitative development of nuclear weapons.

Another speaker at the forum was Professor Cochran who, with Soviet scientists, has already installed seismic equipment near Semipalatinsk and obtained his first oscillogram.

O. NATHAN: We were greatly impressed by the speech made by Dr. T. Taylor who was one of the creators of atomic weapons in the USA. He explained that it takes a very long time to develop new nuclear weapons by means of tests. That is why the Soviet Union has no reason to be concerned over the fact that the United States has not yet taken a rational decision concerning nuclear tests, he claimed. And, according to him, the Soviet Union should continue its moratorium without fearing that the Americans would develop new weapons within a short time.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: Is he not Teller who advocates intensification of the arms race?

Voices: No, they simply have similar names.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: Otherwise, I wanted to express doubts as to heeding the view you set forth, because Teller's opinion is well-known to us.

Joseph ROTBLAT: I would like to say a few words about the public opinion polls on the Soviet initiative which were held in Great Britain. The following question was put: "Should Great Britain reciprocate the Soviet Union's unilateral nuclear moratorium?" Eighty-four per cent of the answers were "yes". The most interesting thing is that this question was answered in the affirmative by 60 per cent of the Conservatives, that is Margaret Thatcher's supporters.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: This is interesting, interesting also from the political viewpoint: for presidents and prime ministers secure their posts from getting a majority of votes in elections...

Joseph ROTBLAT: ...A few remarks about the role of scientists who participated in this forum.

While we are scientists, we are discussing an issue which is mostly political. But scientists have played a very important and sometimes negative role in this issue. At times we have had to act so. I say this as one of those who started the work on developing the atomic bomb in Great Britain at the beginning of the Second World War. But also later many scientists voluntarily or even enthusiastically participated in the nuclear arms race. This race is continually fuelled by new scientific discoveries, which not only provide an impulse to the nuclear race but sometimes determine its rate.

Almost any scientific achievement can very quickly be adjusted to destructive purposes. This is absolutely wrong because it must be vice versa—science must serve mankind's well-being.

There exist vast opportunities for international cooperation of scientists. Let us, for instance, take the Chernobyl disaster—a programme which would have benefited whole generations of people could have been developed in connection with it.

In the course of the discussion of the problem of banning nuclear tests, we, as scientists, gave our recommendation to you, a political leader, which will help you in your further moves to stop the nuclear arms race.

And we hope that our efforts undertaken here will help restore the tarnished image of science as a creative force working for the good and well-being of mankind.

Thomas COCHRAN: I am proud of having been given the honour to meet you.

As you know, our US Natural Resources Defense Council signed an agreement with the USSR Academy of Sciences just a month ago. As was noted by previous speakers, the principal goal of our cooperation is to disprove the opinion popular among American politicians and American people that it is impossible to detect without error all nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union. Thereby we are trying to show that the US, too, must immediately stop its tests and work for an agreement banning all nuclear tests.

We have selected our best seismologists from the Universities of California and Colorado for this cooperation. We arrived in your country only six days ago. Owing to the assistance of Soviet experts from the Institute of Earth Physics, we have already installed our equipment at one of the three sites chosen for the purpose. The first seismograms from Karkalinsk, which lies about 200 kilometres west of the testing ground, are already in.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: The White House will not believe that the USSR has agreed to the broadest forms of verification—any forms, national and international, including onsite inspections and the installation of equipment.

And it turns out that such work has already been done, and without any red tape, and moreover without political leadership—well, not exactly without, it never can be altogether. There is one matter of principle for your side: verification as to the ending of tests and non-holding of tests, and not monitoring of their continuation or upgrading of nuclear weapons.

Thomas COCHRAN: I believe we have fully demolished the arguments advanced by the White House that a comprehensive treaty on banning nuclear tests is impossible and does not lend itself to complete verification.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: We are of the same opinion. I believe no one, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States, can hope to outsmart the other. They must not look for ways of damaging the security of the other side. That approach is inadmissible. I believe that this is also a sign of a new way of thinking nowadays. Security must be equal. Otherwise suspicion and uncertainty appear, stability is lacking, and it is disrupted as a result of suspicion and mistrust. Hence whipping up of the arms race in search of one's own security, just in case. This is the kind of psychological situation that develops. This is why the new way of thinking is so needed.

Thomas COCHRAN: The cooperation between Soviet and American scientists can be described as quite exceptional. The help given by Academician Velikhov and all other members of our joint experiment was above all praise. We will find it very difficult to reply fully in kind when Soviet scientists arrive in the USA.

The joint Soviet-American research programme, which we are talking about, has already produced the most favourable comment in the US. In order to consolidate the new method and the new approach, it is essential to enlarge our research programme. It shows that scientists can not only make good political statements but conduct very valuable joint scientific tests.

A. BALEVSKY: I would like to say a few words in connection with the statement made by my colleague from Denmark. I do not know who will overtake whom, that is an unknown. But I know that the continuing American nuclear experiments are evoking endless fear among mankind. This psychological aspect is very important and I spoke about it at the forum. It is awesome. All the more so when people fail to see the deterioration of human souls. To live in constant fear is awful and I think we must let people have a rest and live a human life. No one has the right to keep humanity in constant tension. This is a crime, whatever the intention.

Sune BERGSTROEM: I was chairman of the Committee for Medical Consequences of a Nuclear War set up by the World Health Organisation. Two years ago we submitted a report on the results of our work. The unique cooperation between Soviet and American scientists produced a great positive impact on world public opinion.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: I welcome the substantial contribution made by medical scientists. I am speaking, in the first place, about Academician Chazov and Professor Lown. It was very important that the whole world heard the competent statement by outstanding representatives of world medical science about the possible consequences of a nuclear conflict and also about the ability of medicine to perform its functions if some madman unleashed it.

Sune BERGSTROEM: Cooperation in verifying nuclear explosions, as many have stressed at the forum, has already improved the international climate. We think it would now be important to extend our activities beyond the bounds of this sphere and include into them participation in dealing with other major problems, especially in the developing countries.

If your scientists and your academicians came forward with such an initiative, that would play a tremendous role and make it possible to formulate a long-term programme for improving international relations in general.

O. F. LENCI: First of all, I would like to say—and this is recorded in the declaration which our forum has passed—that the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions has in many ways helped create a new atmosphere. It is, in effect, the first real step towards a comprehensive treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, which, in its turn, can one day lead to complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

I also believe that the preservation and extension of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions will influence other countries, and notably my country, Italy, which does not possess nuclear weapons but is a member of certain organisations. I think that countries like Italy can play a role in the solution of this problem different from the one which they are now playing. For instance, they could be induced to take more vigorous actions for conclusion of an agreement on a complete ban on nuclear weapons.

P. N. FEDOSEYEV: A distinctive feature of the forum was that there was not just a feeling of concern over the current international situation but a desire to act continuously, to show initiative for a ban on tests and against nuclear weapons in general.

The concluding round-table conference agenda included a programme of follow-up action as one of its items.

Both at the forum and in the lobby, it was proposed that the Group of Action continue its activities, and that it should not only go on circulating throughout the world the documents adopted which popularise the results of the forum but be a liaison and information group for the community of scientists. The Group has committed itself to continue its work.

A. P. ALEXANDROV: I have been at many international forums, but I should like to point out that this is a first time that I have witnessed such a consensus of views.

All of us, representatives of various countries, could have different views on separate questions, but we were unanimous in our opinion that a nuclear war must be prevented, that a war like this would be tantamount to the destruction and degradation of mankind.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: As a minimum, it will be degradation, but the most real possibility is destruction.

A. P. ALEXANDROV: All agreed (each calling it in his own way—the first step, or the most important step—but generally those were different shades of the same meaning) that the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests was an extremely significant factor which evoked response all over the world.

All were also unanimous that the Soviet Union must be joined in that by all other nuclear countries, beginning with the United States, as well as non-nuclear states. That would be of paramount importance now, and would take the edge off the existing colossal tension in international relations.

K. FUSHIMI: I highly value the bold decision of the Soviet leader to stop underground nuclear tests. And this is not only my opinion but, I believe, that of a great many Japanese citizens. I have with me considerable proof of the sentiments of the Japanese people. For example, here is a message from the religious leaders of Hiroshima (he presents the message to Mikhail Gorbachev).

P. Derek: Five years ago my colleagues and I founded an organisation called Science for Peace. Since then I have attended diverse conferences on

disarmament, the campaign for peace and so on in the Soviet Union, and I would say that our forum which I have just attended has impressed me more deeply for reasons described here. All of us (in any case, the forum participants from the West) will return home more optimistic, more resolved, hoping to accomplish something else, however little, in the name of peace.

Addressing participants in the forum, **Mikhail GORBACHEV** said further:

First of all, I should like to greet in your person all the participants in the Moscow forum of scientists. It discussed the most burning problem of today which is connected with the preservation of human civilisation.

The initiative which was realised at this forum of scientists from more than 30 countries is extremely important, as is everything which is being done today to put an end to the arms race and to start a real disarmament process.

I have said it already and I am taking advantage of the present meeting to repeat it again. Even today there are people who ask why we are in such a hurry and maintain that it would be better, perhaps, to draw out the drive against the arms race for many years and even decades. This opinion is erroneous. We have come to a stage in the scientific and technological revolution when new discoveries can whip up the arms race even further and create a situation whereby it will be far more difficult even to start talks.

Let us imagine that the arms race has spread to outer space. Who can say for certain what will happen then? There are dozens of satellites and spaceships in space so far, but all kinds of emergencies happen with them time and again. And what if echelons of military systems are moved there? Computers control them and issue information, but they do not analyse the reasons why this or that thing is taking place there. As a result, the "decisions" on which the destiny and lives of millions of people depend would be taken not on the political but on the technical level. The whole of civilisation would become a hostage of technology.

Or take conventional armaments. In this sphere as well scientific discoveries create the basis for the appearance of weapons which by their destructive capacity are no inferior to nuclear weapons. Apart from it, there exist chemical and biological weapons. The consequences of their use are no less disastrous.

This is why we have all come up to a line beyond which unpredictable processes can begin. Everybody must act today—politicians, scientists and nations.

This morning I received the Russian-language text of your declaration. I want to state my attitude to this document right away: it is a responsible document, which meets the interests of all countries regardless of which political system they belong to, and of all people regardless of what political organisations they consider themselves members of. This document has special significance because it was drawn up and approved by competent people, and approved in unison, which lends it even more weight.

The results of your forum show that there have arisen in the world preconditions for new approaches and a new way of thinking for the solution of the main questions, those of stopping the nuclear arms race and bringing about disarmament. And this should be started, as you rightly point out, with ending nuclear tests.

You tell the entire world public in your declaration that we are all facing the simple and merciless reality: human civilisation will not survive nuclear war. This warning is timely, convincing and demands high responsibility.

You raise the question of lessening the risk of nuclear war and the need for energetic measures. The Soviet leadership will support this call, it agrees with your view that the ending of nuclear tests should be the first step in this direction.

Convincing arguments have sounded both in the declaration and at our meeting here in favour of the possibility of verification of compliance with a

ban on nuclear tests. This is of immense importance because it reflects the opinion of people who know what they talk about.

We are assisting and will be assisting Soviet and American scientists as they go about their initiative and use special equipment to make sure that no nuclear explosions are carried out. I do not object to a single line in your document.

You ask the Soviet Government to re-examine the possibility of extending the moratorium. Well, first, it is in effect. And that is the main thing, so there still is time and it should not be wasted. Naturally, your request will be considered most closely. The Soviet Government will take a decision, and it will be conveyed to you. But, frankly speaking, what it will be depends to a large extent on whether the United States of America is going at long last to set about disarmament.

After the meeting with the US President in Geneva, where we agreed to advance towards filling our accord with real, concrete contents, we were acting in precisely such a manner. We extended the moratorium, extended it twice. We put forward a programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons over 15 years. We came up with new, far-reaching proposals on the elimination of chemical weapons, including verification when dismantling the industries producing them. We put forward an immense programme for reduction in conventional armaments so as to allay the fears of the peoples of the Western countries. Finally, we recently put forth compromise proposals at the Geneva talks. I presented them in a letter to President Reagan—they cover both medium-range missiles and reductions in strategic nuclear weapons.

We, naturally, hope for an adequate reaction from the American side and from the West in general. So far we are not satisfied with the position of either the US Administration or the other Western governments. The stand of the Administration on ending nuclear tests is negative. At one time the issue of verification was used as an argument. Now that this problem, as we see, is finding a convincing solution, by virtue of the well-known position of the Soviet Union and by virtue of your arguments, that is, the arguments of scientists, we are waiting to see what new arguments in favour of the continuation of testing will turn up. We are already hearing talk that, generally speaking, the idea of the Soviet leadership to eliminate nuclear weapons is a utopia because in such a world as ours one can hardly do without these weapons.

We have not yet received satisfactory replies to our proposals on medium-range missiles or on strategic arms. The only thing we have received is the declaration that SALT-2 is dead. In this way, not only are efforts not being made to find and work out new international mechanisms to halt the arms race and subsequently to set about disarmament, but the last brakes on that race are being dismantled. The SDI, it turns out, is needed also because many countries today are capable of developing a nuclear bomb of their own and, allegedly, a counterbalance is needed in case some madman launches a nuclear attack or attempts nuclear blackmail.

Absolutely paradoxical arguments are invoked to defend the SDI. This alas, draws a response from some scientists and politicians. It is said that the SDI is the way to the advance of science, to new heights in scientific and technological progress. But I will tell you that this is perverse thinking, with everything turned upside down. Can we not advance science, technology, every component of scientific knowledge, including the development of new materials, radio-electronics, computer technology, mathematics etc. through peaceful projects? The Vega programme is a fresh and convincing example. It is a most interesting project. I listened to Academician Sagdeyev and other Soviet scientists who carried it out with the participation of their foreign colleagues. They needed new decisions and new materials. These were found. They needed new solutions to control the manoeuvres of a sophisticated craft over vast distances. These were made. They needed a stable ra-

dio and TV communication link—it was achieved. They needed new mathematical discoveries and computations to accomplish such a complex task. This was done. They needed accurate information about the situation on Venus and near Halley's Comet. And this was found.

Many countries, Western included, participated in the project. There was especially fruitful cooperation in that field with French scientists.

Now we have come to grips with the problem of developing a reliable energy source. The problems of energy, like those of food and ecology, are central, global problems of the future. If there were no projects in the military field, this peaceful project would be making much faster progress. Recently the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikolai Ryzhkov, submitted on behalf of the Soviet Government to the United Nations our proposals on the development of international scientific cooperation for the peaceful use of space.

Science can thus be advanced through peaceful endeavour. The argument that science and technology can be developed only through an arms race is an absurd argument. The question to ask then is: What is the matter? Who, perhaps God, has withdrawn the ability to grasp the realities of today's world, of the nuclear-missile space age? These two men (pointing to portraits of Marx and Lenin) taught us that in order to get down to the substance of anything, we should brush all rubbish off the surface and lay bare the motives and interests which underlie one position or another.

So whose interests are met by the proposals of the political forces, scientists and the public which are insisting on scaling down the arms race, on progress towards disarmament and on the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons? I think that they meet the interests of all the peoples, and there are no higher interests.

We understand that there can be interests of a group of countries which would like to use their superior arms arsenals for political pressure. There are other interests, I would say, of a lower order. There are interests of the military-industrial complex and they also are a reality. But, first, they are not the interests of any nation, let alone human civilisation. And, second, neither peaceful research, nor research into energy problems, nor anything else would suffer if military research and war production were stopped. The forces which are involved in the development of weapons today could work fruitfully in peaceful areas. Neither science nor industries involved in war production nowadays would be left idle. But all would stand to gain.

So, a new way of thinking is needed. It is impossible to give an answer to the burning questions of the present, moreover, of the coming century, if one guides oneself by views characteristic of centuries past, even decades past, or in any case of times before the emergence of nuclear weapons and the upsurge in scientific and technological revolution observed of late.

I do not wish to impose my views. I do not expect you to accept them without thinking them over. We have set out our views at the Congress. Their essence, in brief, is that we all live in the nuclear-space era, in a complex, interrelated and contradictory world. And we must learn to live together, no matter how different we are. Other countries have their own type of democracy, so let them enjoy it. But they should not encroach on our right to our democratic values. But then, all these are subordinate matters.

The main thing now is this: either we survive, cooperating and preserving the earth, the ocean, the skies and the entire environment, or we shall carry civilisation to disastrous consequences. We must get rid of the views, whose time has passed, that the world is someone's domain. The world of today means coexistence of nations and states. This is a multitude of countries, each with a history of its own, at its own stage of development. But everyone must admit that each country has a sovereign right to choose its own type of state system, to conduct its affairs independently.

We recognise this and we shall act accordingly. But we demand that this right should be respected by others. If the sovereign right of every people and every country is not recognised, chaos will set in in international relations. It is not enough to recognise it philosophically. It is vital to act in accordance with this. You can rest assured that we shall be firmly upholding this conviction. At the same time, we have absolutely no wish to put the destinies of the earth and of our country, of other peoples at the mercy of those who hope to dictate their will to the whole world.

And when we speak about America with which we have debates all the time, sharp debates at times, we do not paint it all black at all, or even in two colours, black and white. We see the real America, America as it is. And we know that there are many people in American society who share a realistic approach to today's problems.

We must work and create a new type of relations in international, interstate affairs. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States will be able to command the world. The world has changed. Unless this is recognised, one might make gross blunders in politics. We proceed precisely from this view, and you shall see it for yourself. I think the Soviet Union has already advanced serious arguments to confirm this viewpoint.

Returning to the theme of the forum, I would like to say in conclusion that I fully agree with your opinion that an end to nuclear testing would be a major step in the right direction, towards an end to the arms race and to the upgrading of nuclear weapons, and, in the long run, towards their elimination.

The opinion was expressed here that this forum should not become a single act, that the sponsoring group should continue its work. The initiative of Soviet and American physicians is a useful example in this respect. Everything was started with a meeting which seemed to be just a one time event. However, it set the foundations of a movement, a very influential movement of competent people. I think that if scientists connected with another field, with technology, continue the efforts started in Moscow, we shall only welcome them. But this, of course, is up to you.

I am very pleased with this meeting and, most importantly, with its spirit and content. Politics and science should cooperate today more than ever before. Today there should be no science that does not analyse the political consequences of this or that of its discoveries and achievements, the same as there should be no politics that would not be based on the achievements of science, on its strict analysis, objective evaluations and forecasts.

I favour the union of politics and science. Every country stands to gain from it both in its internal affairs and in the solution of the problems which we are discussing today.

Thank you. I hope that the work that you have started will develop and will enjoy the support of all those who are concerned about the present-day situation in the world. (Applause.)

DECLARATION

of the Participants in the International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests

Having gathered in Moscow at the International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests, we have had an opportunity to discuss in an informal manner the pressing problems of our time: the nuclear arms race and the

continued sophistication of new types of nuclear weapons leading to a decline in nuclear stability.

In the course of our open discussion scientists from various fields of knowledge had the opportunity to air their views on the serious problems of nuclear weapons and on practical moves for improving the situation.

We are faced with a simple and implacable reality: human civilisation will never survive nuclear war. Even the most advanced technological systems can have sudden and catastrophic malfunctions. This is convincingly confirmed by the recent Challenger tragedy and the Chernobyl accident.

To reduce the risk of nuclear war active measures are needed. We are positive that a complete and verifiable ban on nuclear tests could well become a first step along this way. Since the tests are meant to develop new weapons systems, such a ban would come as a retarder for the nuclear arms race. In the long run, the proposed complete and verifiable test ban would be a step towards the destruction of all nuclear arsenals. That would mean a decisive turn towards mutual trust, towards the victory of common sense and towards open international contacts.

A new way of thinking is needed for the accomplishment of this goal. The unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests is a highly important manifestation of such a new way of thinking which opens unique opportunities for a complete nuclear test ban. We hope that the USA will reciprocate with a similar moratorium. We also hope that the Soviet government will find it possible to extend its moratorium, and that all nuclear powers in all parts of the world will join in with this moratorium and with all the other initiatives aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear war.

As regards the problem of verification of the proposed complete ban on nuclear tests, we are convinced that the latest achievements in the field of seismology in combination with the appropriate mutually observed international procedures, including on-site inspections, will secure a high degree of confidence that nuclear tests are no longer being held. This confidence will be strengthened further if international scientific cooperation grows broader and stronger.

Our forum welcomes the agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the US Natural Resources Defense Council, under which American and Soviet scientists have installed seismic equipment on the territory of the USSR near a testing ground in the Semipalatinsk area. That initiative has clearly shown the possibility of mutual verification of the proposed comprehensive nuclear test ban. We are calling for new joint initiatives with the participation of other nations.

We are addressing the leaders of all nuclear powers and especially of the USSR and the USA with the appeal for an agreement banning all nuclear tests.

We are also asking the UN Secretary General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to use his high authority in promoting the accomplishment of this task which the forum finds extremely important for all the world's nations.

We are convinced that the security of mankind in general and that of the Soviet Union and the USA would grow substantially stronger with a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests. We also hope that in the long run a comprehensive and verifiable nuclear test ban could lead to the complete destruction of all nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

CONCEPTION OF SECURITY: TWO APPROACHES

Professor L. T O L K U N O V,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

We live in an ever changing world, and the changes, often rapid, cannot be stopped or reversed by anyone. The world consists of many dozens of states, each of which has its own legitimate interests. The persistent attempts to transfer the ideological contradictions between the two systems to the sphere of international relations can be checked only on one condition: without shutting one's eyes to the social, political and ideological contradictions, one should master the science and art of restraint and discretion in international affairs, the art of civilised living, which implies correct international relations and cooperation.

Imperialist policy, however, has brought the world to a point where a nuclear war, if one should be allowed to break out, would mean the death of mankind. Faced with two material and spiritual perspectives opened to mankind by the scientific and technical revolution—a qualitative leap forward in man's productive forces or in the means of destruction—imperialism has preferred the second one. It does not want to give up its obsessive idea that the progress of human thought as embodied in the means of destruction can perpetuate its rule and hold back the advance of history.

It is imperialism, and imperialism alone, says the Resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, that is responsible for the wars and conflicts of our age, for unleashing and spurring on the arms race, and for opening up its new lines. Imperialism, which was the first to use nuclear weapons, is preparing to take a new and possibly fatal—step: to extend the arms race to outer space, turning the whole planet into its target.

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In Washington nuclear weapons are seen as an admissible means of warfare. That way of thinking was reflected in such plans for a nuclear attack against the USSR as the Dropshot Plan, elaborated back in 1949 by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US Armed Forces and envisaging a strategic offensive in the course of which hundreds of atomic bombs were to be dropped on the Soviet Union. In the postwar period, successive US Administrations have considered the possibility of using nuclear weapons on many occasions: at the time of the war in Korea, the war in Indochina, the international crises of 1956 and 1959, and the Arab-Israeli war of 1973.

But the strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, attained by the beginning of the 1970s and enabling the socialist countries to follow a dynamic peace policy, has served and continues to serve as the most forceful and convincing argument against any reckless adventurist attempts on the part of imperialism. Vigorous and purposeful action by the socialist states and all the other peace forces holds out real hope of improvement in the international arena.

As it was emphasised at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, in view of the character of modern weaponry no state can hope to defend itself solely by military-technical means, say, by developing a defence system, however powerful. The task of ensuring security is a political one and can be solved solely by political means. First of all, there should be a will to follow the road of disarmament. Security cannot always rest on fear of retaliation, that is, on doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence". Leaving aside the absurdity and immorality of a situation in which the whole world is a nuclear hostage, such doctrines encourage the arms race, which could sooner or later get out of control. If one takes Soviet-US relations, security can only be mutual, and if one takes international relations as a whole, it can only be universal. True humanism lies in concern for equal security, rather than for oneself alone, since the fears and anxieties of the nuclear age tend to make policy and concrete moves unpredictable.

Although the nuclear parity was first reached at a high level of the military confrontation, for a certain period it ensured a possibility of maintaining peace. As for the present correlation of forces, it does not assure the parties of equal security, but of an equal *danger*. The logic of a headlong arms race, including its extension to outer space and the development of new types of mass destruction weapons, could create a situation when even parity would no longer be a factor of military-political deterrence.

The danger is increased many times over as a result of Washington's purposeful drive to upset the existing parity, primarily by preparing "star wars". In getting down to the realisation of its "strategic defense initiative" programme, Washington has in effect taken a deliberate step to cross out existing agreements on arms limitation. As a result, the USSR, the USA, their allies and the whole world could over the next few years be plunged into a totally uncontrolled arms race, into strategic chaos and dangerously undermined stability.

All of that is being plotted and put into effect to the accompaniment of hypocritical phrase-mongering about the SDI's "peacemaking mission". Speaking in London before the Pilgrims Society, US Secretary of State George Shultz said, for instance, that the SDI would enhance deterrence and make it possible for the West to block or at least blunt an offensive strike. That, he declared, "will rest defense policy [of the USA—L. T.] on a kind of mutual assured security instead of mutual assured destruction". Speaking in a similar vein, US Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger asserts that the USA cannot rest at ease with a policy of deterrence based exclusively on the threat of mass destruction or mutual suicide. The "strategic defense initiative" alone, he says, will make it possible to create a new, more efficient and morally justified basis for deterring war. All statements of that kind reaffirm that the strategic thinking of the Washington Administration is permeated with the cult of force. They regard security not as a function of disarmament, but solely as a function of a further military buildup. Talks about security serve as a cover for military plans.

An article by US Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger in the spring 1986 issue of *Foreign Affairs* makes it clear how far the USA is prepared to go along that dangerous road. The Pentagon chief repeats once again that deterrence is the core of present-day US defence strategy. His own article, however, reveals a different picture. The strategy of deterrence should be based on an equilibrium of forces, but it is precisely such an equilibrium that does not suit Washington, which has been doing its utmost to attain military superiority over the USSR and get a chance to strike first with impunity. The way to that chimerical goal is described by Weinberger, who says that it lies primarily through the "strategic de-

fense initiative", which allegedly "offers a far safer way to keep the peace". Weinberger openly formulates the goal of guaranteeing US security at the expense and to the detriment of the security of the USSR. From the very beginning, he writes, Washington has insisted that the development of an effective space-based strategic defence system on the strength of the SDI should go hand in hand with the restoration of an efficient offensive capability. According to Weinberger, the SDI is meant to create a "space shield" in order to wield a "space sword" with impunity. The philosophy behind that strategy is expressed in such theses as "American military power is the prerequisite of peace" and "the United States is now beginning to deal from strength and the promise of greater relative strength. Nor we must persuade the Soviets that this is not a short-term commitment."

Weinberger does not leave any doubt that Washington's policy of an arms drive and military threats is long-term indeed. It provides for a buildup of the strategic capability on the false pretext of "restoring the military equilibrium", for realisation of the SDI, and for a buildup and modernisation of conventional weapons. All of that is to be done under "competitive strategies", which Weinberger promises to make "a major theme of the Defense Department during the remainder of this Administration". Under the "competitive strategies", the arms race is to be spurred on along every line, especially when Washington hopes to take advantage of "rapid technological change".

Weinberger is cynically plain-spoken about the possible alternative uses of the war machine that is being built up in that way. These include the perspective of "limited" nuclear wars, presented as "credible response option", the idea of "decapitating" strike against the USSR in order to destroy "Soviet leadership", "its military power" and "industrial ability", and also a more resolute and massive use of US armed forces abroad than was the case in Vietnam. In order to justify such a militaristic programme, Weinberger naturally resorts to the threadbare myth about a "Soviet threat".

Weinberger groundlessly accused the Soviet Union of violating international treaties and was caught out yet again. His article was written before the leak of secret US intelligence data in Washington which refute the Administration's "conclusions" on the Soviet Union's alleged violation of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests. These intelligence data are so at variance with the Administration's postulates that Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle had even suggested placing these data in wraps. There is just as little truth in Weinberger's allegations on the pages of *Foreign Affairs* about the Soviet Union's "violations" of the ABM Treaty, about Soviet leadership in the field of strategic arms, and so on.¹

Weinberger's article is headed "Defense Strategy of the United States" but its whole content shows that the word "defense" is no more than a fig-leaf for covering up Washington's aggressive strategy.

Irrefutable facts indicate that the USA's true intention is to create a material and technical capability not for deterrence, but for waging a war, which, Washington hopes, would naturally be victorious. So, the question of "star wars" is a very broad one indeed. It is not merely a matter of two clashing views on that particular programme, but of *two lines of approach, two conceptions of security*. Under the US conception, security is primarily to be ensured through military-technical means, in this case through "superweapons", a technological breakthrough which would help escape from the nuclear deadlock. What the USA wants to

¹ See *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1986, pp. 675-697.

achieve is absolute security for itself, putting everyone else in a position of absolute danger.

No wonder Washington has stubbornly refused to stop its underground nuclear tests. These are necessary to develop a major component of space-based laser weapons, set off by nuclear explosions. The nuclear gun, Western observers believe, is only one element of the new arsenal of third-generation weapons. The enhanced radiation weapon (known as the neutron bomb) is only a forerunner of a new generation of destructive weapons based on the enhanced striking power of fast neutrons. Among the other types of such weapons one could include bombs which maximise the electromagnetic impulse released in a nuclear explosion in order to foul up the enemy's means of communication and electronic equipment; an X-ray laser using the energy of the hydrogen bomb and meant to destroy missiles in flight, and other types of weapons based on particle beams and able to concentrate the effect of the nuclear explosion.

Work is being done to study the possibilities of developing climatic weapons, or means of "weather warfare". In other words, attempts are being made to manipulate natural processes for purposes of destruction and extermination. Thus, it is possible to use the energy of hurricanes and cyclones, to destroy a part of the natural ozone layer of the atmosphere, which protects life on the Earth from harmful ultra-violet solar radiation, and with the help of nuclear explosions to cause huge artificial waves that could devastate the coastal regions of many states.

Considering the possible consequences of a massive use of such weapons, a group of prominent French scientists and public figures came out with an article showing the disastrous effects of the use of 1,000 bombs with an explosive force of 0.1 megatons each (i.e. making use of less than 1 per cent of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons). Thick clouds of soot, dust and smoke, they write, would overcast the sky over the whole of the Northern Hemisphere, so that the temperature would begin to fall and in a fortnight after the conflict could be as low as -20°C to -30°C . Evaporation would stop and rains would cease in view of an impenetrable sheet of cloud in the upper layers of the atmosphere. The difference in the temperature of land and ocean would lead to changes in wind patterns and cause unheard-of storms. Lakes and rivers would be covered with a two-metre layer of ice. And, most important of all, the virtual lack of solar radiation would mean an end to photosynthesis in plants, so destroying the basis of the whole ecosystem. When the sun shone again within six months or a year, the protective ozone layer would be so badly damaged that the intensity of ultra-violet radiation would be double or treble the present level.

There is no need to continue the description of the "nuclear winter", say the authors of the article. The only question is whether the living beings on the planet would be killed two, three, four or five times over by hunger, fire, radiation or thirst.²

So, world development has reached a point when it is time to take particularly responsible decisions and when inaction or procrastination is a crime, for it is now a matter of preserving the civilisation and life itself. The need to resolve the imperative problems facing the whole of mankind should induce the peoples to take joint action and invigorate the tendencies to mankind's self-preservation.

In assessing the balance of forces in the world, the 27th Congress of the CPSU came to the conclusion that the possibilities for maintaining

² See *Le Monde*, March 21, 1985.

and strengthening peace have never been as real as they are today. Objective international conditions have taken shape in which the contest between capitalism and socialism can proceed exclusively in the forms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress brings out the essence of that multifaceted process:

"The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be *constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on the scale of the entire world...* The prevailing dialectics of present-day development consists in a combination of competition and confrontation between the two systems and in a growing tendency towards interdependence of the countries of the world community. This is precisely the way, through the struggle of opposite... through arduous effort, groping in the dark to some extent, as it were, that the controversial but *interdependent and in many ways integral world* is taking shape."³

Peaceful coexistence is not only an objective requirement of international development, but also a wealth of instructive historical experience, and the living practice of our day. During the Second World War, the difference in social systems did not prevent the allies from joint armed struggle against the common enemy or from the laying of democratic foundations for the postwar world. In the 1970s, the ideas of peaceful coexistence were embodied in a vigorous all-European process, bringing the peoples of the continent closer together on a general platform of detente, trust and cooperation. Good-neighbourly relations between dozens of countries with opposite systems in our day confirm that the roots of detente are strong and that it can get its second wind.

Peaceful coexistence is the foundation of the Soviet state's foreign policy doctrine. Capitalism saw the emergence of socialism as an "error" of history, a mistake to be "rectified" by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and "punishments", or rejection of all cooperation. Imperial policy and ideology, a desire to put the Soviet Union and socialism in general in the most adverse external conditions were also at the root of the race in nuclear and other weapons unleashed after 1945.

A point to note in this context is that it is time for a certain brand of politicians to give up their attempts to build their relations with the USSR on false notions and illusions. One of the most dangerous illusions is that the Soviet Union's peaceful intentions and appeals are seen as a sign of weakness. But it is no use trying to wear us out by the arms race, to reach us from outer space, or to surpass us in technology. All these attempts are doomed to failure. It is dangerous and irresponsible to overestimate one's own strength and underestimate the strength and potential of the other side. "We shall not be taken unawares," Mikhail Gorbachev warned. "The Soviet state has repeatedly proved that it can meet any challenge."⁴

In contrast to imperialism, which tried to stop the advance of history by force and to regain its past domination, socialism has never of its own free will connected its future with a military solution of global problems. Marxism denies the possibility of "instigating" revolutions from outside, for these develop with the aggravation of the class contradictions that engender them. We are convinced that it is useless and inadmissible to instigate revolutions from outside, especially by military means.

Normal relations and cooperation between the USSR and the USA

³Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 26.

⁴Pravda, Apr. 9, 1986.

are of especial importance for global security. There is no denying that immense distinctions exist between the Soviet Union and the USA. But in the present-day world the interconnection and interdependence between them are just as great. The gravity of the present moment leaves the Soviet and US leaders and peoples no alternative but to master the great science of living together. Unfortunately, this science does not come easy to the present US Administration. The worsening crisis of capitalism and the changes in the world balance of forces have entailed an increase in the influence of the reactionary circles, which give an aggressive slant to US and NATO policy and seek to take over the historical initiative.

If one comes to think of it, there are no contradictions between the USSR and the USA that would fatally doom them to confrontation, let alone war. But the problems that arise between them can only be solved with scrupulous observance of the principle of equality and equal security, and non-infringement of the interests of third countries. The practical questions of bilateral Soviet-US relations should be regulated on the basis of mutual advantage and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Such is the essence of the Soviet security conception. It assumes the need to ensure equal security for all by way of arms reductions and disarmament, including a complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. In our day, there can be no security for the USSR without security for the USA, or security for the Warsaw Treaty countries without security for the NATO countries. And without their mutual security there can be no universal security.

In view of new historical realities, the 27th Congress of the CPSU went beyond the tasks of preventing a nuclear war and put forward the idea of a *comprehensive system of international security*. This is comprehensive and innovatory programme for the solution of vital problems in every sphere of international life: military, political, economic and humanitarian.

The crucial task in strengthening universal security is to stop the material preparations for war. The way of limiting and ending the arms race is the only sensible way to remove the threat of war and release the peoples' material resources and creative potential for the needs of social progress. Mankind can no longer carry the burden of the arms race. As is estimated, in 1985, more than \$800,000 million was spent around the world on arms production and maintenance of the armed forces. According to UN data, over 50 million people take a direct or indirect part in the activities of the military sector. The main thing, however, is that the monstrous arsenal of destruction endangers mankind's very existence.

That is why the universal security system proposed by the Soviet Union is pivoted on the comprehensive programme for eliminating mass destruction weapons by the end of the century that was set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986. The noble goal of the constructive Soviet initiative is to overcome the negative, confrontational tendencies in the world and to pave the way for winding down the nuclear arms race on the Earth, preventing it in outer space, and reducing the overall danger of war.

The prolongation of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until January 1, 1987 convincingly proves the seriousness and the sincerity of the Soviet aspirations. It is no secret that it is impossible without testing to either increase or upgrade the existing potential. But this is exactly what the Soviet Union wants. That is why it takes chances for the sake of peace by extending the moratorium and invites the USA to follow its example.

At the same time, the Soviet Union spares no effort to reach, at last, a mutually acceptable accord in Geneva. The intermediate option offered

to the American side pursues the same goal. It provides for the following: first, an accord on the non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty for at least 15 years and the provision that the SDI work would not go beyond laboratory research; second, the limitation by equal level of strategic offensive weapons (IBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers). In this case the issue of the medium-range weapons reaching the territory of the other side, including long-range land-based cruise missiles, is settled separately.

The genuine intention of the Soviet Union to reach an accord is also corroborated by the Soviet Union's consent to the arrangement, when with the zero correlation of the Soviet and the American missiles in Europe, Great Britain and France would maintain the present number of their missiles, and by its readiness not to increase the number of medium-range missiles in Asia.

The Soviet programme is viable and feasible because it relies on a powerful material force: the economic and defence might of the socialist community and its vigorous peaceful foreign policy. The US "hawks" should moderate their appetites and realise that there is no and cannot be any absolute weapon. The basic laws of physics and chemistry, on the strength of which armaments are modernised, are known to both parties. It is simply impossible to invent something that would bring one of the parties to its knees. Something that one of the great powers gets today, the other is bound to get tomorrow. That fully applies to the much-vaunted SDI.

The strength and influence of the socialist world keep growing. The CPSU Programme clearly says: *"The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty, together with the other fraternal parties, to consolidate the unity and increase the strength and influence of the socialist community. The outcome of the competition between socialism and capitalism and the future of world civilisation depend largely on the strength of the community, on the success of each country in its constructive endeavours and on the purposefulness and coordination of their actions."*⁵

The socialist community is the most authoritative force of our day, without which it is impossible to solve a single question of world politics; it is a reliable bulwark of peace on the Earth, the most consistent champion of healthy, peaceful and democratic elements in international relations, and the main obstacle in the way of imperialist reaction. Its influence on world development and social progress is now connected closer than ever with the dynamic economic and political development of the fraternal countries. The whole policy of the socialist community meets the objective need to achieve a turn for the better in the development of world events, to save the civilisation from a nuclear catastrophe, and ensure a peaceful future for the peoples.

The documents of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states containing a comprehensive realistic programme for resolving urgent international problems, averting a nuclear holocaust and reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, which were adopted in Budapest in July 1986, were fresh proof of their genuine humanism, constructive approach and goodwill. There is no single sphere of international life where socialist states have failed to advance reasonable, constructive proposals. Recently, the peaceful uses of nuclear energy have been attracting particular attention. Nuclear energy turned out to be hard to control. A number of accidents involving nuclear reactors in several countries has shown that these problems are acquiring worldwide significance. It is obvious that they require a sober-minded, businesslike and, first of all, concerted approach. The tragedies

⁵ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 68.

engendered by peaceful atom are not to be a cause for malice and political machinations. That is the Soviet Union's firm conviction.

By approaching the problem honestly and with good intentions, the Warsaw Treaty countries support the idea of developing cooperation with all states in establishing an international regime of the safe development of the nuclear industry. They also propose to convoke a conference that would discuss the entire range of related matters.

As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his speech at the 10th PUWP Congress, "when we speak about Chernobyl, we should keep in mind that there only an infinitesimal part of the destructive power contained in the nuclear weapons amassed in the world went out of control. We resolutely demand their elimination. We sincerely hope that finally the anxious voice of our country and their own public will be heard by the political circles in the West European countries".

Most Asian, African and Latin American states are a major ally of the peace forces. Their history shows very well how the tasks of socio-economic development are tied in with those of maintaining peace. The disastrous situation in the developing countries is now the major global problem. That situation, rather than anything else, is the true cause of many conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism seeks to preserve the economic backwardness and dependence of the developing countries, to perpetuate their role as rightless raw-material appendages of the capitalist economy. It has shackled these countries with an unprecedented external debt, which is already close to a trillion dollars. Net interest payments on that debt come to \$120,000-\$140,000 million per annum.

The economic plunder is backed up with a policy of threats and violence. Washington's doctrine of "neoglobalism" boils down to total disregard for generally recognised norms of international relations, to an encroachment on state sovereignty, and a futile attempt to deprive the peoples of the right to arrange their life as they choose.

To justify its "aircraft-carrier diplomacy", recently once again applied to Libya, the USA keeps plugging the old lie about "communist expansion", the need to "defend democracy" and to "combat international terrorism". In that way, the US Administration deliberately seeks to distort the problem of international terrorism, confusing popular uprisings and revolutions with criminal acts by individual fanatics and extremist provocateurs.

But Washington itself is the main sponsor of terrorism. How else can one classify such US moves as the landing of US troops in Grenada, the attempts on the lives of progressive politicians, the training and arming of the contras, who kill civilians in Nicaragua, and the explosions of Afghan schools, hospitals and mosques staged by dushmans equipped with US military hardware?

But the logic of life itself brings hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America into the ranks of the common anti-imperialist front of struggle for peace and social progress. The peoples have learned to discern the true intentions of world reaction. They realise that these intentions amount to an imperial policy aimed to suppress and enslave, to undermine and stamp out national liberation movements and regimes that do not suit the USA.

At the same time, the peoples are ever more aware that their true ally is world socialism. Its conception, according to which the principle imposed by militarism - armament instead of development—should give way to the principle of *disarmament for development*, meets with support among an ever greater number of developing countries. The USSR regards the economic security of states as an integral part of an all-embracing system of international security. That is the basis for the growing cooperation between the newly-free and the socialist countries for a

radical improvement of the world political climate and for promoting just principles of international security.

The striving of the developing states to break away from the political influence and economic bondage of imperialism is embodied in the non-aligned movement, marked by an anti-imperialist spirit and an irreconcilable attitude to the forces of war and aggression. The movement focusses on the problems of war and peace, independence, disarmament and development. Its members call for peace based on justice and equality, since inequality, exploitation and infringement of sovereign rights are one of the causes of tensions and conflicts in the world.

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, ever more effective action has been taken in the international arena by yet another influential political force: the powerful antiwar movement, which involves representatives of different classes, occupations and social groups. Parties, parliaments and governments cannot but reckon with it. The movement's growth confirms that *the greater the nuclear threat to the modern civilisation, the more active are the forces of mankind's self-preservation.*

The antiwar opposition to the official military-political line of the NATO governments is diverse in its manifestations. It is particularly active in Western Europe, where the deployment of US nuclear missiles has led to a protest movement on an unprecedented scale. Millions of people take part in mass antiwar action: five million FRG citizens have signed the Krefeld Appeal demanding a removal of Pershings and Tomahawks from their country, and the majority of North Europeans has supported the proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. Hundreds and thousands of towns and cities have declared themselves to be zones free from nuclear weapons. A number of leading political parties have written antinuclear demands into their policy-making documents.

Naturally, the peace movement is far from homogeneous. The attempts to portray it as an instrument for attaining the Soviet Union's foreign policy goals or as a result of communist activity are totally groundless. Antiwar organisations have an extremely wide range of slogans, reflecting their whole socio-political spectrum. At the same time, their common goal has been and remains that of nuclear disarmament, stronger international security and peace.

Even in the imperialist states, a sober analysis of the situation helps many politicians and broad public circles to realise the danger of a continued and expanding arms race. One could recall in this context some characteristic statements by prominent US figures. Senator Edward Kennedy says, for instance, that it is time to stop building up military expenditures and armaments, and to show a constructive, sensible approach to the problem of ending nuclear tests and to talks with the Soviet Union on nuclear and space weapons. He emphasised that the present Administration is the first postwar Administration in the USA that has not signed any arms control agreements with the Soviet Union.

Such attitudes are shared by millions of Americans. A public opinion poll held by the *Washington Post* and the ABC television company showed, in particular, that 74 per cent of those polled support the proposals of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Most Americans believe that the USSR is serious in its striving to achieve progress in the field of arms control.

Millions of people across the world realise that in the nuclear age there cannot be any reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Awareness of that indisputable truth is turning into a powerful material force, which bars the way to international adventures.

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THE PROGRAMME FOR REDUCING THE ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

Yu. T O M I L I N

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, held on June 10-11 this year in Budapest, completed a significant task: the member states further coordinated their positions and practical actions on the main current political problems. Their joint initiative on the substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, is especially meaningful. This initiative is set forth in the Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty Member States to the NATO Members, to All European Countries. The new proposals are an important addition to the programme for completely eliminating nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons. They are a "major contribution of the socialist countries to the struggle for the improvement of the international situation", said Mikhail Gorbachev at the June 1986 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

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European security is one of the main problems of international relations today. It was in Europe that both world wars began. And the continent of Europe was the main theatre of warfare during those wars. As a result, the countries on this continent suffered the heaviest losses and devastation.

Today, the threat of war in this part of the world is again very great. Precisely here where the two worlds, the two societies with different social and economic systems meet. In Europe two powerful alignments of armed forces, equipped with the most up-to-date and destructive types of weapons, face each other. Apart from nuclear weapons, they possess the newest tanks, missiles, and aircraft, not to mention fire arms of all types. These so-called conventional weapons are being constantly modernised, made ever more sophisticated and powerful, their combat performance being now very close to mass destruction weapons.

There exists approximate equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in the numerical strength of the armed forces and conventional weapons. It does not mean, of course, that the number of divisions and weapons is completely the same on both sides. Each of them has its own set-up and organisation. This must be taken into account when the balance of strength is estimated. Purely arithmetical, simplified calculation will not give a true picture. For example, the armed forces of Western countries include, apart from servicemen, a large number of civilians employed in military establishments (180,000 in the FRG; 315,000 in Britain; and about 1 million in the USA). In the Soviet armed forces these posts are occupied by servicemen. The strength of divisions is also different: a division of the Warsaw Treaty states' armies numbers not more than 11,000-12,000 persons, while a deployed US division has 16,000 to 19,000 and an FRG division has over 20,000 persons.

Western propaganda goes out of its way to spread the false idea that the Warsaw Treaty countries are "superior" to NATO in the nume-

tical strength of the armed forces and the quantity of some types of conventional weapons. In this way it is trying to prove that both nuclear and conventional weapons must be built up. It is alleged, for instance, that the Warsaw Treaty armies have more divisions, tanks and aircraft.

True, the total number of the divisions of land forces in the USSR is bigger than in the USA. But this is only natural, since by virtue of its geographic and strategic position the Soviet Union is compelled to defend its territory not only in Europe but also in other regions. The total length of the Soviet state frontiers is about 67,000 km, including more than 20,000 km on land. This frontier must be guarded in the West, to counter the NATO threat, in the East, and in the South, since US troops and the armies of US military allies and other countries are present there.

As for Europe, 94 NATO divisions (counting France and Spain) are confronted here by merely 78 divisions of the Warsaw Treaty states, and, as it has been already mentioned, the strength of the Warsaw Treaty division is less than 50 per cent of that of a comparable NATO unit.

The North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty are on approximately the same level as regards tactical aviation. The experts in the West who try to prove that the Warsaw Treaty is superior in this sphere, mention only some aspects in which the Warsaw Treaty is superior to NATO. Thus, the North Atlantic Alliance has less interceptor-fighters than the Warsaw Treaty has, but it has more fighter-bombers and attack planes. On the whole, as it was mentioned in a report to Congress by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US armed forces in 1984, the balance of air force between the two sides in Europe remains more or less stable.

The myth of a Soviet "tank threat" is substantiated in much the same way. At present, the forces of the NATO countries have over 17,000 tanks. Besides, about 3,000 American and 5,000 NATO West European tanks are in the depots of Europe. This approximately equals the number of tanks possessed by the Warsaw Treaty countries.

All kinds of tricks are used to distort the real picture of the balance of forces in the West. Thus the armed forces of France and Spain and the US national guard and the reserve units are not taken into account. Only the weapons of the peace-time regular troops minus the reserve contingents are counted in the NATO armed forces. No account is taken of depots, particularly the tank ones. The number of Warsaw Treaty tactical planes is exaggerated by counting anti-aircraft defence aircraft as part of the "offensive" potential. When calculating the number of land divisions, they mention those which cannot be used for starting military operations unless additional mobilisation measures are taken, though it is quite obvious that the divisions ready for combat must be compared to have a correct picture of the balance of armed forces of the sides.

In actual fact, however, the balance of forces in Europe is as follows: the NATO bloc exceeds the Warsaw Treaty in the total strength of the personnel, in the number of the divisions in combat readiness and in anti-tank weapons and has approximately the same number of artillery pieces and armoured vehicles. NATO is superior in fighter-bombers, which is counter-balanced by the Warsaw Treaty by somewhat bigger number of anti-aircraft interceptor-fighters. On the whole, there is approximate equilibrium in conventional weapons.

As for the idea that Western Europe needs nuclear weapons, including US ones, to "contain" the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking at the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on April 18, 1986, emphasised that the elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe would create a new situation not only for the West but for

the Soviet Union as well. "We should not forget that invasions of our territory in the pre-nuclear age were mounted from the West, and more than once", he said. "Our country will never and under no circumstances," he went on, "begin military operations against Western Europe unless we and our allies become targets of a NATO attack."

This position was backed up by the new initiative concerning conventional weapons and armed forces. Declared by the Soviet Union on April 18, it underlay the basis of the Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty States to the NATO Countries, to All European Countries, which offered a programme of reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

So what does the programme offer?

It offers a substantial reduction of all components of land forces and tactical strike aviation of the European states, as well as of corresponding forces and weapons of the USA and Canada deployed in Europe. Alongside conventional armaments, tactical nuclear arms with a range of up to 1,000 km would be reduced. It should be recalled here that under the programme for eliminating nuclear weapons, advanced on January 15, 1986, the Soviet Union proposed a reduction of these nuclear arms at the second stage, that is, after 1990. In case the Budapest proposals are accepted, the tactical nuclear arms could be reduced earlier.

It has been proposed that the geographic zone of reduction should cover the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe would be reduced under the Budapest proposals gradually, according to agreed schedule, and with a constant military balance observed at lowered levels so that no one's security is impaired. Alongside the formations and units reduced, their organic armaments, including nuclear weapon systems, would also be reduced.

The total volume of reduction is about 25 per cent of the present level. This would amount to over half a million people from each side. If the North Atlantic Alliance displays reciprocity, this goal can be achieved already by the early 1990s, after the required reduction of the land forces and tactical strike air force of both alliances in Europe. The participants in the Budapest meeting proposed that the reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries continue in the future as well.

A one-time mutual reduction in numerical strength of the forces of states in the opposing military-political alliances by 100,000-150,000 troops from each side within one or two years is proposed as an initial step. It would be important that this measure include the reduction of the tactical strike air force.

Though a 25-per cent reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the two military-political alliances has been proposed, it is envisaged that other European countries, too, would be drawn into the process. This would be possible if the armed forces and armaments of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty were reduced substantially.

The components of the armed forces being reduced are proposed to be disbanded by equivalent integral formations and units, alongside their organic armaments and military equipment. Their personnel would be demobilised according to a procedure established in each state.

The armaments and equipment subjected to reduction should be either destroyed or consigned to depots on national territory in keeping with the agreed-upon procedures. As for nuclear charges, they would be de-

stroyed. At the same time, some types of military equipment on arrangement could be put to peaceful purposes.

It was stipulated in the Budapest Appeal that the funds saved as a result of appropriate reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments must not be channelled into developing new types of weapons or for other military purposes. They must be used for economic and social development.

It has been proposed in the Appeal that all the states party to an agreement on reducing the armed forces and armaments would commit themselves to refrain from increasing their land forces and tactical strike aviation beyond limits of the cut-back area. Such a commitment is necessary for the following reasons. First, the territory of three proposed signatory states is completely outside the cut-back area (the USA and Canada) or partially (the USSR). Second, some of the states whose territory is entirely in the reduction zone have troops outside Europe. An increase of the armed forces and armaments of the signatory states outside Europe would, on the one hand, add to the war threat in other regions of the world and, on the other, increase the possibility of the armed forces and armaments being brought back to Europe in violation of the agreement.

The participants in the Budapest meeting have suggested to work out a procedure in which the process of reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments would diminish the danger of a sudden attack and would promote consolidation of military-strategic stability on the European continent. To that end, it is suggested to agree on a considerable reduction at the very outset in the tactical strike air force of both military-political alliances in Europe and also on lessening the concentration of troops along the line of contact of these alliances.

For that purpose it is necessary to work out and implement additional measures, making the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries and all European states more confident that sudden offensive operations will not be launched against them. Arrangements are envisaged for restrictions on large military exercises (as regards their number and scale), for exchange of more detailed information about them, and also about forces and weapon systems drawn into Europe from other areas for the period of exercises, and for other measures envisaged to promoting greater mutual confidence. This question is currently debated at the Stockholm Conference.

Confidence building and provision of more favourable conditions for reduction in armed forces and armaments in Europe would be promoted by such measures as creation of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in Europe, gradual reduction in the military activity of the two military alliances, and establishment of cooperation among their participants on questions of arms limitation and disarmament. The Warsaw Treaty states, as is known, have already displayed the initiative by proposing the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe. The implementation of this proposal is prevented by the West's negative stand. In these conditions, the GDR and Czechoslovakia have proposed that the elimination of chemical weapons from Europe be started in its central part—the FRG, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The Warsaw Treaty states suggest the creation of nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe and in the Balkans. They have responded positively to the Swedish proposal on creating a so-called nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe (they suggest that such a corridor would be 500 to 600 kilometres wide).

The important question is how the implementation of an agreement on the limiting of the armed forces and conventional armaments would be verified. The Warsaw Treaty states propose that both national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspection,

be used for verification. This would ensure reliable and effective control.

Parallel with measures of verification of the entire process of reduction it is proposed to establish observation of the military activities of the forces that remain after cut-backs.

Adequate forms of verification of measures for mutual confidence building to be implemented in accordance with agreements would also be used.

To implement control, the sides would exchange, at an agreed time, data as to total numerical strength of the land forces and tactical strike aviation in the cut-back area and, separately, data on that part of them which is to be reduced and on the part that will remain after the cut-backs, lists of military units to be reduced (disbanded), citing their unit designation, numerical strength, deployment and number of the main agreed-upon types of armaments subject to reduction. There would also be notification about the beginning and completion of cut-backs.

An international consultative commission consisting of representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries as well as of neutral and non-aligned states concerned, and other European countries, would be set up for purposes of control.

On-site inspection of the reduction of armed forces, destruction or storage of armaments could be implemented, when needed, with the invitation of representatives of the international consultative commission. Check-points staffed by representatives of the international consultative commission could be set up for such control at large railway junctions, airfields and ports.

But where could the Warsaw Treaty proposals be discussed? The Appeal offers several answers to this question.

The proposals for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe could be the subject of detailed discussion at the second stage of the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. At present, the first stage is under way. It should be completed by November this year, when a meeting of the CSCE participating states is convened in Vienna. This is expected to be followed by the second stage of the Stockholm Conference.

At the same time, considering the urgency of taking measures to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe, the Warsaw Treaty states hold that discussion of these proposals could be started without delay. They also deem it possible to convene a special forum of European countries, the USA and Canada for this purpose.

They are likewise prepared to broaden the scale of the Vienna talks on mutual reduction in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe by drawing to them other European states and by changing the mandate of the talks accordingly.

Having announced their preparedness to use all possible channels and forums to mutually lower the level of military confrontation on a European scale, the Budapest meeting participants at the same time confirmed their interest in armaments and armed forces reduction in Central Europe and declared once more in favour of an effective consummation of the first stage of the Stockholm Conference.

Of no small importance for assessing the actual intentions of the military-political groupings and of individual countries is the question of military doctrines. The member states of the Warsaw Treaty declared in Budapest that never, under no circumstances, will they launch hostilities against any state, whether in Europe or anywhere else in the world, unless they become the target of aggression. Their proposals stem from their consistent policy of removing the war threat and ensuring a stable and secure peace; and from the defensive nature of their mili-

tary doctrine which presupposes a balance of military forces, at the lowest possible level, and reduction of military potentials to the adequate limits necessary for defence.

The Budapest participants stressed that their proposals for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, being an important addition to the programme for eliminating mass destruction weapons, are, at the same time, of an independent character. The Warsaw Treaty states do not set any preliminary terms for starting a concrete discussion of the proposals. They have made it clear that they are also prepared to study in a constructive spirit any other relevant proposals as well which could be made by the NATO member countries, neutral and non-aligned, and other European states.

The programme for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, advanced at the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee has evoked a positive response throughout the world. It is significant that the West has not found it possible to outrightly reject these proposals. Moreover, the NATO leadership and official spokesmen of some Western countries responded to them quite quickly, stating that the new proposals would be carefully studied and taken into account in "the further NATO efforts to reduce non-nuclear forces in Europe". This was precisely the content of the official statement made on behalf of the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Alliance, Carrington. State Secretary George Shultz pointed to the novelty of the Budapest proposals.

Many Western commentators, noting the fast response of the NATO leadership and the Western countries, interpreted this as a wish to forestall the influence of the new proposals on West European public opinion. Some of them openly express apprehensions that the Budapest proposals would place the NATO countries in a "defensive position" on the issue of conventional armaments and armed forces.

On the whole, a positive response prevails in Western Europe. It is noted that the Warsaw Treaty states have been consistent in matters of preventing a war and easing the tensions in Europe and in the rest of the world. Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, welcomed the new Warsaw Treaty proposals in a special statement for the press and called for their thorough analysis.

Though the NATO leadership and Western powers did not venture to smear the new proposals, they pursue a line which is far from constructive. The same Carrington, merely a few days after his first response to the Budapest proposals, switched over to a position which in no way accords with an intention "to thoroughly analyse and take into account" the constructive proposals. Speaking in Brussels on June 20, he insistently urged the NATO members to go ahead with the conventional arms race and to develop new and more destructive types of such weapons. At the same time, some publications in the US press and in a number of West European media can only be regarded as an attempt to diminish the significance of the new proposals for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments. The idea of asymmetric reduction, according to which the Warsaw Treaty countries should reduce their arms to a greater extent than the NATO countries, is being spread in every way. It is even alleged that arms reductions on the European scale are difficult to carry out.

Such a position will hardly resolve complicated political problems.

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THE SOLID FOUNDATION FOR SOVIET-INDIAN RELATIONS

V. V A V I L O V

August 9, 1971 is a special date in the annals of Soviet-Indian friendship which are rich in memorable events. On this day 15 years ago the Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and India was signed in Delhi. The years which have passed since then have convincingly demonstrated the vital significance of the treaty for the development of diverse ties between the two countries. No one can any longer dispute its major positive role in ensuring peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

The conclusion of the 1971 treaty was the logical result of the preceding development of USSR-India relations, a natural summation of the purposeful efforts of the Soviet and Indian people and their leaders in consolidating the two countries' friendship and cooperation.

Dozens of industrial and other enterprises built in India with the aid of Soviet people, have become an important factor in the country's economic, scientific and technological progress. They have greatly contributed to the country's economic development, to the consolidation of its economic independence by providing more than one fifth of national electricity production, one half of the extraction and thirty per cent of the refinement of oil, and forty per cent of the steel production. At the 10th Meeting of the Intergovernmental Soviet-Indian Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, which took place in Delhi last April, the successful development of this cooperation was noted, especially in the field of the top-priority fuel-and power industry. Ample attention was devoted to establishing new, promising forms and directions of cooperation such as production cooperation in machine-building and other industries. Agreement was reached on preparing programmes of production long-term cooperation. Plans outlined for joint construction of industrial and civil projects in third countries testify to the fact that the economic ties between our two countries have reached new frontiers.

India holds a firm position as the Soviet Union's largest trading partner from among the developing countries, surpassing, in terms of trade volume, a number of industrially-developed capitalist countries. The USSR imports tea, coffee, spices, tobacco, jute-ware, consumer goods. The growth of the export of India's industrial goods to the USSR is a noteworthy feature of the expanding trade contacts between the two countries. Suffice it to say that Indian exports of machinery to the Soviet Union has risen in the last decade by more than ten times. This is one of the most vivid indicators of what India has achieved in the course of its industrialisation.

Independent India's successes are impressive in other areas as well. Its achievements in education, medical services, science and technology, are plain to see. Today Indian scientists are successfully working on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and are carrying out scientific research in the Antarctic, studying ocean and outer space. Soviet scientists share experience with their Indian colleagues in many spheres. The successful space flight in April 1984 of the joint Soviet-Indian crew demonstrated

not only the high effectiveness but also the great potential of USSR-Indian scientific and technological ties.

There are incontestable successes but many problems still remain—unresolved socio-economic problems which face independent India. There are not only problems inherited from the colonial past. Capitalist development in this country, where the past and the present are closely intertwined, is leading to increasing social and property inequality giving birth to new elite groups among the affluent strata and swelling the ranks of the unemployed. In spite of the rapid pace of development, per capita production in India remains 17 times lower than the average world level.

That explains why the Indian government's plans for radically modernising the country are being met with enthusiastic response by the various strata of the population, by political parties and organisations. Whether or not the realisation of these bold plans will bring about a solution to the society's critical social problems—these questions cannot but concern the Indian public.

Representatives of the country's broadest public circles highly value the contribution made by Soviet-Indian cooperation to helping the Indian people solve a number of their pressing socio-economic problems. The Indian observer, Girish Mishra, states in *The Patriot* that the Soviet Union's aim is to assist India in overcoming backwardness." One of the numerous examples of this thrust in Soviet-Indian cooperation is the construction of industrial enterprises concentrated in the regions of India which are relatively backward. Thereby, concrete aid is rendered in evening out the level of economic development of certain regions of the country and in abolishing the disproportions in the socio-economic conditions of the country's different states. One peculiarity of Soviet-Indian cooperation is the aid rendered to strengthening India's scientific and technical potential, which is of particular significance. With the USSR's help design bureaus and research and development organisations have been set up in machine-building, oil industry, ferrous metallurgy and other industries which have become important centres of scientific and technical progress.

The successful development of trade and economic, scientific and technical ties between the USSR and India serves as a clear example of equality, mutual benefit and justice in international relations which the socialist and developing countries support.

The Soviet and Indian people are showing ever greater interest in each others' life, culture and art. The USSR Festival in India and the Indian Festival in the USSR, planned for 1987 and 1988, will be large-scale events in USSR-Indian relations. These events are dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 40th anniversary of India's Independence Day.

The history of relations between these two countries abounds in examples of the USSR's consistent and unflagging support for the Indian people's struggle against intrigues by outside forces, in defence of their country's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. A strong and united India capable of solving the difficult problems hindering its independent development—that is the kind of India the Soviet people would like to see.

This is the key to the fundamentally different approaches taken towards India by the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the neo-colonialist, imperialist circles, on the other. It would undoubtedly be an oversimplification to suggest that the latter intend to rob one of the largest countries of the Afro-Asian world of its independence, the task which is impossible to solve under the present conditions. It is also indisputable that the imperialist forces, especially the USA, would like to "correct" India's foreign policy course, as well as the key directions of its domestic economic policy in order to advance their expansionist interests in South

Asia and the adjacent regions. Is this not proven by the continuing massive arming of Pakistan, a US ally, with modern American weapons, most of which are concentrated on the borders with India? Or take a burning issue like the constant incursions of extremist and terrorist forces into India's strategically important northwest state, Punjab. During debates in India's parliament the country's press often cited facts of how the imperialists intelligence services, especially those of the USA, render Sikhs diversified aid.

Recall just a few such facts. The idea for a so-called "independent Sikh state", Khalistan, emerged in the emigre circles of Sikhs living in the West, with the active involvement of the CIA. With its cooperation terrorists from Sikh extremist organisations are trained in special camps on the territory of Pakistan and then secretly infiltrate into India.

This avid interest in the Sikh terrorists and separatists on the part of the imperialist circles is quite understandable. They are attempting to bog India down with internal problems, divest its foreign policy of its dynamism and its constructive thrust.

However, as experience has shown, these intentions have failed to yield the expected results. Resisting imperialism's meddling, India is carrying out an independent, peaceful foreign policy which exerts positive influence on the world political climate. India's adherence to a course of non-alignment has earned it high respect in the world community. India regards non-alignment as an active realisation of the principles of non-participation in military blocks, peaceful coexistence and the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Having different social and political systems the Soviet Union and India naturally hold their own opinions on certain international issues and each has its own tasks to fulfil in carrying out their respective foreign policy courses. However, when it comes to the main issues of today—the problems of maintaining and consolidating peace in Asia and the entire world—the positions of the two countries are very similar or coincide. It is also of no little importance that the Soviet Union earnestly respects India's non-aligned stand, unlike the imperialist circles which, depending on the political situation, either attempt to discredit India's foreign policy or act hypocritically, pouring on the praise. The attitude held by the Soviet Union to one of the main aspects of India's foreign policy is reflected in the Soviet-Indian Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. One of the treaty's articles states that the USSR respects India's non-aligned policy and again underscores that this policy is one of the main factors for maintaining universal peace and international security and in reducing world tensions. On the other hand, the treaty contains a provision to the effect that "the Republic of India respects the peace policy carried out by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at consolidating friendship and cooperation among all peoples."

The strengthening of bilateral political cooperation was and remains the common direction taken by the two countries—cooperation which heavily contributes to the efforts of the peace forces. This cooperation takes diverse forms including reciprocal visits by heads of state and government, regular consultations between the Foreign Affairs Ministries and cooperation between Soviet and Indian representatives in the United Nations and other international organisations. Soviet and Indian delegations maintain close, fruitful contacts at the sessions of the UN General Assembly, at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean, and many other committees and organisations.

High level contacts and the reciprocal visits made by Soviet and Indian leaders play an especially important role in dynamically developing USSR-Indian diverse ties. These visits do not consist merely of summing

up the gains made through bilateral cooperation and discussing vital world problems, but also indicate the new landmarks for the development and consolidation of Soviet-Indian cooperation. This was again confirmed by the results of the meetings and discussions held between the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, which took place in Moscow in May and October 1985, and showed that the successful development of the many-sided Soviet-Indian ties based on the solid foundation provided by the Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, plays an ever more important role in the whole system of international relations.

Proof of this first of all is in our countries' approach to issues on which depends humankind's future, actually civilisation itself. Thus, the USSR and India share the opinion that it is imperative to keep the world from slipping to the brink of nuclear catastrophe, to stop the senseless arms race and reach a turning point in the development of the international relations, in favour of detente. Based on these priorities India came out in support of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives, including the large scale programme contained in the statement made on January 15, 1986 by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev for eliminating weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century.

Noting the exceptional significance of this programme for the cause of peace and security, Rajiv Gandhi pointed out: We wholeheartedly welcome this important initiative. We hope that the other side responds to this offer just as enthusiastically. The Soviet Union's programme is an alternative to nuclear arms race in space; it is a search for real ways of freeing the world of nuclear arms. It is indicative that at the session of the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned Movement, which took place last April in Delhi, and in which India played a large role, support of the Soviet Union's "universal and timely programme for nuclear disarmament" was expressed. India actively works towards expanding the basis for anti-nuclear, anti-war movement. This is evidenced by the increased role in recent times of the Delhi Six—India, Tanzania, Argentina, Mexico, Sweden and Greece—in the efforts of the peace forces.

The USSR and India both staunchly advocate that outer space research and use effectively serve the cause of peace and progress, resolve global problems facing humankind. At the 40th UN General Assembly India co-authored a resolution on halting the arms race in outer space, in which were also reflected the ideas advanced by the Soviet Union as regards the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. India, like the Soviet Union, unconditionally advocates that all nuclear powers adopt a pledge of non-first use of nuclear weapons.

The USSR and India actively support the idea of converting the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water into a treaty on the universal ban on testing these weapons.

In his address to the 40th UN General Assembly, India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appealed that no chance for peace should slip by. He stated: "Control of weaponry is becoming more complex. Action and reaction are being removed from the realm of human decision. The button threatens to press itself."

In India, as in the rest of the world, wide response was evoked by the proposals for concrete measures for limiting arms and disarmament advanced this year by the Warsaw Treaty members at their Political Consultative Committee meeting last June. Highly appraising these proposals the Indian press and the mass media as a whole have noted that, in spite of the Washington Administration's counter-actions, the socialist countries have not slackened their peace offensive, thereby inspiring other peace forces.

The Soviet Union and India hold similar positions in such important areas as the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. An important component of USSR-India joint or parallel actions has been and remains support for the right of peoples to sovereignty and independence, solidarity with countries victimised by imperialist aggression. In this connection it should be noted that the Indian leadership actively helped bring about resolute condemnation of American aggression against Libya in April 1986, which resounded at the Delhi session of the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned movement held at that time. It is indicative that a group of this sessions' participants, headed by the Indian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was sent to Tripoli and then to New York to participate in a session of the UN Security Council in order to express solidarity with the Libyans and draw world attention to the intolerable international piracy in relation to Libya.

Undoubtedly, the visits by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola and Tanzania last May significantly contributed to mobilisation of world public opinion in support of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa.

The USSR renders extensive and diverse aid to the national liberation movement and to the newly free countries, be they in Africa, or in the regions of the Mediterranean, or East Asia, or in the Middle East. This strengthens the common potential of all the world's champions of peace, independence and progress, hinders imperialism's attempts to alter in its own favour the world balance of forces. Experience shows that the consolidation of cooperation between the non-aligned countries and the socialist nations plays an important role in this. And it is no accident that the leading imperialist powers lay special stake in undermining the ties of the participants of the non-aligned movement with the socialist countries, especially the USSR.

In this connection it should be recalled how imperialist circles attempted to undermine the Indian public's trust in the 1971 Soviet-Indian Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation when it had barely come into effect. False rumours were spread about the Treaty having a military-political character and being directed against other countries. Lies were also spread to the effect that the Soviet-Indian document hindered India's independent role in the international arena, put into question its status as a non-aligned state. The goal was to discredit India's independent, peaceful policy, to undermine its position in the non-aligned movement and in the international arena as a whole. Some in the West very much wanted to weaken the appeal which the idea of cooperation with the Soviet Union has among the developing countries, frighten these nations with an imagined "Soviet threat".

Indira Gandhi firmly rebuked the hostile plans by the enemies of Indian-Soviet friendship. She did much to develop friendly relations between India and the USSR and took a most active part in preparing the 1971 Treaty. "Our people look upon the Soviet Union," she pointed out, "as a friend. That is why the treaty has received such widespread acclaim in the country."

The events which have taken place in the fifteen years which have passed since the treaty was signed clearly testify that this historical document has become an important stabilising factor in the system of international relations serving as an example of interstate relations based on mutual trust, equality and peaceful cooperation.

Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, during an official friendly visit to the USSR in May 1985, particularly noted that friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is an inseparable component of India's foreign policy. "The Soviet-Indian treaty," he stated, "reflects our deep mutual respect and serves the interest of peace."

The importance and international significance of the all-round consolidation of Soviet-Indian relations was once more noted in a talk between Mikhail Gorbachev and India's Minister of External Affairs and Trade P. Shiv Shankar on June 14, 1986. Mikhail Gorbachev noted that at present the USSR and India's historical destinies have much in common, and this, together with the will of both peoples, their mutual affability, forms the objective and reliable basis of solidarity and mutual understanding between the two great countries, nourishes the deep roots of their friendly ties.

As years go by, the world sees many changes, but the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India steadily progresses. These relations meet the vital, fundamental interests of both the Soviet and Indian peoples. This explains their stable and dynamic development, this is the guarantee of future successes in all-round Soviet-Indian cooperation, based on the firm foundation of the Treaty on Friendship, Peace and Cooperation.

THE PROGRAMME FOR REDUCING THE ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

(Continued from page 27)

The goal of modern diplomacy should be to establish mutual understanding. Everyone stands to gain from this. "This", underscored Mikhail Gorbachev at a luncheon in honour of President of France, Francois Mitterrand, "concerns first of all Europe for which not only nuclear war is dangerous. There are over 150 atomic reactors and hundreds of chemical plants on European territory. A few conventional shells, having destroyed a reactor, are all it requires to take many human lives. Any type of armed conflict--ordinary and extraordinary--would become the detonator of a world catastrophe."

The new important initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries is making itself felt. To lower the level of military confrontation in Europe, create a more stable situation there, and decrease the threat of war would be in the interest of the peoples not only in Europe but in the whole world.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION OVER THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE

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The modern world, as was stated at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, is complicated, diverse and dynamic, and shot through with contending tendencies. One of these spells nuclear danger produced by imperialism, which generates the policy of aggression and reckless ventures, which is responsible for the two world wars and numerous local armed conflicts. Yet, parallel with that negative tendency, there is a positive one which offers humanity a real chance of avoiding a nuclear disaster. However great may be the threat to peace created by the policy of aggressive imperialism, says the Programme of the CPSU, "*world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe.*" That is a life-asserting statement, indeed, for it inspires faith in the victory over the forces of aggression and war and rallies millions on all continents to staunchly fight for peace and life on this planet.

The contest of the opposite tendencies affects all the basic areas of the world's social activities—political, economic, scientific, technological and military. This contest is closely fought on the ideological battlefield, too. It is a confrontation of two diametrically opposite ways of political thinking and acting, two fundamentally different modes of approach to the solution of the cardinal problem of modern times: on the one hand, there is the Marxist-Leninist ideology of peace and social progress and, on the other, the reactionary, imperialist ideology purporting to justify militarism and war. This contest is bound to be won eventually by communist ideology arming the workers for peace with a powerful ideological weapon.

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The ideological contest involves all aspects of the war and peace question which have been pushed into the foreground by the very course of social development. A pitched ideological battle is going on over the sources of wars and violence. It is a clash of views of various classes, parties, states, and social systems which interpret it from their own political, philosophic and methodological positions.

Class-divided society, based on private property and exploitation, is known to have bred no end to major and minor wars which are estimated to have killed about 4,000 million people and caused untold material damage.

The dominant exploiter classes, banking on war as an instrument by which to pursue their policies, have used it and continue to use it for consolidating and increasing their power, suppressing and subjugating the working masses, enslaving and oppressing peoples, and seizing foreign lands. V. I. Lenin emphasised that war "is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes".¹ It is they he said, that are usually the first to resort to violence,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1962, p. 565.

to war and so "place the bayonet on the agenda".² And that has been going on for thousands of years.

While times changed, with one antagonistic social and economic system of society yielding ground to another, the deep-seated violence-breeding causes remained, and war continued to bring untold suffering to the peoples and destroy whole empires, leaving death and devastation in its train. As productive forces developed, weapons of warfare improved, and the strength of the armies and navies increased, the frontiers of armed violence were extending and the consequences of war were growing from bad to worse. The scale and extent of these consequences assumed unprecedented proportions with the appearance of missiles and nuclear weaponry of tremendous destructive power. Their rapid build-up and qualitative improvement confronted the world with a terrible danger knowing no parallel in all of history—a prospect of multiple destruction not only of the belligerents, but of all humanity as well.

Responsibility for such a situation lies squarely with US imperialism which was the first to create and the first to use those deadly weapons, and more than once threatened to use them again. And now the US militarists are not only speeding up the arms race here on earth, but are determined to carry it into space. To escape retaliation, they are planning to supplement their first-strike nuclear-missile "sword" with a "shield" of large-scale anti-missile space-based defence. It is these monstrous designs, which the US is harbouring in collaboration with its NATO allies, that are cynically passed off as a way to rid humanity of the nuclear burden and as a peace-keeping factor. In an article, "The Vision of the Future", published by the *Europäische Wehrkunde* magazine, Pentagon chief, Caspar Weinberger, has self-righteously declared that the "strategic defense initiative" gives the only hope for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. That is the perverted logic of modern militarism trying to cover up its aggressive image with the insistence on defence.

In search of an ideological justification for the militaristic course of the US and NATO fraught with nuclear disaster, imperialist propaganda is resorting to all kinds of subtle ploys, first of all distorting history which is presented as a disorderly chain of events, conflicts and wars. Some bourgeois ideologues picture violence as integral to the historical process and mechanically project military experience of the past into modern times. The comments by the West German historian Golo Mann can be taken as a case in point. He believes that the Peloponnesian War of 431-404 B. C. between the states of Athens and Sparta is a direct indication for the people as to how they should act today. In other words, militarist-minded historians declare violence, above all armed violence, to be a "law of history" and the deciding factor in the past, present and future.

Along with producing historical parallels and arguments claiming violence to be unavoidable and the policy of aggression legitimate, painstaking efforts have been made to infect the minds of the masses with numerous concepts (sociological, biological, psychological, technocratic, etc.) intended to justify war and blur over its true socio-economic, class and political sources and causes.

The advocates of such concepts interpret war either as an ineradicable biological phenomenon lurking in human genes and blood, or as a psychological phenomenon produced by the aggressive nature of man, who is said to be prone to violence. For instance, the West German Professor Helmut Kuhn declares that "man is a danger to himself and to those

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1974, p. 346.

like him".³ This is the pattern used by the former US presidential National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski in his evaluation of Soviet-American relations. In the conflict with the Soviet Union, he contends, they have to deal with the qualitatively most different postulates of human essence.⁴ By placing all responsibility for the outbreak of conflicts on man, interpreted in the abstract, bourgeois political scientists whitewash imperialism as the source of armed conflicts and wars.

Constructing the ideological rationale for the aggressive course of the US and its allies has been and still is the business of a large group of conservative-minded social and political scientists, called "civilian militarists". Their numerous works of the last few decades, circulated in large editions in Western countries, have been concerned with direct and indirect advocacy of violence, justification of the development of the most advanced weapons, substantiation of the concept of "acceptability", "permissibility" and "winnability of nuclear war". Among these works one can mention, first of all, Herman. Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War* and *Thinking About the Unthinkable* and *On Escalation*; the book by R. Aron *Peace and War*, to mention just a few. These works, produced either on direct orders from the military-industrial complex, or, at any rate, in keeping with its fundamental precepts, have turned out to be, as the American political scientist Colin Gray has estimated, a way of ideologically justifying the emergence of a "golden age" for big arms manufacturers or, in plain terms, of the nuclear strategy of the US and NATO.

The ideological camouflage for the policy of social revenge on a global and local scales, carried out by clever imperialist propagandists, cannot obscure the undeniable fact that it is modern-day militarism, with the US as its centre, that spells mortal danger to the peoples. It is the prime source of the threat of war. The tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the bloody war against Vietnam, the years-long blockade of Cuba, the flouting of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed invasion of defenceless Grenada, the wanton bombings of Libyan cities, and the aggressive actions against Nicaragua are but a few of the numerous atrocities of imperialism which will forever remain the most disgraceful pages of its history.

A no less dramatic ideological battle is going on over the essence of war, its connection with politics and political relations. This battle, which is growing increasingly complicated, is influenced by the far-reaching changes in the alignment of forces on the world scene as well as by the fundamental modification of the military art due to the scientific and technological revolution.

War is a complex and contradictory phenomenon connected in a hundred and one ways with various aspects of life in class-divided society. But most important and most essential is the connection between politics and violence. As applied to wars, one basic definition of dialectics, V. I. Lenin said, is that "war is simply the continuation of politics by other means," that is, by violent means.⁵ This proposition provides a key to a thorough understanding of the essence of war as socio-political and class-inspired phenomenon.

The Marxist-Leninist perception of the essence of war is based, first, on a dialectical materialist and class-governed definition of politics as a concentrated expression of economics. Second, it is based on bringing

³ H. Kuhn, *Ideologie—Hydra der Staatenwelt*, Köln, etc., 1985, p. 407.

⁴ Quoted from G. Urban, *Gespräche mit Zeitgenossen*, Weinheim und Basel, 1982, p. 212.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 21, 1964, p. 219.

out the specific ways of achieving political ends and the means, forms, and methods of armed struggle. Third, it is based on an analysis of the deep-seated interrelationship between politics and violence. Fourth, it is based on resolutely exposing the diverse forms of distortion of the essence of war by bourgeois ideologues, politicians, and military theorists.

Bourgeois social and political scientists either pass over or deny the connection of the policy of imperialist states with its material basis—the economy of monopoly capitalism, emasculate its class-based substance, blur over its reactionary essence, and give it an idealistic interpretation.

At the same time, policy, above all, foreign policy, is being militarised and identified with violence and with the “struggle for power”. American neo-conservative ideologues have been showing themselves insidious in the militarisation of politics. As stated in the book *Neo-Conservatism in the US*, they consider American military power to be the decisive criterion in world politics.⁶ Militarisation of politics is accompanied by the politicisation of the means of violence, including nuclear arms. For example, the West German military writer Adelbert Weinstein, an advocate of “power politics”, writes: “The nuclear weapon is a political weapon. One can only threaten to use it. And that threat is formidable. It is one of almost mythical power.”⁷ The author naturally passes over the tragedy of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki destroyed by American atomic bombs and the disastrous consequences that can be brought on by modern nuclear weapons.

So one effect of militarising politics, on the one hand, and politicising the means of violence, on the other, is dissolution, as a matter of fact, of the boundary line between politics and war, between the political and the military forms and means of warfare. It implies treating as real war the “political warfare” waged by means of subversive action, blackmail, deception, etc. The formula denoting the essence of war is transformed, the politics and the means of violence are treated in reverse, thereby distorting it: “Politics is the continuation of war by other means.” In other words, war is presented as a “fundamental political factor”. In tune with this view, British General Robert Scott declared that “World War III started before World War II ended.” Such is the concept of “politicisation” misrepresenting the essence of war and its connection with politics.

Yet another way of misrepresenting the essence of war is by treating it as something unrelated to the policies of classes and states. One can see that expressed in the attempts at reducing the concept of war to one of a purely physical process of extermination and destruction.

For instance, the American philosopher, E. Chargaff, maintained in his book *Criticism of the Future* that war is legalised mass slaughter and as such is rooted in the very essence of man.⁸ The British sociologist and mathematician L. Richardson describes war as large-scale murder. The only difference between sporadic murder and war, as he sees it, is in the number of casualties.⁹ American political scientists D. Singer and M. Smoll, referring to L. Richardson, say that war is a conflict involving at least 1,000 troops of both warring parties. In their writings, these authors pass over the social nature of armed violence, its material and economic roots, its social role and the connection it has with the policies of the exploiting classes and states.

It is from these slanted positions that bourgeois ideologues analyse the essence of war in general and that involving nuclear weapons in

⁶ *Neokonservatismus in den USA*, Opladen, 1983, p. 146.

⁷ *Politik und Ethik der Abschreckung*, München, 1984, p. 99.

⁸ E. Chargaff, *Kritik der Zukunft*, Stuttgart, 1983, p. 114.

⁹ See *UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*, Westport-Paris, 1981, pp. 134-135.

particular. War, in their opinion, has ceased to be a continuation of politics by other means; it has developed from a socio-political act into a purely "technical phenomenon" and into "absolute war". Here is, for instance, how the West German sociologist Reiner Rilling has summed up the essence of the world wars. The First World War, he declares, was a war of chemistry. The Second World War was a war of physics whose development led to the creation of nuclear weapons and appropriate carrier systems... The Third World War would be a war of electronics, computer technology and mathematics.¹⁰ Arguments of this kind are being used in an effort to mislead the mass of the people with regard to the class-political essence of modern war, conceal its true causes and acquit the military establishment from responsibility for war preparations.

However, realising that a global nuclear confrontation would mean the destruction of all living creatures on Earth, imperialist ideologues, politicians, and military leaders, feverishly clinging to the deadly weapons, are looking for ways to limit their employment. Their intention is to confine a world war to a framework of their own choosing, put certain limits on it, and turn it into a less dangerous instrument for achieving their political ends. That is where the theory of "limited war" comes in. Its adepts neither condemn nor reject nuclear war, but seek to have it legitimised in reduced proportions and tailored to the needs of US imperialism. The book *Neo-Conservatives and the "New Right"*, prepared by Western political scientists, says that a limited war is quite welcome.¹¹ Other writings, while admitting the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war escalating into a global one (this dangerous course of events is an almost 100-per cent probability), still see it as "perfectly conceivable and plannable". While trying to justify "limited" wars, bourgeois ideologues liken them to political actions and play down their dangerous consequences. Such an approach means treating these wars as a technical operation without any class or political content.

Contrary to the absurd contentions of bourgeois ideologues, "limited" wars, just like world wars, constitute a form of continuation of the policy of imperialism by violent means. The relatively small space involved, limited use of forces and means, and restricted purpose do not change the class essence of such wars and their connection with aggressive policies.

A wide range of ideas and concepts declaring war to be a permanent phenomenon and distorting its real essence have formed the ideological groundwork for imperialism's aggressive foreign policy and military-strategic programmes at official, government level. First of all, there has been the doctrine of "flexible response" which lies at the bedrock, as it were, of the present foreign policy course of the US and its allies in the aggressive NATO bloc. It implies preparing for all kinds of imperialist wars: global and local, major and minor, involving nuclear and conventional arms. As Caspar Weinberger declared in the above-mentioned article, US basic strategy of deterrence by flexible response remains vital and effective. This doctrine means building up the NATO armed forces which are said to represent a "potential deterrent", but actually pose a threat to international peace and security.

Unlike imperialism, trying to arrest the march of history by force and to regain what it has lost, socialism has never, at its own will, linked its future with the military solutions of international problems. It is erecting an ever more solid barrier in the way of the ideology and politics of war and militarism, reaction and violence, and of all forms of inhum-

¹⁰ *Verantwortung für den Frieden*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1983, p. 246.

¹¹ *Neokonservative und "Neue Rechte"*, München, 1983, p. 137.

anity, and staunchly working for social progress and a safer world and international security.

Objective conditions on the international scene exist today, as stated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, for the confrontation between capitalism and socialism to proceed only in the form of peaceful competition. The policy of total opposition and armed confrontation has no future. Going with this assumption the Soviet Union's foreign policy is committed to the unfailing pursuit of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

To match the peace-seeking ambitions of this country's foreign policy, there is the Soviet military doctrine which the 27th Congress of the CPSU has reaffirmed as being defensive, first and foremost. The USSR is a most consistent opponent of nuclear war in any form. This country has pledged no-first-use of nuclear weapons and will stand by it most faithfully. It has been speaking out for the removal of weapons of mass destruction from national armouries and for reasonably limiting the war potential. However, nearly all the attempts at arriving at the terms of the character and level of this limit have been blocked by the stand and action of the US and its partners whose military-strategic doctrines are spurring on the arms race and encouraging preparations for a nuclear war.

An analysis of the social and political essence of peace and of the ways and means of preserving it has also become a subject of ideological confrontation. It has assumed unprecedented dimensions and urgency, and produces a serious, ever-growing influence on the mood, feeling, and will of millions now struggling in every corner of this planet for peace, against nuclear self-destruction.

It is typical of imperialist ideology, particularly, of its conservative school, not only to militarise politics, but to look at any time of peace in the world's history through a loophole and to see it as nothing short of a tug-of-war and "brinkmanship" in international relations.

The major road to peace, the ideologues, politicians and military leaders of imperialism would have us believe, lies only through the build-up of the nuclear and space arms potential of the US and NATO, designed to intimidate the opponent, and only through preparations for a nuclear showdown. In a national television appearance last February, President Reagan declared, among other things, that preparation for war is one of the most effective means of keeping the peace. In his judgement, force is the most convincing argument, the USA's trump card in negotiations with the Soviet Union. He once more agitated for militarising space, insisting on the implementation of his "star wars" programme within the shortest possible period of time.

Yet another way used to militarise peace is by seeking to identify it with war, by blurring over the essential difference between these opposite phenomena. The sharpening of the political, ideological, and other forms of confrontation between the two social systems, bourgeois ideologues argue, has shattered the earlier notions of war and peace, of their relationship, destroyed the line of demarcation between them and transformed peace into a variety of war, a means of preparing it. For instance, the American political scientist, Bernard Weissberger, says in his book *Cold War, Cold Peace* that a "war" in which Soviet and American soldiers are not shooting at each other has been going on for forty years. He calls it a "war where the fingers never dare to squeeze—or to let go off—the nuclear trigger. Forty years of 'peace' that is neither tranquil nor assured, of 'peace' under arms, 'peace' burdened by suspicion

and fear, 'peace' in which the language of diplomacy is indistinguishable from the language of conflict".¹² Similar views are to be found in a publication on peace by Israeli and West German sociologists. Its authors claim that the present global situation is best described as a "peace-war". The balance between peace and war is presented in this book as "unstable", with a "constant possibility" of either of them.¹³ Bourgeois ideologues ascribe such precepts, which mean denying the fundamental difference between peace and war, to Marxism-Leninism which, they assert, treats peace and war as "synonyms" for they are a "continuation of politics". In doing so, they pass over the essential distinction between the means used for it in time of peace and in time of war. An identification of peace and war and the dissolution of the boundary line between them is a dangerous form of falsification, making it easier for the aggressive militarist forces to break peace and to prepare and trigger off conflicts and wars.

Nor do the essence of peace and the ways of keeping it acquire scientifically-grounded interpretation in the writings of those Western authors who have realised the harmfulness of the "nuclear model of peace" lying at the root of the aggressive political course of the US and its allies. These authors have been producing a wide variety of concepts of peace and projects for preserving it—economic, political, ideological, moral, religious and so on and so forth. But such concepts and models are built on an idealistic outlook and pluralistic methodology, on a misconstruction of the sources and causes of the nuclear threat, and on an underestimation of the danger of the aggressive policy and strategy of the warmongering circles of imperialism, pushing humanity to the brink of self-destruction. Obviously, such projects can give no clear guide to the peace movement, millions-strong, in its confrontation with the dangerous monster of the 20th century, nuclear space militarism.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of peace rejects its abstract and idealistic interpretation, exposes the utopian projects for its stabilisation, analyses the problem from the class-governed positions, and links the ways of strengthening peace with the struggle of workers, of all working masses and all progressive forces for their social emancipation and national liberation, and for saving humanity from the scourge of wars of extermination.

An inestimable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of peace has been made by the 27th Congress of the CPSU which has put forward what is an historic programme, in scale and meaning, for action to end the arms race, bring about disarmament, and assure universal security. This programme is an alloy of the philosophy of providing a secure peace in the nuclear space age with the platform of concrete action. The Congress has once more conclusively proved socialism and peace, peace and creation to be indivisible, and has once more demonstrated that the overriding objective of Soviet policy is a secure and just peace for all nations.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress has underscored that socialism unconditionally rejects war as a means of settling political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes among states. Our ideal is a world without arms and violence, a world in which each nation is free to choose its path of development and its way of life. This is an expression of the humanism of Communist ideology and its moral values.

As distinct from the USA, the creation of nuclear missile systems in

¹² B. Weisberger, *Cold War, Cold Peace*, New York, 1984, p. 306.

¹³ See *Frieden und Friedenssicherung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, München, 1981, p. 43.

the USSR has been dictated by external necessity, by the imperative need for defence capability to guard against US imperialism's nuclear provocations. That has been an enforced, foreign-imposed counter-measure, a manifestation of concern for our own security, for our allies and friends. The military-strategic parity thus achieved has substantially restricted the aggressive plans and possibilities of imperialism to start a war.

The Soviet state and its allies do not seek any military superiority, nor will they tolerate any upsetting of the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the US and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. What they are consistently pressing for is not a scaling-up, but a scaling-down of this parity and arms cuts by both sides, for it is impossible to strengthen the peace by building up nuclear, space, and conventional arms. "In the nuclear age," Mikhail Gorbachev has pointed out, "the world armed to the teeth and still arming itself is fraught with the danger of a nuclear war breaking out, even if we presume that nobody wants it. Such a peace is fragile and unstable." That is why the USSR and other socialist countries are pressing for a scaling-down of the military confrontation with equal security maintained.

This country has brought a programme for a nuclear-free world before the world's nations. The programme calls for wholly and entirely scrapping nuclear weapons by the end of this century by ending the testing and making of all their systems, by all the nuclear powers renouncing the first use of such weapons, freezing, reducing, and destroying their stocks, and preventing the spread of the arms race to space. It likewise provides for ending the production and eliminating other types of weapons of wholesale annihilation, including chemical weapons, banning the development of new types of such weapons, and cutting national armed forces.

One of the most important components of the Soviet peace programme is the concept of an all-embracing system of international security set forth in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. The principles it formulated for such a system to be built on in the military, political, economic, and humanitarian fields offer full scope for the productive cooperation of all governments, parties, social organisations and movements preoccupied with the destinies of the world. It means creating a framework for direct and systematic dialogue—bilateral and multilateral—between the leaders of the world community of nations. Ensuring international security is more and more a political problem which can and must be resolved by political means. This is a new and fruitful idea in world politics.

The most burning problem before humanity—the problem of preventing war and safeguarding peace—calls for a new approach and a new mode of political thinking. That is what Mikhail Gorbachev said during the Soviet-US summit in Geneva. This idea was reaffirmed and carried forward at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. One can no longer think in terms of the past and act by old methods in the nuclear and space age.

While consistently pursuing a peace-building foreign policy, one of curbing the arms race and securing peace for the Soviet people and for the planet's population, our party and state must keep the questions of reinforcing the national defences in their field of vision at all times. They have been exerting and will continue to exert every effort to keep the Armed Forces of the USSR at a level high enough to preclude any strategic superiority of the forces of imperialism and to upgrade Soviet defence capability in every way and to promote close cooperation between the armies of the fraternal socialist nations. Our Armed Forces must be most vigilant and ever ready to cut short the scheming of imperialism.

ideological confrontation in the nuclear age, having become an ever present battlefield, permeates every aspect of the problem of relationship of politics, war and peace, and covers its numerous areas, each being a most dramatic scene of the ideological and political opposition. The imperialist-engineered "ideological" and "psychological" warfare are, as stated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, a special form of aggression and direct political and psychological preparation for war. To that end, a giant machine for massive propaganda has been created, equipped with up-to-date technical facilities and staffed by a huge force of trained specialists who are hostile to socialism.

Contrary to those bourgeois political scientists who hold war to be a driving force of history and to the imperialist "peace-makers" committed to building up what is already a giant stockpile of arms, Marxist-Leninist ideology is proving the possibility and necessity of banishing from the life of humanity not only armed violence but even any threat to use violence. This proposition is seen to be particularly valid today when the problem of war and peace boils down, in effect, to a fatally decisive question for human civilisation.

It is only upon the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and with the socialist system well established on earth that the peoples saw a prospect of a world without wars and without arms opening up before them. Socialism and peace are indivisible. "Outside of socialism there is *no* deliverance of humanity from wars," V. I. Lenin emphasised.¹⁴ It is socialism that, with Marxist-Leninist theory to fall back on, has shown that a world war is not fatally inevitable and that it can be prevented.

The Marxist-Leninist science of war and peace is not just a scientific theory to explain the sum and substance of what is the trickiest problem of modern times. It is a guide to action, a clear and concrete programme to ensure the enjoyment of what is the basic human right of all, the right to live. This is the noble objective that all the foreign policy efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are designed to achieve. To oppose the inhuman essence of imperialism and its militaristic ideology, they advance real life-asserting humanism, and uphold the supreme and highest moral values which are flouted by the forces of bellicose reaction.

In the fiercest confrontation with the imperialist ideology of aggression and war, Marxism-Leninism, the greatest revolutionary science, is mounting its offensive, winning over ever more masses. It equips people with a profoundly scientific understanding of the laws and prospects of social development, helps them find their bearings in the intricacy of events, correctly identify and resolve the cardinal issues of international politics, build up the vast potential of peace, reason, and good will. This is a potent, unconquerable intellectual weapon in the battle for peace on earth, in the struggle against aggressive ideology and the policy of nuclear space militarism.

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1964, p. 37.

US ECONOMY IN THE 1980s: PROBLEMS AND TRENDS

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The United States of America is the biggest economic centre in the system of modern state-monopoly capitalism. Although in the postwar period its role in that system has markedly weakened, over one third of the gross, including industrial, output of the developed capitalist countries is still produced on US territory. As regards this and many other aggregate indicators, the United States is well ahead of its Western competitors. It is quite natural therefore that the USA continues to exert decisive influence on the development and deepening of all major crisis phenomena in the world capitalist economy. As the CPSU Programme¹ notes, "in conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, which combines the strength of the monopolies and the state, the conflict between the vastly increased productive forces and capitalist production relations is becoming ever more acute. The inner instability of the economy is growing, which is seen in the slowing down of the overall rates of its growth, in the intertwining and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease, and budget deficits and state debts have reached a colossal scale."¹ All these processes are underway, in a concentrated form, in the United States. Moreover, they are often generated there to spread subsequently to other industrial centres of the world capitalist economy.

The 1980s are increasingly exposing the intrinsic connection between the growing instability of the development of the US national economy and the steadily expanding antagonistic capitalist contradictions at the present-day stage of the general crisis of capitalism. It would be premature to sum up this decade now, but there is ample proof to assert that the past six years have become one of the most difficult and complex periods in the country's postwar economic history. This period has proved to be even more unfavourable for the United States than the 1970s. Convincing evidence is contained in numerous official statistical documents, including the latest economic report by the US President to Congress.

The present US Administration spares no efforts in lauding its activities. Above all, it is attempting to convince public opinion at home and overseas that "Reaganomics" has already resulted in unheard-of boons for Americans and that it is opening up new vistas for accelerated development and future "prosperity". In his address to Congress, the President said: "The major economic objectives of my Administration from its beginning have been strong, sustainable, non-inflationary economic growth and expanding economic opportunities for all Americans. To ac-

¹ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 15.

hieve these goals, we have pursued policies that are in the longterm best interest of the Nation.”²

In assessing the country's economic situation, various representatives of the US Administration make use of numerous facts to prove that “Reaganomics” is allegedly a new, higher stage in the development of the US national economy. But specific indicators are, as a rule, taken out from the general chain of events. Moreover, fragmentary facts pertaining to the latest period are usually presented disregarding the recent past to say nothing of the development trends that have formed earlier in the US national economy.

Table 1

**US Basic Economic Indicators: Average Annual
Growth Rates by Periods (in per cent)**

	1980-1985	1974-1979	1968-1973	1962-1967
Gross National Product	1.8	2.6	3.2	4.8
Industry	2.0	2.7	4.2	5.9
Extractive	0.4	1.2	1.8	3.6
Manufacturing	2.2	2.9	4.3	7.2
Services	1.8	3.3	3.5	4.3
Private Production Investment	2.3	2.6	5.6	3.4
Export of Goods and Services	0.1	6.7	9.1	6.4
Import of Goods and Services	4.7	4.3	9.3	8.2

Based on: *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, 1986, Tables B-2, B-7, B-45.

What are, in general, the real results of the US economic development over the past period of the 1980s? High officials in Washington try to avoid even posing this question. And this is hardly accidental. However, the profusive supplements to the latest economic report of the President to Congress and other official statistics help to fill the gap with sufficient accuracy. Of course, general indicators for specific years per se are important here. No less important is their comparison with relevant indicators for sufficiently considerable previous periods. Table 1 allows us to make a comparative assessment of the current and past decades and also to more concretely analyse the specifics of the present stage of US economic development.

In the final count it becomes clear why the President and his economic advisers prefer to make their analysis of the country's pressing economic problems on the basis of haphazard facts and phenomena of recent years, rather than of closely intertwining long-term processes. For them, this way is more advantageous. Indeed, otherwise all their gibbering about “impressive” successes and upcoming new achievements of “Reaganomics” would clearly prove groundless.

The comparison of aggregate US economic indicators over the 1980s and those for previous periods really is “impressive”, though not in the way Washington would have preferred. US statistics provide ample proof that the past six years of the current decade (five of which fall within the term of office of the present Administration) are far from being trouble-free. It is within that period that the trend towards worse conditions for social reproduction throughout the country, which began back in the

² *Economic Report of the President*, Transmitted to the Congress in February 1986 together with the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, Washington, 1986, p. 3.

1970s, and, by virtue of this, towards a slowdown in the long-term dynamics of US major economic indicators, dramatically increased.

Of course, just as in other capitalist countries, the trend towards slower growth rates was not steady, undergoing continuous spontaneous cyclical and other fluctuations. This trend was augmented by crisis relapses, which became more frequent in the US and world capitalist economy at large over recent decades. Two such crises—in the mid-1970s and the early 1980s—were the biggest in the postwar period.

The slowdown trend does not mean, however, that from now on the productive forces of US society will be heading towards a full stop. Economic slumps, which repeat periodically, are invariably followed up by phases of recovery and cyclical boom. But in the latter's course the deep-seated contradictions of capitalist economy are further exacerbated and prerequisites for the next crisis flare-up emerge. "The present stage of the general crisis [of capitalism] does not lead to any absolute stagnation of capitalism and does not rule out the possibilities for economic growth, and the mastering of new scientific and technical fields."³ At the same time capitalism confronts an unprecedented intertwining of its main contradictions which amplify each other. And this finds its vivid expression in the present-day US economy.

The dynamics of the gross national product (GNP) is the most general indicator in Table 1, epitomising all trends in US domestic and international economic activities. GNP growth rates in the 1980s have been the slowest over the past 25 years. On the average, they were more than one third lower than those in the preceding six-years period, two thirds lower as compared with the 1968-1973 period and 2.7 times lower than in the 1962-1967 period. Moreover, US statistics makes it possible to conclude that the United States has not experienced such slow GNP growth rates since the Great Depression in the early 1930s. These rates were two times lower than those during the entire preceding four-decade period.⁴

The extremely averaged final indicators of GNP dynamics surely conceal an immense and increasing unevenness in the development of individual spheres and industries. It should be pointed out that noticeable shifts have occurred in the sectoral structure of production, especially under the impact of scientific and technological progress and the militarisation of the US economy, which has been rapidly increasing in recent years. Whatever the unevenness, it would be absolutely safe to say that conditions for extended reproduction in the main spheres of the US national economy have further deteriorated. For example, the growth rates of the physical volume of the aggregate production of goods in 1980-1985 were almost two thirds lower than those in the entire period considered in Table 1. The rapid growth of some new industries in recent years, which have emerged owing to the scientific and technological revolution and the unbridled arms race, could not hold down that process.

Structural destabilisation and crisis phenomena had an unprecedented effect on the service sphere in the 1980s. Its development dynamics over the past six-year period was almost two times lower than in the preceding period. Thus, as distinct from the previous period, the trend towards slower rates of economic growth in the United States is more pronounced in this sphere than in the sphere of material production. The reasons for this new phenomenon undoubtedly include social factors, such as the drastic drop in the growth rates of the personal incomes of the main groups of the population, registered in recent years. Between 1980

³ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 17.

⁴ *Economic Report of the President*, p. 254.

and 1985, these rates, on a per capita average basis, were two times lower than those in the unfavourable 1970s, having reached a record low for the entire postwar period.⁵

Some essential aspects of the correlation of current and long-term trends in the American industry deserve special attention. This problem as such is outside the field of vision of the proponents of "Reaganomics". In this way they are trying to create the impression that under the present Administration the situation in the industrial sphere is more or less trouble-free. In reality, however, in recent years industry has been one of the most troublesome areas in the crisis-ridden US economy. In the 1980s, industry has remained a decisive cycle-forming sphere that gives rise to periodic crises of overproduction, which then take on a general character spreading to many other branches of the economy.

Recurrent cyclical slumps in industry, which accounts for the overwhelming share of commercial output in the United States, have, for most part, become a chief factor in amplifying the above-mentioned long-term trend towards slower overall growth rates of production. In the period between 1980 and 1985 alone they decreased, as compared with the previous six-year period, by almost one third in the manufacturing industry, whereas in the extracting industry they were three times lower. If compared with the period of 1968-1973, these indicators went down almost two and more than four times, respectively. These were the most unstable and record low growth rates ever seen in industry in the past fifty years.

Geoffrey Moore, a prominent US economist who studied, at the request of the Joint Economic Committee of the US Congress, the cyclical development of American economy, has come to the following rather well-grounded conclusion: between the early postwar years and the late 1970s, the United States survived at least six large-scale crises of overproduction followed up by a more or less lengthy absolute decrease in gross industrial output. Two such crises occurred in the 1970s. The first one flared up in the early 1970s, resulting in an 8-per cent drop in the physical volume of industrial output. The second one, which was the severest and deepest crisis in the postwar period, beset the economy in the mid-1970s. During that crisis a drop in industrial output from the pre-crisis highest monthly level to the post-crisis lowest exceeded 14.5 per cent.⁶ Undoubtedly, that slump played a key role in the development of the trend towards slower overall growth rates in the country's economy in the 1970s.

The process intensified even more in the 1980s. Less than five years had elapsed after the crisis of 1974-1975 before the storm clouds of another cyclical upheaval gathered again on the economic horizon of the United States and then spread to other capitalist industrial centres. Just as in all the former economic cycles in the country, its tremors were first felt in the sphere of industrial production. Indicative figures in Table 2 show the main lines of development of this cyclical crisis, the longest in the postwar history of the United States as well as its consequences.

The figures in the table convincingly prove that the early 1980s was indeed a rough period for the US economy. Throughout the current decade the country's aggregate production has been in a state of crisis

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁶ *The Business Cycle and Policy, 1929-1980*, A Compendium of Papers submitted to the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Washington, 1980, p. 22-26.

stagnation and slump. True, the year 1981 seemingly promised a turn for the better. During the course of several months the dynamics of GNP and some other economic indicators marked a slight upward trend. And the US President was quick to take advantage of this. In his economic report to Congress in early 1982 he declared that the basic causes of the decline, resulting mainly from the "erroneous policies" of the previous Administration, were being successfully overcome and that 1982 would surely start a new period of the country's revival and crisis-free development. Real GNP growth rates that year were set at 3 per cent, and 5.2 cent in 1983.⁷

Table 2

**Dynamics of Economic and Social Indicators
in the USA in Recent Years**

	Indices (1979 = 100)					
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985*
Gross National Product (GNP)	99.8	101.7	99.2	102.7	109.4	111.9
Per Capita GNP	98.6	99.5	96.0	98.5	104.2	105.8
Industry	98.1	100.3	93.1	98.6	110.0	112.4
Manufacturing, including:	97.0	99.1	91.6	98.8	111.1	114.0
Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metallurgy	83.3	87.5	60.6	67.3	75.9	74.5
Metal-Working	93.0	92.9	79.2	84.4	93.9	98.7
Clothing and Footwear	99.0	97.7	88.8	96.9	104.5	103.3
Defense and Aerospace	109.3	113.4	125.9	135.5	149.5	164.5
Extracting	95.7	95.9	36.7	90.2	99.2	100.3
Construction	93.1	84.9	81.6	85.5	90.3	98.0
Gross Private Investment	88.5	94.8	77.7	87.5	115.0	113.1
Real Weekly Wages**	92.4	91.5	92.3	93.8	93.7	93.2
Net Profit of Non-Financial Corporations	129.2	154.2	179.2	162.5	175.0	170.8
Federal Debt	106.9	120.4	137.6	165.7	189.0	219.2
Federal Budget Deficit	183.1	196.0	318.2	516.9	461.0	528.0
Export of Goods and Services	109.0	110.0	110.4	97.8	103.9	100.9
Import of Goods and Services	94.0	97.2	95.0	104.4	129.1	131.7

* Estimates

** At private non-agricultural enterprises.

Based on: *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, 1986; *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, Washington, May 1986.

But the forecasts fell short of the mark. Contrary to the prognosis made by presidential economic advisers, the country's physical GNP volume dropped 2.5 per cent in 1982, while the per capita figure went down 3.5 per cent. That was an unprecedented drop in the annual level of gross output in the US postwar history of cyclical crises. The phase of depression was followed by recovery, which was, however, rather timid. But the per capita production of GNP in 1983 continued to stay below the pre-crisis level. In other words, the US economy has been going through the rigours of a crisis situation and its consequences for four years in the current decade.

Each economic cycle of capitalism has specific features. And yet all cycles have also common features. The phase of crisis is invariably followed by recovery and cyclical upsurge. This is an objective regularity of the development of capitalist economy. Such a boom eventually began in the present economic cycle in the United States. The year 1984 was

marked by leap-like growth in the overwhelming majority of industries, which resulted in a more than 6 per cent increase in the country's annual GNP. As a result, the pre-crisis maximum of the late 1970s was exceeded not only in the absolute figures of GNP's physical volume, but also, for the first time in the 1980s, in the per capita production of GNP.

This enabled the present Administration to draw an even more radiant picture of the future development of the US economy. The annual average growth of GNP for the upcoming years was slated at some 4 per cent.⁸ But the year 1985 once again demonstrated that the hopes for stabilising economic development in the USA lacked a solid foundation. Last year, GNP grew 2.3 per cent, which was much lower than the forecast and almost three times lower than in the preceding year. According to American statistics, the boom has proved to be the most short-lived in the US postwar history of the economic cycle.⁹ This was accompanied by a continued rapid increase in sectoral disproportions which was unprecedentedly high back in the early 1980s when the crisis slump began.

All these processes were especially pronounced in industrial production. The reason is not so much in the fact that the dynamics of industrial development in the 1980s was considerably inferior to the past years' indicators. The main thing is that a number of traditionally key branches of the heavy and light industries continue to remain in a deep crisis situation despite the current cyclical boom. Proof can be easily found in Table 2 (branch indicators).

The assessment of structural shifts in US industry is, of course, all-important for understanding the ever mounting deep contradictions of "Reaganomics". Specifically, branch crises in the country's industrial structure warrant attention. For instance, the US metallurgy and metal-working industries are still in a crisis slump, with the aggregate volume of metal output in the mid-1980s being approximately one quarter lower than that in the late 1970s.

Of course, by comparing the 1985 indicators with the record low level of 1982, it can be argued that the amount of smelted metal and the volume of output in the metal-working industry have markedly increased. Yet, all the same one could not ignore the fact that in the mid-1980s output in these industries has never reached the highest level in the boom phase of the late 1970s. What is significant, that level was only slightly exceeded in the mid-1980s in the major spheres of the country's light industry as well. Specifically, last year output in the clothing and footwear industries amounted to 103.3 per cent as compared with 1979, and per capita output was almost 3 per cent lower.

Of course, not all branches of the manufacturing industry were in that position. A number of major branches of general and electrotechnical engineering, the production of transport facilities and some other branches in the mid-1980s exceeded the level of the late 1970s by 15 to 20 per cent and more. But in the early 1980s almost all of them went through the longest and often deepest crisis slumps in the whole postwar period. For this reason even the extremely high growth of their output in 1984 was practically unable to hold down the ever increasing long-term trend towards slower growth rates in the US manufacturing industry as a whole in the 1980s.¹⁰

⁸ *Economic Report of the President, Washington, 1985, p. 64.*

⁹ Specifically, this is proved by the studies of American economists published in the above-cited work *The Business Cycle and Public Policy, 1929-1980.*

¹⁰ Between 1980 and 1985 growth rates in the US manufacturing industry decreased to 2.2 per cent as against 2.9 per cent in 1973-1979 and 4.3 per cent in 1968-1973.

The giant upsurge of production in the war industry and in the related high-tech branches under the present Administration was unable to offset this downward trend. In the past six-year period alone output in the war and aerospace industry, beefed up by budget appropriations and spared, as a rule, cyclical slumps, has increased almost two-thirds. But the hopes of the US ruling quarters that the locomotive of the arms race will make it possible to smooth over the ever exacerbating inner contradictions of the industrial development of the US economy and give an impetus to its growth rates and ward off crisis plunges are not being realised. The unbridled militarisation of the US economy eventually leads to quite opposite results.

The 1980s were also marked by increased instability and crisis problems in the extracting industry. In the early decade some growth was registered in its major branches, which distinguished it from the manufacturing industry. That growth was primarily due to another flare-up of the fuel and raw material crisis on the world capitalist market and the resultant steep increase in the prices of oil and some other types of industrial raw materials. Even with an economic slump, this necessitated the wider use of local natural resources. The slump then reached the mining industry, too. Its meagre growth in 1984-1985 did not actually bring about a drastic turn for the better in that industry. The past six years have become the slowest period in its development after the Second World War.

A rather tense situation developed in the 1980s in the US construction industry, too. The crisis that set in early in the decade hit it even more severely than the manufacturing and extracting industries. During the worst period of the 1980-1982 crisis, the volume of construction work in the country amounted (in constant prices) to as little as some 80 per cent of that in the late 1970s. The subsequent period of recovery did not radically change the situation in that field. In the mid-1980s, the general index of construction did not exceed even the pre-crisis level.

Stagnation in construction, which is an important sphere of material production, is not, however, a distinctive feature of "Reaganomics" alone. The entire preceding decade was characterised by stagnation, and by the end of the decade the construction industry could not completely overcome the negative consequences of the crises of the early and mid-1970s. As a result, the volume of construction work is now nearly 20 per cent lower than even the level of the second half of the 1960s. The US construction industry, which is still most powerful in the capitalist world, is at the same time one of the country's economic spheres whose production capacities are mostly underloaded, especially in housing. Incidentally, in 1985 the latter again registered absolute reduction of production.

Table 2 shows that in the early 1980s there occurred a sharp cyclical drop in gross private investment in the national economy. In 1982 it decreased almost 25 per cent as compared with the highest level of the boom during the past cycle. Then it grew again, reaching the peak in 1984. But in 1985 the process slowed down and the inflow of private capital somewhat decreased in absolute terms.

The future will show whether this deterioration of the investment climate is temporary or it is a harbinger of a new general crisis of overproduction in the US economy. Yet one thing is evident: the slowdown in the growth of private investment in 1985 is in full conformity with the slower growth rates in that same year in major branches of the manufacturing, mining and construction industries which mainly form the basic phases of the country's industrial cycle. It is not for nothing that in recent months the leading organs of US business community more and more often write with concern that the pointer of the country's economic

barometer begins moving from boom to another slump.¹¹ In a nutshell, the present US Administration shows increasingly clearly the untenability of its attempts to curb by way of state-monopoly regulation the objective process of the cyclical movement of the US economy.

But maybe such methods have in fact resulted in marked growth in the branches of production which are not usually subjected to cyclical fluctuations? Such branches include, above all, agriculture. But, as presidential economic advisers themselves point out, the situation has drastically deteriorated in that sphere in recent years. The government policies, they write, have led to major economic warps and have shown their inefficiency.¹² Agriculture was heavily hit by the Administration's foreign economic policy, especially its course towards artificially raising the US dollar exchange rate, which resulted in a sharp drop of farmers' incomes from exports of their products. Between 1981 and 1985, the export of farm produce from the United States decreased from \$43,000 million to \$29,000 million. The US farmers' debt is now record high, exceeding \$200,000 million. In 1985 alone, the US farmers' overall losses due to their deteriorated position topped \$100,000 million. Moreover, farm-connected industries also sustain heavy losses due to a shrinking market for their products. For example, in the mid-1980s tractor sales to farmers decreased by more than half as compared with the late 1970s.¹³

US Administration spokesmen refer to this, of course, mainly to show that they clearly see the mounting difficulties confronting agriculture. But their statements prompt so far the following conclusion: destabilisation in agriculture has reached an unprecedented scale in the postwar period, whereas the per capita farm produce in the mid-1980s was lower than that in the late 1970s.

The present Administration's policies have resulted in many other similar "records" in the national economy, including a huge increase in the growth of the federal budget deficit, which has almost doubled since 1980. In 1985, this deficit exceeded \$210,000 million, whereas in 1979 it amounted to \$40,000 million and in the late 1960s and early 1970s—to some \$3,000 million. To put it differently, a qualitatively new stage in the crisis destabilisation of the entire federal finance system has begun in recent years, caused mainly by the giant growth of military spending. Between 1980 and 1985, it increased almost 120 per cent, having exceeded by the end of that period \$250,000 million a year. Thus, the military outlays officially acknowledged by the Federal Government in 1985 have alone exceeded the country's aggregate federal budget deficit by some 20 per cent. All in all, over the past six-year period the Federal Treasury has spent \$1,200,000 million of the tax-payers' money for the arms race.

True, the present Administration again promises to somewhat cut the budget deficit, but chiefly at the expense of social programmes. As to arms spending, it is slated to go up. In the upcoming two years some \$550,000 million will be spent on arms. Thus, militarism and the arms race will continue to be an increasingly heavy burden for the US economy, with all the ensuing consequences for the American people and future perspectives for the country's economic development.

The federal debt has also reached a record high. In 1985, it reached an astronomical figure—almost \$1,800,000 million, whereas in 1987 it is

¹¹ This is indicated, for instance, in the economic forecasts for the United States published in the first half of 1986 by the US business magazine *Fortune* (see *Fortune*, Jan. 6; May 12, 1986).

¹² *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, 1986, p. 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-133.

predicted to increase to \$2,300,000 million. To compare, in the early post-war years this debt was some \$250,000 million, and in the early 1970s—\$400,000 million. Today, it amounts to almost half the country's GNP. Forecasters say that this share will grow even more in the future.

And all this is taking place against the background of the present Administration's policy of stirring up international tensions and of brinkmanship to suit the predatory, neoglobalist aims of the military-industrial complex, to the detriment of the genuine national interests of the broad popular masses. "Today, too, the right wing of the US monopoly bourgeoisie regards the stoking up of international tensions as something that justifies military spending, claims to global supremacy, interference in the affairs of other states, and an offensive against the interests and the rights of the American working people."¹⁴

The pushers of "Reaganomics", compelled to acknowledge the deteriorating position of US farmers and the negative effect of unemployment and inflation on the people's living standard, at the same time do their utmost to peddle their main thesis: the Administration's policies have already brought about many boons for all Americans. Yet, official statistics, as reflected in Table 2, speak out eloquently for themselves. Specifically, they show that the profit of monopoly capital alone has increased spectacularly. Over the six years in the 1980s alone, the net profit of US non-financial corporations has grown (in constant prices) approximately 75 per cent. At the same time the real weekly wages of all white- and blue-collar workers in the non-agricultural sector have drooped 7 to 8 per cent as compared with the late 1970s. True, the real hour wages over the same period have gone down somewhat less by 3 to 5 per cent. But this only shows that the number of part-time workers has substantially increased in addition to the huge army of those fully unemployed. In 1982-1983, the number of fully unemployed people reached a record high in the postwar period, amounting to 10.6-10.7 million, or 9.5 per cent of the labour force. Although in the mid-1980s unemployment went down a bit, there are still more than 8 million jobless in the country, which is some 50 per cent higher than the average level in the 1970s and over 100 per cent higher than in the 1960s. Simultaneously, the unemployment benefits and other federal appropriations for low-income groups were drastically cut in real terms.

As a result, the polarisation of the real incomes of entrepreneurs and working people in the United States has sharply increased. This process, accompanied by a noticeable shrinking of the purchasing power of the broad popular masses, has undoubtedly affected the long-term trend towards a slowdown of the country's overall economic growth rates, a trend that increased in the 1980s. Marx noted in his time that the eventual cause of all genuine crises of capitalism was the "restricted consumption of the masses as opposed to the drive of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as though only the absolute consuming power of society constituted their limit".¹⁵

Foreign economic problems have grown extremely acute in the United States today. They are increasingly affected by the crisis phenomena of the 1980s in the world capitalist economy, especially in its former colonial periphery. The fierce competitive struggle between US monopoly capital and the other imperialist powers over lucrative markets, raw material sources and investment opportunities is mounting.

The US Administration spokesmen, of course, prefer not to mention the impact of "Reaganomics" on the further destabilisation of the entire

¹⁴ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 15.

¹⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 484.

system of international trade and economic and financial interconnections of capitalism in the 1980s. Yet, they have to reckon with the direct consequences of such destabilisation for the US economy. The most important of such consequences is a rather sharp drop in the competitiveness of American exports, which, among other things, was caused by the long-inflated rate of exchange of the US dollar. This has deeply affected US foreign economic relations. In 1985, the export of goods and services from the United States decreased almost 10 per cent as compared with the average level in 1980-1981, whereas imports increased more than one-third. As a result, in the 1960s and 1970s US trade balance was favourable, whereas in 1985 unfavourable balance amounted to over \$120,000 million, and in 1985 to nearly \$150,000 million. According to the US Department of Commerce itself, the situation in foreign trade was the worst in the entire US history.

The same holds true of the country's balance of payments, which throughout the postwar period was traditionally active. The US negative balance of payments on current account increased almost 1,400 per cent; from \$8,000 million in 1982 to \$46,000 million in 1983, to \$107,000 million in 1984 and to about \$118,000 million in 1985.¹⁶ During the course of these years the United States has, with unprecedented speed, turned from a creditor to a debtor.

To sum up, by making its activities entirely dependent on the selfish interests of the more reactionary and aggressive quarters of US monopoly capital, the present US Administration is ever more evidently coming to grief not only in its domestic, but also in foreign economic policies. There is no doubt that these policies are in for even deeper pitfalls in the future. The attempts of the present US leaders to find a way out of the snowballing difficulties by mounting their offensive on the people's living standard, by intensifying the arms race and turning the United States into a mainstay of the aggressive forces of imperialism and world reaction inevitably compound these difficulties and lead to further exacerbation of the profound contradictions in the US economy. Deep inside it, just as in the context of the world capitalist economy at large, objective requisites for new crisis upheavals, which promise to be no less dramatic than those in the mid-1970s and early 1980s, are now budding and are ever more in evidence.

Federal Reserve Bulletin, Washington, June 1986, Table A-53.

CONCEPTION OF SECURITY: TWO APPROACHES

(Continued from page 21)

However, mankind could still be plunged into a nuclear conflict. The danger of such a conflict is now greater than ever before, but so are the real possibilities for maintaining and strengthening peace. On the strength of a sober and objective assessment of the whole set of factors influencing world development and the perspectives for resolving the problem of war and peace, the Soviet Union maintains, says the CPSU Programme, that *"world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world."*⁶

⁶ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 23.

Star Peace vs. "Star Wars"

M. C H E R N Y S H O

At the turn of the century, the founder of the theory of cosmonautics, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, produced a strategy of space exploration—from creating individual habitation islands in near space to constructing a system of "space settlements" to be stationed around the Sun.

The eminent scientist was careful enough not to set any dead lines. His successors, however, were over-optimistic sometimes, particularly in the early stages of space exploration. Countless discoveries in space gave rise to certain illusions about the timing of near-Earth space development. Some Americans predicted the appearance of space settlements with a population of 10,000 by 1988 and a "space population" of up to 20 million early next century.

Yet nothing like that has come to pass. The total number of the Earth's dwellers having been up in space so far is just about two hundred. The road to the stars has turned out to be far harder to traverse than it seemed in the 1960s. Besides, space research has been following two diametrically opposite strategic directions: one towards the peaceful exploration of outer space, the other towards the needs of war.

Twenty-five years ago, on April 12, 1961, the world cheered a citizen of the USSR, Yuri Gagarin, the first man in outer space. That was the starting point of manned space missions. On that same day, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet government addressed the following Appeal to the Communist Party and peoples of the Soviet Union, and to the peoples and governments of all countries, and to all progressive humanity: "We regard the victories in the space exploration not only as an achievement of our people, but as that of all humanity," said the Appeal, in part. "And we are only too happy to place them at the service of all peoples, in the name of progress, happiness, and welfare of everyone on the Earth. We put our achievements and discoveries not at the service of war, but at the service of peace and international security." These noble goals have guided the Soviet Union's activities in space exploration and development.

Over twenty years ago, the Soviet Union launched the world's first civilian communications system with Molniya satellites and Orbita ground stations. Today the space communications industry is booming, with national and international systems proliferating. Experts in the field maintain that in ten years there will be no room left in the geostationary orbit.

Outer space has turned out to be an ideal communications medium in many respects. Communications satellites have helped the Soviet Union, having a vast area of 22.4 million square kilometres, in resolving a number of major problems. It would hardly be possible to provide television services to out-of-the-way regions without them.

The prompt and wide-ranging operation of the satellite systems gives them an edge in many areas of communications services. But, perhaps,

the most tangible effect these advantages had in the international COSPAS-SARSAT rescue satellite system established by the USSR, the USA, France, and Canada. This system has subsequently been joined by a few more states. COSPAS-SARSAT satellites, picking up distress signals and instantly transmitting them to the command posts of national rescue services, have saved hundreds of lives in air, sea and other accidents. The COSPAS-SARSAT example shows that cooperation in the development and exploitation of space technology and in the advancement of space science in general can bear fine fruit.

"Exploration and development of outer space," says the Programme of the CPSU, "should be for peaceful purposes only, for the development of science and production, in accordance with the needs of all nations. The USSR stands for collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will actively participate in international cooperation to this end." This country has already done much in this respect. It has a satellite-based international Intersputnik communications system now at the service of about thirty states. The USSR saves 1,000 million rubles a year due to the substantially increased accuracy of weather forecasting by space apparatuses. Information from weather satellites is not for "domestic consumption" only: it is received by the other CMEA countries. In principle, it is available to any state affiliated with the World Weather Organisation, grouping 157 nations.

This country's contribution towards the development of space science and related sciences for peace has greatly increased with the creation of Soviet long-term near-Earth orbiters. Salyut-6, for example, functioned as a 676-day manned mission in 1977-1982. The experiment comprised five long-term, including two six-month missions and eleven visiting expeditions. Altogether, Salyut-6 has served for 1,600 experiments of all kinds, producing findings of great scientific and practical value.

Salyut-7, up in space since 1982, has fallen into what is, generally, its predecessor's pattern. However, it carries more advanced scientific instrumentation and updated on-board equipment. There is, for example, a new semi-industrial Corund electric furnace capable of producing large-sized semi-conducting crystals and operating automatically. Salyut-7 has been the first space mission to produce samples of superpure protein preparations, which has, in effect, given rise to a new science—space biotechnology.

In space walks, its crews have tried out the possibility of mounting operations, having installed, for instance, additional solar panels, and practice-tested an all-purpose hand-operated tool for metal-cutting, soldering and welding and for making all kinds of coatings, and the latest experiment was with a collapsible framework.

Repair work experience has been building up since some operational failures have occurred, occasionally rather serious. Perhaps, among the most complicated have been the rescue operations carried out last year by Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Viktor Savinykh who had to bring a powerless station back to life. It is too early to speak of the overall Salyut-7 performance. The station is still at work. It had a crew of two on board, Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyev who, together with Oleg Atkov, made their record-breaking 237-day flight.

While Salyut-6 for the first time had two 7-ton spaceships docked to its central block, Salyut-7 was a stage ahead. The Salyut-Soyuz tandem had a 20-ton satellite vehicle docked to it, thus making up a 47-ton 35-metre long orbital complex.

The success of general-purpose stations, like the second-generation Salyuts, is beyond question. But their multiple mission, like that of a mini-research establishment working on several problems at a time, has some negative tendencies about it as well. Each area of space research

today requires the stations involved to be increasingly geared to its specific interests. To facilitate natural science research, for instance, the station must look at the Earth at all times, while for astrophysics it has to look at the stars. For some lines of research, the presence of spacemen is absolutely indispensable, while for other areas, it is not, because human movement about a space laboratory creates vibration.

It has been long since clear to experts that it is the multi-module complexes alone that can produce a well-balanced compromise solution to meet all these conflicting requirements. The Mir space laboratory, with six docking joints, put into orbit in February 1986, is a case in point.

Many Western experts have all along commended the Soviet space exploration programme as well-grounded and incorporating perfectly balanced component elements: manned flights, satellite system work, planet and outer space exploration. Orbital complexes remain the key element. The Soviet space programme, the US press writes, is evidently more consistent with long-term Soviet plans while the American programme is more in line with the philosophy of space sensationalism.

The road that space science has been travelling in the United States looks rather meandering. One may recall that the pioneer manned space flights in the USA were followed up by an all-out effort to produce an outwardly attractive, yet scientifically little effective Apollo Programme. Then came the short-lived Sky-Lab venture only to be given up in favour of Shuttle designing, with space missions suspended altogether for years.

The argument produced to justify the Shuttles was that these spaceships were to substantially cut transportation expenses and that would usher in, as the US press claimed, a "golden age" for scientific and commercial space. Yet nothing of the sort has come to pass. It will be no mistake to maintain today that the American taxpayer was just given a run-around. Once created, the Shuttles were quickly "rejigged" for military ends.

That turnabout did give some food for thought to those American scientists who were earnestly committed to space-for-peace research. So they look no particular delight in the Washington Administration's injunction of two years ago to get down to designing a major orbital station, "Sky Factory". The cost of the project is now estimated at \$8,000 million, quite a handsome figure, which will most likely be increased, if the project goes ahead. For that is what has happened to practically all US programmes. For instance, the Shuttle Programme was at one time estimated at \$6,500 million, but the actual expenditure came to \$30,000 million in 1985, not counting the investment by the European Space Agency.

One can hardly avoid getting the impression that the "over-optimistic" evaluation of prospective Shuttle performance was not an economic miscalculation, but a disguise for getting the right spaceship for the military establishment to clear the financial hurdles. Scientists are now wondering whether the same kind of amazing turnabout may be in store for the "Sky Factory" and whether it will prove to be a big and costly project, but not a civilian one.

For the time being, however, the idea is, if you take official statements and US press commentaries at their face value, the "Sky Factory" is to produce drugs, crystals for electronic instruments, and superhard metals. At the same time, the "Factory" is to become a repair shop for malfunctioning space vehicles, a motel for tourists, and a launching site for flying to the Moon and Mars. All that, the station's supporters assure you, will help create more jobs in industry, make the US economy more competitive on the world market, and, finally, maintain the United States' lead in space for much of the next century. In short, the new US station will, supposedly, usher in an age of commercial space.

Careful watchers must have noticed that the "Sky Factory" decision was taken in a presidential election year. All that Ronald Reagan and his supporters had to boast about at the time was only one space programme—that of "star wars". That was a precarious vote-catcher, so it was decided that military space should be "diluted" with at least a modicum of commercial space. But even that "peaceful version" was geared to military ends right from the start. The then NASA Director, James Beggs, was quite specific about the "Sky Factory". The Department of Defense, he declared, would be within its rights to use the "Factory", together with NASA, or add its own modules to the station's base platform or, perhaps, even develop its own station using the technology NASA would have worked out.

There would hardly be any point in going into so much detail if there had not been so much absurd speculation in the Western press about the alleged military destination of Soviet Salyuts. Yet another outburst of such "sensational fabrications" came about in April 1986, right on the 25th anniversary of Yuri Gagarin's pioneer space flight. The facts point to something entirely different. Neither on the Salyut-7 station nor on the Mir are there any military experiments being carried out, Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyev said during their on-board news conference as did in no uncertain terms Vladimir Shatalov, Head of the Cosmonauts Training Programme. There are Syrian pilots now training at Zvezdny, and French ones will do so before long, he said, so why should we have invited them to the stations involving any military secrets?

Indeed, the Soviet Union has already carried out 11 international space flights which have received wide coverage in the world press and no "secrets" were ever found on these stations. Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyev, while telling journalists about the Mir complex, stressed the point that it was not by chance that the new station was so named as this reflected the desire to explore space for peaceful purposes only and to cooperate with all those interested in a combined effort in this direction.

Last July Mikhail Gorbachev and President of France, François Mitterrand, visited the town of Zvezdny. General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU wrote in the honoured guest book that the town of Zvezdny has become a symbol of Soviet space science, the embodiment of human exploits and the highest technological achievements. Space science has extended the limits of knowledge. People have gained a better view of their wonderful common home and can fully assess how splendid it is for living and how much too small and fragile it is for war. We believe in humankind's future. But we can only have the future if space remains peaceful, if every step taken towards the stars is beneficial and we are glad that joint useful deeds in this direction by the USSR and France are expanding and are aided by the forthcoming long-term Soviet-French space expedition.

From time to time, the US press suddenly takes up the subject of broader Soviet-American space cooperation. One can only welcome such an idea. Still more so since we have something to go by, as the above-mentioned COSPAS-SARSAT system, the Soyuz-Apollo space mission of 1975, and the Venice-Halley Comet research programme, which was carried out by Soviet scientists in close cooperation with their counterparts in quite a few European countries and coordinated with similar research ventures by the European Space Agency, by the United States and Japan. Speaking of prospects, it might well be of interest to the United States to join efforts with the Salyuts or the new Mir station. Or, couldn't they pay heed to the suggestion made by the eminent Soviet medical scientist, Academician Yevgeny Chazov at the 6th International Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War in Cologne a couple of months ago? The USSR, the USA and other countries of the

West and the East, he said, could create a satellite-based system for any doctor in any country in the world to get any information or consultation required to save a human life.

But those are nothing but good intentions so far. It is not the Soviet Union's fault that scientific exchanges between the two space powers have been cut to the bone. The present level of cooperative research is altogether inconsistent with the potential the two countries have in this area. But, by and large, anybody can well understand that it is impossible to cooperate effectively in the peaceful exploration of space when one of the parties concerned—the American one—is all-out to implement a "star wars" programme.

The "strategic defense initiative" was announced by the US President in March, 1983. The Administration spokesmen have since been telling everybody that the USA needs such a defence "shield" to feel safe in the face of a "Soviet threat" supposedly arising from the overwhelming Soviet superiority in conventional arms. The Western press has quite often attributed the Soviet Union's determination to prevent any militarisation of space to its lagging behind the advanced US military technology. So what is correct?

Before answering this question, one should just glance back on the post-Second World War record of Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Union was the first to launch an artificial Earth satellite and to put a manned spaceship in orbit. But, besides, this country was the first to propose concluding international accords for space to be used for peaceful purposes only. That gesture does not fall at all into the strange pattern of American logic. Nor does the USSR intend to follow that kind of logic. The world's first socialist state has never based its policy on any time-serving considerations, nor has it ever been banking on force.

Moreover, this country has been consistently pressing for disarmament and making clear proposals to that effect ever since it came into being as a socialist state. By their substance and character, the Soviet initiatives are universally applicable, and do, beyond all question, respond to the interests of all peoples, not just of one country or a group of states. That applies, notably, to the proposals for the peaceful exploitation of space, particularly the Basic Guidelines and Principles of International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation, submitted to the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. The ideas of that document were taken as the guide to drafting the General Assembly resolution For the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space and for Its Peaceful Exploration. It is indicative that the resolution was passed by 151 votes with only the USA and Grenada abstaining.

The United States remains true to its line. It has been escalating a programme to use near-Earth space for military ends for years on end, while playing up the demagogic allusions of an alleged "Soviet space threat". For instance, the USA had a space rocket plane, Dyna Soar, intended for military use, on the drawing boards in 1960 when the Soviet Union was working towards the first manned space flight. It is that project that spawned the Shuttles. A little bit earlier Washington got down to designing its first intelligence space craft and developing the anti-ballistic Nyke-X system. One could list more such US military projects, but even the few just mentioned are enough to reveal the origins of the SDI. One point worth adding is that practically all US Presidents, starting with John Kennedy, have been working to ensure supremacy in space, military supremacy, of course, as a top national priority.

There have been some periods in Soviet-American relations when sound forces prevailed in the USA which were aware of the extremely dangerous consequences of spreading an arms race to outer space. Those were the times when space agreements were concluded, which, by common consent, put up serious barriers in the way of space weapons. Among the accords of that kind, one can mention the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, and the 1967 Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, as well as the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. However, there have always been some influential forces in Washington which did not desist from their attempts at interpreting the provisions of all those documents, especially, the last-named, in any way they pleased.

An American research satellite, Solar Wind, fell victim to military experiments in September 1985. It was shot down by an anti-satellite missile fired by an F-15 fighter. That was the third (and the first combat) test of the anti-satellite ASAT system. The system, the Western press explained, is intended to fight some mysterious Soviet satellites capable of hitting anything up in outer space. Such ghost-satellites are nothing but a figment of the imagination of Western military men, politicians, and gullible journalists. Naturally, the Soviet Union has taken adequate counter-measures, but just adequate. Besides, in 1983 the USSR announced a unilateral moratorium on the launching of anti-satellite systems.

SDI advocates sometimes argue that an arms race in outer space has, in fact, been going on for quite some time, because US and Soviet satellites are there fulfilling military functions. That is to say, the "star wars" programme is not actually changing anything. Is that so? Of course, some of the US communications, weather, navigational and geodesic satellites do fulfil military as well as civilian functions. There are at least a dozen purely intelligence types of space vehicles today. The Soviet Union is also using some of its satellites to obtain militarily important information. For instance, it has satellites for early missile attack warning and so on. But they are all generally intended for information gathering; they are neither weapons by themselves nor do they carry any weapons to hit targets in outer space or those on the Earth from space. The space-based "star wars" programme is an entirely different thing.

There is oft-repeated argument in Western newspapers and magazines that the SDI is of "pure research" nature and that the whole programme is still a figment of the imagination of the President and his assistants. However, even this "figment of the imagination" is extremely dangerous: it means spurring on the arms build-up, involving more and more deadly means of tremendous destructive power. That is why the Soviet Union acted in the nick of time when it put forward its proposal in Geneva for agreement to be sought about no withdrawal from the ABM Treaty at least for 15 years and for the SDI effort to be confined to laboratory research, that is, the threshold the USA has actually reached.

The falsity of the basic concepts making up the SDI framework is becoming clear to a growing number of people. First, it was claimed in the USA that the "shield" would protect the Americans and West Europeans from an attack. Later on, it transpired that this was not so at all: it would be only some of the missile launching sites and military command posts that would be so protected. It was argued also that nuclear arms would become useless. Then it turned out to be just the other way round: these weapons would have to be deployed up in outer space. Scientists see the danger of the "star wars" programme better than anybody else,

evidently, because they know what is behind it. Six and a half thousand American scientists, including 15 Nobel Prize winners, have declared that they are going to boycott the SDI and refuse to share in strike space arms research and development studies. This plan, in their opinion, is a step towards a nuclear catastrophe and, hence, a step backwards on the road to peace. They will not ask for money from SDI funds and will not accept them, and will also recommend that others not use them—this was the "vow of non-participation" in SDI taken by American scientists. Among them are Hans Bethe, Jeoffery Cheu, Bernard Feld, Philip Morrison, John Simpson, Samuel Weissman and Robert Wilson. At one time they worked on the Manhattan Project, that is, the project for creating the first atomic bomb, and later saw what the consequences of this project were.

The reason why the Soviet Union has been speaking up against the "star wars" is by no means because it can find no adequate answer to it. It has found an answer to all the previous US "initiatives" of this kind, so it will find one this time, too. But the USSR is opposed, in point of principle, to looking for a way out of the nuclear dead end by creating a new type of "super weapon". The Soviet Union believes that the only way to bring about equal security for all is through arms cuts and disarmament, up to and including the total elimination of all types of weapons of wholesale destruction and through keeping weapons out of outer space which must become a realm of "star peace".

The material, political, legal and structural foundations of such a "star peace" could be laid by the year 2000 through the stage-by-stage programme for actual joint cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space, which has recently been brought by the Soviet Union before the United Nations. It provides for drawing up major international projects, creating appropriate space technology and actually carrying out the projected plans. Referring to that in his speech at the Cepel Engineering Works in June 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "It is within human power to make a breakthrough, by a concerted and joint effort, in the exploration and exploitation of the Universe for our common earthly needs. This is a serious and large-scale programme."

It would be well worthwhile, in the opinion of the Soviet Union, to concentrate efforts on resolving such problems of common interest to all in the area of social and economic development as those of, communication, navigation, rescue of people on the Earth, in the atmosphere, and in outer space; remote sensing of the Earth for the benefit of agriculture, tapping of the natural resources of the land and the World Ocean; investigation and preservation of the Earth's biosphere, creation of a global weather forecasting and elemental calamity warning system, use of alternative energy sources, creation of new types of materials and technologies, including those for medicine and biology, development of production using deep vacuum and imponderability.

It has been suggested that a World Space Organisation be set up within the UN framework, to coordinate the operations of specialised international programmes and ensure the maximum rationality and effectiveness of all cooperation on a global scale. It could likewise coordinate the national space exploration plans, develop the exchange of the results of space activity and provide assistance, above all, to the countries just getting off the ground in their space effort, and encourage large-scale joint space projects.

This country believes that realisation of the programme proposed by the Soviet Union would help use near-Earth space by collective efforts to the benefit of all the nations of the world and create real

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The Non-Aligned Movement and Today's World

A. S E R G I Y E V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

The 8th, regular, Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries was just held in Harare, the capital of the Republic of Zimbabwe, from August 26 to September 7 this year. Its convocation coincides with the 25th anniversary of the first conference of the leaders of the non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in 1961. That conference marked the birth of non-aligned movement as an international association of the developing countries at the interstate level.

Over the quarter of a century the movement has become more organised, politically stronger, and its membership has grown: while only 25 countries participated in the 1961 Belgrade conference, at present the movement comprises more than one hundred states with a population of more than 1,500 million people.

For the past 25 years the basic goals and the thrust of the non-aligned movement have been undergoing certain changes. Thus, at the time when the Asian and the African peoples were fighting for the elimination of the colonial regimes, the main task was the struggle against colonialism, while in the period following the collapse of the colonial system the goals and tasks connected with the struggle for peace and disarmament, for strengthening the sovereignty of the non-aligned countries and their economic independence have acquired top priority. The phenomenon is explained by the fact that the elimination of the old colonial system and the acquisition of statehood by most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries have not removed the contradictions between the industrialised countries of the West and the newly-free countries. Instead of being eliminated, in a number of instances the exploitation of the latter has been intensified.

Neocolonialism with its concealed forms of exploitation and dependence has replaced the colonialism of the past. It is the common interests in the struggle of the developing countries to resolve their economic development problems, for the liberation from neocolonial exploitation and the creation of a new and just international economic order that necessitate the strengthening of the solidarity and cohesion of these countries on the regional and international scale and first of all within the framework of the non-aligned movement. *That is why today the non-aligned movement is the main international political association of the developing countries united on an anti-imperialist basis and is an influential antiwar and anti-imperialist force of an international magnitude.*

The basic documents determining the stand of the non-aligned countries on the urgent problems of today's international political and economic relations were adopted by the last, 7th, Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi in 1983 and at the conference of foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries in Luanda in September 1985, as well as at the meeting of the Non-Aligned Nations' Coordinating Bureau at the level of foreign ministers held last April in New Delhi.

The main directions and goals of the political platform of the non-aligned movement included in the documents approved by these forums are, first, the struggle for peace, against a world nuclear war, for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament; second, the struggle against all manifestations of colonialism, imperialist domination and oppression, for the free development of the peoples and the consolidation of the sovereignty and independence of the newly-free countries; and, third, the struggle to curtail and eventually eliminate the imperialist exploitation of the developing countries, for restructuring international economic relations, and a new international economic order.

Over the years the non-aligned movement has made tangible contributions to the struggle for peace, security and detente, equitable cooperation and to halting the arms race and achieving disarmament. Of late, the actions for averting a missile-nuclear war, strengthening peace and international security have become the main line pursued by the non-aligned movement. As is stated in the Political Declaration of the Non-Aligned Nations' Coordinating Bureau (New Delhi, April 1986), "the threat of nuclear catastrophe is not thus one issue among many, but the single most important problem facing humanity. Nuclear disarmament is not just a moral issue; it is an issue of human survival."

Advocating universal and total disarmament as the ultimate goal of the activities in this field, the non-aligned countries actively encourage and support any steps and actions promoting progress in this undertaking. They resolutely insist that nuclear arms tests should be discontinued, and they wage the struggle for the implementation of decisions as regards the prohibition of the production and the liquidation of the stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. They approve the measures impeding the spreading of nuclear weapons, as well as the accords providing for the reduction of the military allocations.

In this connection the Coordinating Bureau welcomed "the comprehensive and timely programme for nuclear disarmament in a phased time-bound framework", the programme contained in the Soviet Statement of January 15, 1986. The Political Declaration of the meeting stressed that "the objectives and priorities of this programme, which aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth by all nuclear-weapon states by the end of the century, are largely in consonance with the position that the non-aligned countries had taken consistently on these issues."

The foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries who participated in the work of the Coordinating Bureau confirmed the principle providing that outer space, the common property of mankind, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit and in the interests of all countries irrespective of their economic and scientific development levels and should be accessible to all nations. They called for an immediate commencement of negotiations on the subject of concluding agreements on averting the transfer of the arms race into outer space and demanded that all states, particularly those possessing a considerable space potential, strictly abide by the existing legal limitations provided for in the Agreement on Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes and the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and refrain from any steps aimed at creating, testing or deploying weapons and weapon systems in outer space. At present, this call of the non-aligned countries acquires particular urgency in view of the refusal of the US Administra-

tion to stand by the terms of the corresponding Soviet-American agreements.

It is a well-known fact that the non-aligned countries were the first to pose the issue of creating zones of peace and nuclear-free zones, in particular in the Mediterranean, Latin America, the Indian Ocean, Africa and the Middle East. In this connection the Delhi Political Declaration reaffirmed that the creation of nuclear-free zones be regarded as an important step towards disarmament.

It should be noted that the decisions taken by the supreme forums of the non-aligned states have served and continue to serve as guidelines in the activities of their representatives at various international organisations, including the United Nations, its committees and commissions. For instance, the non-aligned countries have initiated the holding of special UN General Assembly sessions devoted to disarmament. In recent years, they have been actively elaborating their own coordinated programme in the UN in the struggle to resolve the disarmament problem. Let us note that in many of its major aspects this programme mainly coincides with the positions and proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. As a rule, they vote in accord on major resolutions. The recent sessions of the UN General Assembly have proved on the whole that the political dividing line in this international organisation is between the socialist and the non-aligned countries adhering to the idea of strengthening international security and detente, on the one hand, and the imperialist powers as the proponents of confrontation and the arms race, on the other.

The initiatives of the non-aligned movement connected with disarmament are becoming more significant. For instance, the leaders of three non-aligned countries (Argentina, India and Tanzania) together with the leaders of three other peaceloving countries (Greece, Mexico and Sweden) appealed in May 1984 to all nuclear powers to freeze, just as a beginning, the present level of nuclear weapons. This appeal evoked a positive response on the part of the Soviet Union which has advanced a series of specific measures, while the Western powers merely paid lip service to the idea.

In 1985-1986, the leaders of the same six countries carried out a vigorous campaign to discontinue and prohibit all nuclear explosions, including underground ones, and even offered the services of their states for promoting the verification of such discontinuation. It is a fact that only the USSR, which unilaterally, since August 6, 1985, Hiroshima Day, has not conducted nuclear tests and extended its moratorium on nuclear explosions more than once, supports the initiatives of the Delhi Six.

The non-aligned movement approaches the imperialist aggression headed by the USA against the developing countries from anti-imperialist positions. The foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Delhi meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (April 1986) condemned the US undeclared war against Nicaragua and the subversive terrorist activities of the US Administration against Cuba and demanded that Washington abide by the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. The Coordinating Bureau called upon all members of the non-aligned movement and the international community at large to display their solidarity with Nicaragua and provide all necessary assistance to it so that Nicaragua would be able to "preserve its right to self-determination, national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity."

The non-aligned movement has always displayed an unequivocal and clear-cut attitude to US neo-colonialist policy in the Middle East and the Israeli aggressive actions. The conference in Luanda and the Delhi meeting proposed holding an international conference on the Middle East settlement with the participation of all the parties involved, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The speakers condemned Israel's aggressive policy and sharply criticised the support provided to it by the USA.

The brigand attack of the USA against Libya last spring engendered a wave of indignation and protest in the non-aligned countries and was qualified by them as an impudent act of unprovoked imperialist aggression against a non-aligned country. At an extraordinary meeting before the official opening of the Delhi meeting of the Coordinating Bureau the participants strongly condemned the US aggression against Libya and requested the UN Secretary-General to take effective measures to avert similar acts in the future.

The Delhi meeting participants while condemning any terrorist activities irrespective of whether they are conducted by individuals, groups or states, declared their resolve to counteract them with all available means. At the same time they stressed that the legitimate struggle of the peoples living under colonial and racist regimes or under any form of foreign domination and occupation, as well as the national liberation movements against the oppressors can in no way be regarded as terrorism or equated with it. This is particularly so as regards the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine for self-determination and independence in accordance with the aims and principles of the UN Charter and the principles of non-alignment.

The calls of the non-aligned countries for the elimination of military bases on their territories have a clear-cut anti-imperialist thrust. Correspondingly, in decisions taken at their recent forums the non-aligned countries express solidarity with the demand of Mauritius for the restoration of its sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, including the Diego Garcia Island.

The documents of these forums contain resolute demands for eliminating all vestiges of colonialism and granting independence to the territories still occupied by the imperialist powers and contain calls for actions aimed at the total elimination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism. In this connection the non-aligned countries condemn the intensifying exploitation of the natural and human resources of these territories by the imperialist powers and transnational corporations.

In resolutely condemning the continuing illegal colonial occupation of Namibia by the South African racist regime, the non-aligned countries demand an immediate implementation of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence and stress the legitimate nature of Namibia's struggle for its liberation by using all available means, including armed struggle, and express their solidarity with, and full support of, the heroic just struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO. They reject attempts to tie up the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola.

In their Delhi declaration the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries condemned the US Administration for its policy of "constructive engagement" with the racist regime of Pretoria, the policy which only encourages its disdain for international public opinion. They also denounced South African acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, US interference into Angola's internal affairs, support rendered to the Sawimbi bands, including the supply of Stinger missiles, and other subversive operations against Angola.

Recently, the non-aligned countries began to pay particular attention to the struggle against the use of the colonial territories by the imperialist states for military purposes, including the stockpiling and deployment there of nuclear weapons, threatening their own security, as well as the security of the neighbouring states. In this connection the demand of the movement for granting independence to Namibia, New Caledonia, Puerto Rico, the Malvinas, Micronesia and other colonial territories is becoming particularly urgent.

With every passing year the non-aligned countries participating in the movement are becoming increasingly active in their struggle to eliminate colonialism in international economic relations, to change the existing unfair international economic order. In recent decades, they have gradually gone from taking isolated, localised actions to taking concerted actions on the international arena, from demanding partial concessions to demanding the restructuring of the entire system of relations in the world capitalist economy.

At present, the non-aligned countries are rallying to establish a new international economic order (NIEO). The NIEO concept was put forward by the non-aligned countries in the 1970s. Later on, the development of this concept and the elaboration and substantiation of the action programmes required for its implementation have become one of the main directions in the non-aligned movement's activities. Thereby, this movement is turning into a basic political forum of the developing countries which expresses in a capsulised form their economic interests, elaborates and formulates the main strategic and tactical positions of the non-aligned and all the developing countries as regards these issues.

The Delhi Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries (1983) stressed "the need to create a new, equitable and universal international monetary system which would put an end to the dominance of certain reserve currencies, guarantee developing countries a role in decision-making, while ensuring monetary and financial discipline in the developed countries and preferential treatment for developing states." The participants emphasised the importance of holding an international conference on monetary and financial problems. At the initiative of the newly-free countries the UN, its 40th General Assembly Session in particular, discussed restructuring the international monetary system and holding such a conference.

The NIEO programme elaborated by the non-aligned movement is, by and large, an anti-imperialist, essentially democratic programme of progressive transformations. Most of its provisions coincide or are consonant with the programme of restructuring international economic relations put forward by the socialist states. The interests and goals of the socialist and the non-aligned countries in the field of international economic relations by and large coincide.

By pumping out tremendous resources from the developing countries the transnational corporations and the imperialist states now have an opportunity to use part of these resources to finance war production and the arms race. As is noted in the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, "brutal exploitation of the developing countries is increasingly becoming an important source for financing imperialism's militarist preparations, its home policy, its very existence." Therefore, in the present situation the steps taken by the developing states in support of the NIEO and the just solution of the indebtedness problem are becoming an integral part in the struggle for checking the arms race and for nuclear disarmament, for the preserva-

tion of peace. In its turn, the curbing of the arms race would open up new opportunities enabling the developing countries to tackle acute socio-economic problems and strengthen their independence and security.

From the very outset the imperialist powers took a hostile stand towards the non-aligned movement and are attempting to divert this large-scale international association of non-aligned countries from its anti-imperialist course, to split it and put it at loggerheads with the socialist community states.

US imperialism regards the non-aligned movement as one of the main targets of its subversive activities. As the "neoglobalism" line of the present US Administration indicates, Washington is prepared to resort to any means, including military force, to preserve the foundations of the neocolonial system of exploitation and applies military, economic and diplomatic pressure. The peoples of the world have not forgotten and will never forget the barbarian US aggression in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the attempts to topple the people's power in Cuba, the masterminding of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Chile, the brigand attack on Grenada, the support to dictatorships in El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras and other countries of Central and Latin America; the undeclared war against the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, the threats and the calls for an overthrow of the lawful government in that country.

The USA comes down hardest against the states most consistently pursuing the anti-imperialist policy in the non-aligned movement—Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and others.

Over the last four years areas close to Nicaragua were the scene of more than a dozen military manoeuvres staged by the US armed forces. Honduras, Costa Rica and other countries of that region are being turned into a springboard of aggression. By September 1985 the counter-revolutionary forces financed and armed by the USA have killed more than 11,000 and wounded 5,000 people in Nicaragua. Last June the House of Representatives of the US Congress approved a White House request to allocate \$100 million for financing the American mercenaries—counter-revolutionary gangs terrorising civilians and undermining the country's economy. This action is a gross violation of international law, the UN Charter and the norms of civilised behaviour of states.

And even after all that the US representatives hypocritically wonder why the non-aligned countries at the United Nations in 86 out of 100 cases vote in accord with the Soviet Union and other socialist states and even go so far as to allege that the non-aligned movement is no longer non-aligned, as was claimed by W. Walters, US Ambassador to the UN, in an official interview in October 1985.

Within the framework of so-called covert operations attempts are being made to frustrate the international forums of the non-aligned movement. As was reported by the Indian newspaper *Daily* on June 5, 1986, the CIA had allocated \$20 million for covert operations to prevent the holding of the regular, 8th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare.

By tightening the noose of financial indebtedness the imperialist powers, the USA above all, hope to make the non-aligned countries more dependent on them economically, to perpetuate their unequal, subordinate position in the world capitalist economy. They use the economic dependence of the non-aligned countries for unremitting interference into their internal affairs, for toughening the control of the transnationals over the young and still weak economies of these countries and for imposing

internal and external policies on them which run counter to their vital national interests.

In their policy and diplomacy the imperialists make wide use of the "equidistance" concept and the "superpower treatment" in their attempts aimed at emasculating the anti-imperialist essence of the non-aligned movement, at undermining cooperation of the non-aligned countries with the socialist community.

In recent years, the non-aligned movement has been developing in conditions characterised by a sharp turn for the worse in the international situation. Naturally these developments cannot but affect the situation within the movement itself, make an impact on the positions and the activities of individual non-aligned countries and groups of states in the matters of the place and role of the movement, on the attitude to the imperialist aggressive policy, to the USSR and other socialist countries, on the elaboration of concerted political positions of the movement as regards the international problems. The activation of the imperialist forces stimulates the desire of some non-aligned countries to revive the idea of "pure", "genuine" non-alignment, "equidistance" of the movement from the two socio-political poles in the modern world, to put at loggerheads the idea of strengthening cooperation with the socialist states and the thesis of the movement's independence and autonomy. In fact, it signifies attempts to find some middle-of-the-road, intermediate position by "neutral balancing" and softening the anti-imperialist moves, by weakening the contacts and interaction with the socialist world, with the Soviet Union. One can see the attempt to propagate the concept of "equal responsibility" of the imperialist and the socialist states for the exacerbation of international tensions and the economic backwardness and ills of the developing countries. Hence the pro-Western stand of individual developing countries as regards the events around Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Laos.

The Soviet Union has always regarded the non-aligned movement as its friend and comrade-in-arms in the struggle against imperialism and has backed its peaceful intentions. The Soviet government repeatedly has praised the stand taken by the non-aligned countries on various international issues. It deemed it necessary to enhance their role and activity in world politics.

The consonant interests of the socialist states and the non-aligned countries on major problems, as well as their coinciding or close positions as regards the struggle for peace and international security, for detente and disarmament, in support of the national liberation movement, against imperialism and colonialism, for restructuring international economic relations, serve as a basis for their cooperation.

The growing cooperation of the world socialist system with the national liberation movement, first of all with the non-aligned movement is an objective and natural trend in the evolution of the system of international relations of today's world and one of the most important directions in setting up an anti-imperialist alliance of the forces of world socialism and the national liberation movement.

The course steered by the CPSU and the Soviet state towards strengthening cooperation and interaction with the non-aligned countries was clearly and unequivocally confirmed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress: "An immutable

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SOVIET-URUGUAYAN RELATIONS: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

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Sixty years ago the Eastern Republic of Uruguay became the first state in South America to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Moscow responded to the Uruguayan initiative on August 24, 1926: "The Government of the USSR takes into consideration the content of your telegramme and proceeding from the confidence that as of the present moment official relations between the two Governments are resumed expresses a profound belief that this act will be a pledge of promoting understanding and friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries."¹ The Soviet Union has been strictly abiding by these principles for 60 years in the process of developing relations with Uruguay.

Back in 1926 the two countries established trade relations and soon a Soviet joint-stock company, Yuzhamtorg, began its work on a mutually beneficial basis in Montevideo. In the world crisis years of 1929-1933 when the capitalist countries had drastically reduced their imports of staple Uruguayan products such as meat, wool and hides and skins Soviet-Uruguayan relations were making sound progress. In that period Uruguay was able to fully appreciate the fruitful consequences of its trade ties with the USSR which had not been affected by the fluctuations on the world capitalist market or political vacillations. When in response to the nationalisation by Uruguay of the refineries processing imported oil, the country which has no prospected mineral resources met with a boycott on the part of the capitalist countries, Soviet tankers came to the rescue averting thereby an "oil hunger".

The first years of the development of these relations had already proven their usefulness for both countries. In August 1933, Alberto Mané, Uruguay's Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a telegram to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR stating the following: "I am pleased to inform you that in view of the expanding volume of trade between Uruguay and the USSR my Government has decided to establish a permanent diplomatic representation in the USSR... At the same time my Government offers the USSR to conclude a trade treaty between the two countries."² The Soviet side responded positively to that initiative. In March 1934 a permanent diplomatic representation of Uruguay was set up in Moscow at the level of a mission, and in May of the same year a similar Soviet representation was established in Montevideo.

It seemed that there were no obstacles in the way to the further development of Soviet-Uruguayan relations. However, this natural process evoked opposition on the part of the ruling circles in Great Britain and the USA which held strong positions in South America. They regarded

¹ See *Foreign Policy of the USSR, Collection of Documents (1925-1934)*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1945, p. 76 (in Russian).

² *Ibid.*, p. 637

the "Uruguayan precedent" as undesirable since the very fact of developing relations with the Soviet Union proved Uruguay's intention to pursue an independent foreign policy course. And from the imperial point of view and the old imperialist criteria according to which South America was regarded as a backyard of the leading capitalist states and a field for their rivalry, this development was inadmissible. The promotion of the Soviet-Uruguayan relations helped frustrate the putsch staged by Colonel Gabriel Terra in 1933.

It should be noted that, as distinct from other South American countries at that time, the political situation in Uruguay was stable and the country was constitutionally ruled by the Colorado and Blanco parties which had monopolised power. The names of the parties were conceived during the protracted civil war in the early 19th century when the soldiers of one belligerent party wore as an identification mark a white (Blanco) piece of cloth and the other—red (Colorado). And today these two parties are the main bourgeois political groupings. Uruguay has the reputation of the "South American Switzerland". The putsch of Colonel Terra was the first military coup d'état in the country in the 20th century. This in-between man vividly showed that inveterate anti-Sovietism is a constant feature of any military-police regime. The failure of the deal on the purchase of the needed quantity of cheese by the Soviet Union and the false concern for "ensuring internal tranquility" were used by the military-police regime as a ruse for breaking diplomatic relations in December 1935 and the rupture of trade and other ties with the Soviet Union.³

The head of the Soviet delegation at the League of Nations, Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, three times used the rostrum of that international organisation to convincingly expose with merciless sarcasm the true goals of those who opposed both the Soviet-Uruguayan relations and equitable cooperation with the Soviet state in a broader context. He said that the method used in the Uruguayan diplomacy could introduce in international life nothing but disorientation and the greatest danger.⁴ This appraisal is applicable not only to Uruguay but to the entire anti-Soviet course followed by the imperialist countries and their accomplices who attempted to poison the international climate by hate to the Soviet Union and to channel Hitler's aggression to the East.

Nevertheless, a nation-wide movement of solidarity with the Soviet Union unfolded in the country from the very first days of the Great Patriotic War. The slogan popular in those years "Moscow has saved Montevideo" was not an exaggeration: the Wehrmacht had drawn up plans for landing in Brazil from Dakar with the subsequent invasion into other Latin-American countries including Uruguay. The manifesto of the Provisional Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Uruguay adopted on July 18, 1941, and issued on the 111th anniversary of the adoption of the country's first Constitution, urging the people of Uruguay to provide assistance to the USSR, stressed the following: "The war unleashed by Nazism is pernicious not only for the Soviet Union which has to endure it but for the whole of mankind as well because what is now put at stake is the destiny of the world, progress, peace, happiness of the peoples, freedom and democracy which are threatened by barbarism, oppression and death—the symbols of fascism."⁵

³ *Foreign Policy of the USSR. Collection of Documents (1935-June 1941)*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1946, pp. 76-79 (in Russian).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁵ See *The Greatness of the Feat of the Soviet People. Comments and Statements Abroad of 1941-1945 on the Great Patriotic War*, Mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya Publishers, Moscow, 1985, pp. 39-40 (in Russian).

Uruguayan public opinion was unanimous in believing that it was necessary to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The USSR had favourably responded to that proposal. This accord was formalised in the exchange of letters between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay and the USSR Ambassador to the USA. January 27, 1943 is the date when Soviet-Uruguayan diplomatic and commercial relations were re-established.⁶

The telegramme sent by Juan Jose Amasaga, President of Uruguay, in 1945 to Mikhail I. Kalinin, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, shows the warm feelings of the Uruguayan people. It read, in particular: "Your Excellence, on the day to the Victory attained by the Russian people, who have displayed the greatest courage and have made extraordinary sacrifices, please accept the sincere congratulations of the Uruguayan people and the Government of Uruguay who welcome your triumph fully realising the sacrifices that have been made for the sake of the Victory."

Somewhat later, in the atmosphere of the cold war unleashed by imperialism when South American countries, at Washington's bidding, ruptured all at once relations with the Soviet Union, the governments of Argentina and Uruguay were the only ones in the region to show a realistic approach and political foresight. Time has confirmed the validity of this approach to the problem of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Years passed, and relations between the Soviet Union and Uruguay based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference into each other's internal affairs were acquiring a new meaning and assuming new, promising forms.

The two countries striving for a lasting peace were vigorously developing political, including parliamentary, ties. Delegations of the Parliament of Uruguay visited the Soviet Union in 1956, 1964 and 1968, while delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet paid return visits to Uruguay in 1958 and 1970. By mutual accord the Soviet diplomatic mission in Montevideo and the Uruguayan mission in Moscow were elevated to the ambassadorial level in 1964.

Economic, particularly trade, relations have proven their worth for both sides. In August 1946 in Moscow the two countries had signed a Treaty on Friendship, Trade and Navigation which established the most-favoured-nation treatment in relations between the USSR and Uruguay, and a payment agreement was signed in Montevideo in July 1954.⁷ A trade delegation from Uruguay headed by Julio Maria Sanguinetti, Minister of Industry and Commerce, visited the USSR in March 1971.

In some years the Soviet Union was the major buyer of Uruguayan goods while Uruguay imported Soviet oil, timber, some other raw materials and industrial equipment. During the official visit by the governmental delegation headed by Vice-President Alberto Abdala to the Soviet Union in early 1969 the two countries signed a trade agreement and an agreement on the delivery to Uruguay of Soviet machinery and equipment. They also discussed the problems of cooperation in fishing

⁶ See *Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union in the Period of the Great Patriotic War. Documents and Materials*, June 22, 1941-Dec. 31, 1943, Vol. I, Moscow, 1946, pp. 338-339 (in Russian).

⁷ See *Foreign Policy of the USSR. Collection of Documents (September 1945-February 1947)*, Vol. VI, Moscow, 1947, p. 462; *Collection of Treaties, Agreements and Conventions in Force Concluded by the USSR with Foreign States*, Series XVI, Moscow, 1957, p. 309 (in Russian).

and in constructing power stations, as well as exchanged views on a number of international problems. The sides confirmed that they held similar or close positions on these issues.

The Soviet Union and Uruguay confirmed their adherence to the cause of peace and international security and stressed the great importance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons for their consolidation. This treaty creates favourable conditions for the discontinuation of the arms race and the implementation of effective measures aimed at banning and eliminating nuclear weapons.⁸

The consistent development of bilateral contacts in culture, science and sports helped promote mutual understanding. Soviet fiction and political publications and Soviet films evoked great interest in Uruguay. The connoisseur audience in Uruguay thought highly of Soviet actors' and musicians' performances; of Russian and Soviet plays which in some years topped the list of foreign plays running in the country.

The Uruguayan-Soviet Institute of Culture set up in Montevideo in 1945 at the initiative of the progressive public contributed to getting the Uruguayans better acquainted with the Soviet way of life. Prominent figures in literature, culture and art of Uruguay participated in the activities of that centre of the friends of the Soviet Union. A USSR-Uruguay society of cultural ties was established in Moscow in 1968. An illustrated monthly socio-political magazine *The USSR* was issued.

One cannot but mention the fact that the Uruguayans often associate the image of our homeland with the people who had left the country before the October Revolution or the restoration of Soviet power in the Baltic republics—the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Armenians and other people whom unemployment and dire need, the religious policy of the Tsarist authorities and the Turkish yatagan made flee over the ocean. Most of those people have preserved their love for the homeland and the victorious people's power there, and they have willed their sons and daughters to keep that love. Being, as a rule, workers, petty land-owners or artisans they have won respect of the local population by their industry, honesty and sagacity. The Russian colonists started the production of seed and flax oil, which have become mass-consumed articles, and sour cream is simply called "Russian cream".

Some Russians have left their mark in the history of culture of Uruguay. For instance, several generations of Uruguayans have been studying physical and economic geography using text-books written by Georgi Chebotaryov who died in 1984.

In Salto the facade of modest museum of fine arts is decorated with a memorial plaque bearing the bas-relief of Horacio Quiroga who had lived and died in that town. The inscription says, "To the most outstanding short-story writer and story-teller in America". There is a pedestal covered with the Uruguayan flag. On top of it one sees a bust of the writer made of one piece of wood, inside the bust the urn with his ashes is kept. It is interesting that this impressive work was created in just one day by an outstanding Soviet sculptor Stepan Erzya, who had lived in those parts for many years and later on returned to the Soviet Union—his native land. Incidentally, 700,000 copies of Quiroga's *Tales of the Selva* have been printed in the Soviet Union and this figure remains unsurpassed in any Latin American country.

The writer of this article was in Uruguay in late 1950s and saw many manifestations of respect and warm feelings of the Uruguayans towards the Soviet people. For example, the municipal authorities of

⁸ See *Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union and International Relations. Collection of Documents, 1969*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya Publishers, 1970, pp. 41-43 (in Russian).

Artigas in the north of the country asked to send them saplings for the "garden of friendship". All Soviet Union republics responded, and birches, oaks and fir trees from Russia and lemon and tangerine trees from Georgia have taken root on the Uruguayan soil. We also recall the manifestation arranged by the local authorities of the capital's largest industrial district—Cerro, in which a street to this day still bears the name of Russia.

Uruguay, being the first state in South America to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, by their fruitful development has set a good example for the entire region in establishing mutually beneficial ties with the socialist world. This, in our view, has its own internal logic and is a natural development. No one can dispute that the past, traditions and the present-day internal policy have a direct bearing on the foreign policy of each state. For instance, their own revolutionary traditions have made an impact on the attitude of the Mexican leaders to the Great October Socialist Revolution and the young Soviet Russia. The homeland of the Aztecs was the first country in the Western Hemisphere to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR having left behind its northern neighbour by almost a decade.

As in other South American countries, at the beginning of the 19th century the struggle for national liberation had engulfed the territory of modern Uruguay which the Spanish colonialists called the Eastern Belt of La Plata River. The leader of the Uruguayan insurgents, Jose Artigas, was more than other leaders in South America at that time loyal to the democratic, republican ideals, closeness to the popular masses irrespective of their race, and he was a man of principle in the struggle against the colonialists and their henchmen. His credo was: "The most deprived will become the most privileged". It is not by chance that later a "black legend" permeated by aristocratic disdain for the "barbarian" was created around the name of that leader of the popular masses. And although the name of Artigas has been canonised as that of the "leader of the Uruguayan nation", the ruling circles have always hushed up or distorted his liberal, democratic behests.

As the result of unremitting liberation struggle the Uruguayans declared independence on August 25, 1825 and five years later a new state—the Eastern Republic of Uruguay—appeared on the world political map. There is no doubt that the traditions of "Artigaism" have made their impact on the subsequent internal political development of Uruguay. As a consequence of the large-scale workers' and general democratic movement Uruguay became the first South American country to adopt laws on an 8-hour work-day, universal suffrage, obligatory and free secondary education, the separation of the church and the state. Uruguay's internal policy was affected by militarism less than in any other state in South America.

However, the situation began to change when in the late 1960s the country became the scene of an extreme polarisation of the social forces and the workers', general democratic and anti-imperialist movements have assumed an unprecedented scope. The Broad Front coalition which incorporated the Communist Party as well has become a tangible alternative to the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, i. e. to the five per cent of the country's population owning a third of the country's assets. In those conditions the reactionary majority of the ruling classes trampled upon the bourgeois-democratic institutions and in June 1973, just several months prior to the fascist putsch in Chile, a military-police dictatorship was established in Uruguay as a result of the "creeping" coup d'etat. The Parliament was dissolved, the political parties and

trade unions were banned and all social gains of the working people were taken away. Once the most democratic state on the continent, now Uruguay leads the world in the number of prisoners: one person jailed per 450. The activists of the Uruguayan-Soviet Institute of Culture have fallen victim of harsh repressions and the Institute itself was banned and its property pilfered. Unheard-of material hardships have fallen on the lot of the working people. Almost every fifth Uruguayan was forced to emigrate. In its foreign policy the military regime took the cue from the kindred dictatorships and imperialism. Its policy was imbued with frantic anti-Communism elevated to the rank of the official course. Multifarious ties with the Soviet Union have been frozen.

However, the Uruguayans have not submitted to the dictatorship, and their arduous struggle made it retreat. On November 25, 1984 the first general elections for the past 13 years were held resulting in victory to one of the groupings of the Colorado Party. On March 1, 1985 Julio Maria Sanguinetti was proclaimed President for the next five-year term. On the same day he issued a decree repealing the ban on the activities of all political parties and public organisations.

Delegations from almost 70 countries, the USSR among them, attended the ceremony of administering the oath to the constitutional President of Uruguay. The Uruguayans enthusiastically welcomed the delegation of Nicaragua headed by President Daniel Ortega. The new government stated its striving for peace, cessation of the arms race, for wide-scale international cooperation, democratisation of economic relations. It also declared its support for the right of every nation to choose its own way of development.

The Latin American priority in the foreign policy course of Uruguay was stressed. Julio Maria Sanguinetti paid visits to Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico and Costa Rica, i. e. the countries with constitutional regimes. The following fact shows the growing prestige of Uruguay: President of Brazil José Sarney paid his first official visit to that country. In their joint communique the two sides indentified as the top-priority task general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, under an appropriate international control. They declared their adherence to the goals of a complete discontinuation of the military nuclear policy in Latin America and stated their opposition to any attempts at militarising the Southern Atlantic, which must become a zone of peace and cooperation.⁹

Uruguay plays an active part in the search for ways of defusing the explosive situation in Central America by peaceful means, including the efforts made within the Latin American Contadora Support Group, together with Argentina, Brazil and Peru. Uruguay is an active participant in the movement for political and economic cooperation of the Latin American countries in view of their huge external debt. In particular, the representative of Uruguay is the secretary of the Cartagena Group comprising the Latin American countries with the largest indebtedness. On February 1986 an Uruguayan resort Punta del Este, was hosting simultaneously conferences of the countries-participants in the two groups which emphasised the inter-relationship of the economic and political problems engendered by external interference experienced by the states of the region.

In the specific conditions of Latin America the attitude to Cuba can serve as a touch-stone in evaluating the degree of independence of the foreign policy of a particular state. In 1964, Uruguay was pressured by the USA into breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba; in October 1985, these relations were restored.

⁹ *La Hora*, Montevideo, Aug. 20, 1985.

Uruguay's relations with the Soviet Union were also making headway. At the ceremony of transferring power to the new Uruguayan President, the Soviet delegation presented a message of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Uruguayan side. The message stressed that the Soviet Union attached great importance to the development and deepening of multifarious relations with Uruguay. Parliamentary ties and contacts could be one way of expanding cooperation. The first visit by Enrique Iglesias, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, in July this year was of great importance for the development of political ties.

Uruguay is a major trade partner of the USSR in South America following Argentina, Brasil and Peru. Recently an intergovernmental Soviet-Uruguayan trade and economic commission began its activities, and a protocol on the delivery of machinery and equipment from the USSR with the extension of payment for ten years came into force. There are also good prospects in scientific and technological cooperation. The largest Argentina-Uruguay hydro-power project, Salto Grande, built with Soviet participation (the Soviet side supplied 14 turbines generating 135,000 kW each and put them into operation) covers many times over the power requirements of the country and helps save the much needed foreign currency. Particularly promising are opportunities for developing cultural and sports ties and contacts between the public organisations of the two countries which over the decades have accumulated a wealth of experience in this field.

The re-established Uruguayan-Soviet Institute of Culture carries out noble activities in acquainting the Uruguayans with the Soviet way of life, the more so because an entire generation in the country was cut off from the sources of objective information about the Soviet Union. However, neither lies nor the terror by the ignorant generals staking on duping the entire nation could extinguish the long-standing warm feelings towards the Soviet people and respect for Soviet policy. More than 300,000 people, or every tenth Uruguayan, took part in the festivities held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

The author of this article has recently visited Uruguay and was able to see for himself the complexity of the problems facing the country. One of the most pressing problems is the search for ways of extricating Uruguay from the deepest socio-economic crisis in its entire history, the crisis provoked by US imperialism and the military-police regime.

The President of the Broad Front, General Liber Seregni, who had spent almost 10 years in jail, cited the following gloomy statistics at the talk. Over the years of the dictatorial rule real wages had shrunk by 50 per cent; over the last four years unemployment had grown two fold fully or partially embracing almost two-thirds of the able-bodied population. The latifundia system results in dire poverty for the great majority of the peasants. Industry, construction, agriculture and commerce are stagnating. The real scourge of the country is the external debt to international, first of all the US, banks: in the years of the military-police regime the debt had grown eight times reaching the 6,000-million-dollar mark. To put it otherwise, each Uruguayan owes \$2,000 to the international creditors. Only a tiny trickle of money goes into health care, education, culture and other social needs. Illiteracy is spreading among the Uruguayans who just recently were regarded as the most educated nation in the region. In the opinion of Liber Seregni profound social transformations rather than curtailed reforms proposed

by the ruling class can help do away with these ills besieging the country.

Another important task is to make the still fragile process of democratic renovation irreversible. This idea was stressed by Rodney Arismendi, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay. Only the unity of the working people, all progressive forces, whose political foundation is the Broad Front, can ensure a genuine democratic process. Even in the most unfavourable conditions this unique coalition of the anti-dictatorial and anti-oligarchy forces and the parties and groupings which have preserved their independence has managed to come in third in the general elections. The Broad Front had been legalised later than the "traditional" bourgeois parties, right on the eve of the election campaign, and the Communist Party which was participating in it was legalised four months after the elections. The reactionary and pro-imperialist forces are resorting to malicious anti-Communist slander and other subversive trickery to undermine the growing prestige of the Broad Front among the masses.

Despite all the disagreements with the government in the matters of internal policy, the Broad Front supports its foreign policy line. President Sanguinetti told this author that he held the peace-loving foreign policy course of the Soviet Union in high esteem and said that the Soviet-Uruguayan relations could serve as an example of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The President stressed that the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Uruguay should be an impetus for the development of all-round ties between the two countries.

Sixty years ago, when for the first time the foundation was laid on South American soil for the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union, the leaders of Uruguay displayed both political will and statesmanship. Time has proven the validity of that approach. At present, the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations and develops multifarious ties with all states of South America, except Chile and Paraguay, where fascist regimes exist. The experience of relations of the USSR with the South American countries can be used in the interests of both sides for reviving the Soviet-Uruguayan relations which have been frozen for many years.

STAR PEACE vs. "STAR WARS"

(Continued from page 59)

prerequisites for transforming terrestrial civilisation into an interplanetary one at the very opening of the third millennium. That is the strategy of making a "star peace" that the Soviet Union offers to the world's peoples to create. Its firm conviction is that it is the "star peace" strategy, rather than the reckless "star wars" plans, that humanity must take along into the 21st century, thus getting nearer to translating into reality the ideas of the "great dreamer" from the town of Kaluga, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky.

THE EEC—SEEKING WAYS OF OVERCOMING CONTRADICTIONS

T. FILIMONOVA

The last decades of this century have seen new outbreaks of contradictions among the imperialist powers, contradictions which have taken new forms and directions, declared the 27th CPSU Congress. The increasingly uneven economic and political development of capitalism has made the rivalry among national imperialisms much sharper. The scientific and technological revolution at this stage, while internationalising capitalist production at an ever faster rate, is evening out the economic development levels of the capitalist countries, on the one hand, and, on the other, determining erratic character of this development, constantly changing the balance of forces among the imperialist states.

The conflict between the three centres of imperialism—the USA, Western Europe and Japan—has entered a new phase. The balance of forces within this triangle is rapidly changing; leaders in some areas of the world capitalist economy are replaced ever more frequently, engendering new trade wars and other conflicts which erupt now and again.

Share of the USA, the EEC and Japan in the World
Capitalist Economy (1981-1985, on the average, per cent)

	USA	EEC	Japan
Share in the aggregate GDP (developed capitalist countries)	40.2	32.6	14.8
Share in industrial production	38.1	35.9	13.6
Share in exports	12.5	34.5	10.2
Share in gold and monetary reserves	7.9	30.5	6.1

Source: *Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya*, No. 6, 1986, pp. 152, 154; *International Financial Statistics*, May 1986.

Various developments in recent years have been causing a relative weakening of the West European centre. The 1980-1982 economic crisis hit Western Europe harder than the USA and Japan, slowed down its economic growth and set off profound social upheavals. Western Europe was the last among its rivals to start the restructuring of the economy. The heavy aftermath of the crisis in Europe was made still worse by US economic policy, which provoked the outflow of capital from West European countries, sapping the basis for investment in their advanced science-intensive industries. As a result, Western Europe is beginning to lag behind the USA and Japan in technological terms. What is more, it is increasingly challenged by nascent rival centres in the Pacific and Latin America.

In these conditions the ruling quarters in Western Europe tend to pool their efforts to counter the rivals and intend to use for that purpose the integration mechanism of the European Economic Community and

its potentialities that are expected to solve hard economic problems and bolster up the international political positions of its member countries.

But the member countries are clearly aware that this Economic Community, the way it is today, will not help them regain the former positions and take the lead in the world capitalist economy. The almost 30-year record of the Community revealed the flaws in the principles of coordinating economic processes, principles that had been devised by its founders. After the plans to set up an economic and monetary union flopped, the scope of integrational measures narrowed down in the Community, there even appeared signs of disintegration in some areas and by the early 1980s its development practically came to a standstill. The EEC "has not been able to accomplish the necessary transformations in order to attain the objectives for which it was established," its leaders had to admit.¹

The EEC difficulties were aggravated by the intensified struggle among the member countries for leadership, for acquiring the possibility of mapping out ways of EEC development. Ultimately the Common Market was "increasingly prone to the self-inflicted disease of Euro-pessimism," wrote *The Financial Times* in its November 28, 1985 issue.

Yet, the EEC countries have not lost hope of reversing the centrifugal tendencies and holding out united against the USA and Japan. Using stimulants of all kinds, the EEC members wish to inject fresh life into its machinery and channel integration towards augmenting the economic and political weight of the West European centre.

I

The expansion of the EEC, in particular, is designed to help achieve this goal. The ideologists of "European construction" expected the joining of the EEC by Spain and Portugal on January 1, 1986, to be a shot in the arm for the Common Market and revive integration processes in it. But the practice of recruiting new members² has demonstrated the complexity of this controversial process.

Naturally, the joining of the Community by new members is aimed to add to its role and prestige in the capitalist world. Having admitted Spain and Portugal, both of which are NATO members, to the Community, the EEC is strengthening its political and military positions, because, as is noted in the West European press, "the strategic importance of Spain and Portugal for Western defence is commonly known".³ The plans for cementing military cooperation, intensively elaborated in both the Western European Union (WEU)—a military political group of seven countries—and the EEC suit the leadership of the new member states. It was largely due to Spain's joining the Community that its government won the referendum in March 1986 on whether the country should remain in NATO or not.

Economic ambitions have no mean role to play in the plans of the EEC leadership. "The European Economic Community of 12 countries," wrote the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* on April 18, 1985, "is the largest market in the Western world, and the world's mightiest trade power". The expansion enables the monopolies of the "old" EEC members to strengthen their economic positions by gaining access to

¹ *Europe*, December 30/31, 1985.

² The expansion of the EEC, which began in 1973 when it was joined by Britain, Denmark and Ireland was followed by admission of Greece in 1981. On the whole its membership has doubled since 1957 when the six founding states—the FRG, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg—signed in Rome a treaty on setting up the Community.

³ *30 Jours d'Europe*, May 1985, p. 12.

new markets, new spheres of investment, and new consumers. It offers great opportunities for squeezing more profit primarily for the EEC members that are more economically powerful.

Of no small significance are the fresh hopes of the EEC for its trade and economic expansion in the developing world. The point is that Spain and Portugal, which have always striven to maintain the traditionally close relations with the countries of Latin America, Africa and the Arab East, can open new channels for penetrating by West European capital there.

The ruling circles of Spain and Portugal, for their part, intend to speed up the slow pace of their industrial and agricultural advance and make the goods produced by their monopolies more competitive by attracting West European capital to their economies on a wide scale and receiving subsidies from the EEC treasury.

There is also the reverse side of EEC expansion at this stage. The forces which will objectively cause the group to weaken, will hamper the deepening of integration and make the building of a "united Europe" more difficult are being brought into play. The fact that countries lagging behind other members of the Community in economic development are being involved in the integration process widens the gap between the "industrial North" and the "agrarian South", between the "rich" and "poor" member states, and increases social and economic imbalances within the group. According to the West German press, as a result of the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market, the living standards in the richest areas of the Community will exceed those in the poorest areas by seven times over.

New problems will also arise in the EEC's agricultural policy. "Green Europe" is being joined by the countries with predominantly agrarian orientation. The admission of Spain alone increased the EEC farmland, agrarian population and the number of farms by one-third. The production of vegetables and wine will increase by over 25 per cent, and that of fruits and olive oil, by almost 50 per cent. This increase will enlarge the already existing surplus of farm produce and require more spending on its storage and marketing. Besides, to adapt the outdated agricultural structures of Spain and Portugal, the EEC will have to spend a good deal more on the agricultural sector which devours two-thirds of its budget already.

The new members of the Community will require plenty of money for social needs and for regional development. This will increase the financial burden even more on the EEC budget at the time when even the "rich" members, unable to combat constantly growing unemployment, undergo serious difficulties, while the rest of the "poor"—Greece and Ireland—require additional spending on their farming.

The new Common Market members themselves are faced with quite a few problems. The negotiations on the terms of their membership in the EEC, which were held for nearly seven years, have shown these countries what difficulties will be involved in their being part of the "big family" of the Community. They have already had to make considerable concessions and sacrifices, mostly at the expense of the working people and small and medium producers. The initial enthusiasm and hopes for receiving trade and economic advantages from their being in the EEC gave way to sober calculation as the sides were "settling" specific agrarian and social matters and were deciding the future of Spanish and Portuguese fishing, auto making and metallurgical, textile and other industries.

Besides, the door to "green Europe" will be wide open for Spain and Portugal only after a ten-year transitional period fixed by the EEC leadership to protect the farming of the "old" members—France and Italy—

from competition on the part of the agrarian producers of the new members. The trade barriers during that period, restricting the access of Spanish and Portuguese agricultural produce to the markets of the Ten, will diminish the advantages of participation in the integrational association for the new members. "In the initial period Spain will only be able to export its unemployment," sarcastically wrote the French *Figaro* on December 31, 1985.

The new expansion of the EEC will inevitably cause inter-imperialist rivalry within the Common Market. When Britain, for instance, joined the EEC, it not only began to struggle with the FRG and France for leadership but also tried to change the Community's development in a direction which suited Britain most and to block its activities in the directions unwanted by Britain. Beginning with the 1980s, the EEC had to heed "a cocky and unco-operative voice" of Greece,⁴ which demanded a revision of some terms of its EEC membership.

It is feared by the EEC leadership that Spain and Portugal, too, will be difficult partners. Their membership bolsters up the positions of the EEC's "southern" flank, which, wrote *The Financial Times*, "could form a powerful blocking alliance". Western observers predicted that the new expansion of the EEC would involve great risks. "Family quarrels on question of detail back on the table" will erupt in it with fresh force. These forecasts are not unfounded, because, as is known, the struggle for common decisions and the search for compromise have been a drag on EEC activities.

One should not overlook the fact that the joining of the EEC by the two new countries evokes great concern in the United States, which is the largest supplier of foodstuffs to Western Europe. It has been calculated in Washington that the USA will lose \$1,000 million annually as a result.⁵ The measures planned by the USA in response may hit hard the export of farm produce by the EEC countries which in this case will have to take additional measures to protect their trade and economic interests.

Last July the USA and the EEC, attempting to at least temporarily avoid the "serious trade conflict" came to a compromise which, however, does not eliminate the probability that new trade wars will crop up.

II

According to the EEC leaders, West European industry will be able to challenge the US and Japanese rivals only when it completes the building of a single internal market. In fact, the problem is how to eliminate the lack of agreement in the economic machinery of the Community.

Indeed, it was supposed at the outset that as a result of the unification of national markets, the economic relations among the member countries will be much like those on the domestic market of the USA, for instance. Under the Treaty of Rome the major measures to form a single internal EEC market were to be the setting up of a customs union, guarantee of the freedom of movement for persons, services and capital on the territory of the member states, elimination of differences arising from the specifics of private and state-monopoly regulation of their national markets, unification of the conditions of their functioning on such matters as taxes, technical norms and standards, and state orders.

As is known, the Community, has failed, so far, to fulfil all these plans. The best results were achieved in the first decade: a customs uni-

⁴ *The Economist*, Jan. 4, 1986, p. 12.

⁵ *Europe*, Apr. 17, 1986.

on was formed, restrictions on the free movement of labour were lifted, and the movement of capital was partially liberalised. Later this process, far from making any substantial progress, even showed a regress in some directions. In the 1970s and 1980s, when economic difficulties mounted, the EEC member countries concentrated on securing their national interests, rather than on solving economic problems jointly, and they did not spare their partners as they did so.

Lack of coordination in the internal economic policy of the member countries and protectionist limitations on trade among them became widespread in the Community and sapped the foundations of the customs union. According to the Commission of European Communities, the Common Market has over 50 various methods of protecting national markets from the competing goods of the partners in the Community. "Under the pretext of protecting the health of the population and maintaining security," wrote the French *L'Express* journal on December 6-12, 1985, "the member states of the Community have built up an arsenal of different norms of protecting national industries." Thus, referring to the interests of consumers, Holland puts up obstacles in the way of export of one type of biscuits from Belgium because there is not enough cinnamon in them. Furthermore, according to the regulations effective in Holland, it is allowed to sell butter on the internal market only if it is packed in Dutch-made foil. More such examples could be listed here. The "uncommon market"—this is how the EEC was called by *The Wall Street Journal*.⁶

The growth of trade within the Common Market is seriously hampered, apart from protectionist measures, by the remaining strict customs control within the Community, which differs little from the control practised on the borders with the groups of countries which are not EEC members. The expenditures involved in customs formalities on the borders of the EEC countries are estimated at £6,750 million a years.⁷ "Seven of the one hundred marks (DM) obtained by the EEC come from trade among them," wrote the West German weekly *Wirtschaftswoche* on June 15, 1984, "are thrown away when European frontiers are crossed."

The EEC has been unable to implement its decision to ensure the freedom of movement for persons, services and capital. Restrictions on the travel of workers from one EEC country to another were lifted way back in 1968. Nonetheless, "the Community is still balkanised into closed-off national job markets". The governments of some countries under various pretexts act more and more often in their own interests. Apart from economic obstacles, there exist considerable bureaucratic ones in the EEC, which are comparable, according to the British journal *Economist*, with those which existed at a "paperchase of Bourbon". However, one of the main difficulties in the way of creating a single internal EEC market are still the tax barriers. Practically throughout the EEC history the only important measure in this area was the 1967 decision on introducing a common system of taxes on added cost (the TVA system). The EEC proved unable to go further in the unification of indirect taxes. The difference in the prices of the same goods plus the difference in the inflation levels, rates of exchange, and state price control systems are accounted for to a great extent by the varying tax rates.

The example with cars would be perhaps most appropriate in this respect. The TVA rate for cars of a similar type ranges from 14 per cent in the FRG to 33.3 per cent in France.⁸ Besides, in most of the Common Market countries additional taxes, sometimes fairly big ones, are raised when

⁶ See *The Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 7, 1985.

⁷ *Communauté Européenne Informations*, No. 152, 1983, p. 5.

⁸ *Europe*, Jan. 21, 1984.

a car is purchased and registered. In Denmark, for instance, the taxes amount to 215 per cent of the cost of a car.⁹ No wonder, then, that the authorities of the EEC member states in which cars are more expensive resort to all kinds of manoeuvres to prevent people in these countries from buying cars where they are cheaper. As a result, all attempts of the EEC to unify taxation within the Community come up against the fierce resistance of the governments of those EEC countries which do not wish to lose the opportunity of mapping out their taxation policy themselves.

The lifting of technical barriers—national norms and standards for industrial output and foodstuffs and their unification on the “European level”—which started in the EEC countries over a decade ago, is being done very slowly. This is explained largely by the wish of the member countries to avoid spending on restructuring the production of certain goods, for which national technical norms should be replaced with unified EEC standards. A debate on a “European standard” usually takes so much time that by the time it is finally agreed upon a new standard is required.

In this situation the Dutch company Philips, seeking to adapt itself to the markets of its partners in the Community, has to produce 29 types of sockets, 10 types of plugs, 15 types of mixers, and 3 types of TV sets. The company has calculated that household electric appliances are 7 to 10 per cent more expensive in the EEC countries because the Community does not have one (common) market. “We are not an integrated economic entity”, declared M. Cockfield, Vice-President of the Commission of the European Communities who is in charge of internal market matters, in 1985, “we are 10 separate economies”.¹⁰ The self-isolation of the national markets is one of the causes of decline in the competitive power of the EEC goods on external markets, and it keeps the outdated structure of their national economies unchanged. This explains why the question of creating a truly common internal market of the Community has again become most urgent nearly two decades after the customs union was set up. The summit meeting of the EEC countries held in June 1985 in Milan approved the programme of measures, drawn up by the Commission of the European Communities, for completing the creation of a single internal market. The programme envisages removing all barriers which prevent the movement of goods, persons, services and capital within the Community by 1992. If implemented, the programme will radically change the face of Europe, declared Cockfield.¹¹

This programme, which is being carried out under the slogan “Europe without borders”, envisages about 300 various measures to form a single economic area by the early 1990s. Among these measures are the abolition of protectionism and technical barriers hampering the development of trade among the EEC countries; the lifting of border and customs control on the internal borders, and creation of a single market of services, capital and state contracts, bringing taxation closer to one level.

The idea of forming a single market within the EEC accords with the concept of a “Europe of citizens”, proposed at the European Council session held in June 1984 in Fontainebleau, which envisaged, among other things, the abolition of border and customs formalities for the citizens of the EEC countries who move from one member state to another, and the issuing of a unified “European passport”.

“Will the Twelve be able to do within six years what has not been

⁹ *30 jours d'Europe*, February 1983, p. 10.

¹⁰ *The Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 7, 1985.

¹¹ *Communauté Européenne Informations*, July 15, 1985, p. 5.

done in 30 years?" This question, put by the French weekly *L'Express* in its December 6-12 issue last year shows that it is very doubtful that formation of a single internal EEC market will be completed by 1992.

III

A special and, perhaps, the most important, role in radically improving the EEC and increasing its vitality and prestige is connected with the reform of the existing machinery of coordinating the approach to economic and foreign-policy problems of the member countries. Abandonment of the unanimity principle and the right of "veto", enabling the member states to block, if they want, solution to any problem which fails to suit national interests is regarded as a major step in this direction.

The plans concerning a "second-generation Europe", being currently drawn up by the EEC leadership, are associated with a revision of the foundations of the Common Market, a cardinal restructuring of its machinery and introduction of appropriate changes in the Treaty of Rome itself. Reference here is to strengthening the supranational aspect in regulating the activities of the West European grouping which until now has been functioning primarily on inter-state principles. "The whole exercise to reform the European Community... means just one thing at heart: can they each accept a reduction in national sovereignty in order to achieve a more united Europe?", wrote *The Financial Times* on December 2, 1985.

The member countries have split over this issue, according to the Western press, into "Euromaximalists" and "Eurominimalists". The "Euromaximalists"—the six initial members—advocate going over to a qualitatively new stage of West European integration, to stronger supranational regulation in the institutional system of the Community. The "Eurominimalists", mainly the smaller countries (Greece, Denmark, Ireland), on the contrary, fearing an infringement on their interests, insist on slightly patching up the existing EEC machinery, just enough to solve the problems confronting the Community, and are strongly opposed to strengthening its supra-state character. A position close to that of the smaller countries is occupied by Britain, which says that unofficial understanding should be reached on the problems, without making any changes in the Treaty of Rome.

It was only when the member states reached a compromise after long and heated debate that they managed, at their summit meeting in December 1985 in Luxembourg, to agree on the terms of the planned reforms, which were registered in a Single European Act. But even its very signing was a source of more disagreement among the partners. Initially, on February, 17, 1986, the Act was signed by only 9 out of 12 EEC countries. Denmark, whose Folketing (Parliament) rejected the draft programme of reforming the EEC, postponed signing the document until the planned referendum on this issue is held in the country. In solidarity with Denmark, the Italian and Greek governments also asked for a delay. Greece decided that the planned reforms of the EEC machinery were too radical, while Italy considered them insufficient. Though the Single European Act was ultimately signed by all 12 countries on February 28, it is still too early to say that the adoption of the document is final, for it is yet to be ratified by the parliaments of all member states.

The current "reforms themselves are far from being revolutionary" and "should make a moderate but useful contribution to the better working of the Community," declared *The Financial Times* on December 5 last year. Indeed, the Common Market achieved the greatest progress in simplifying the decision making procedure with regard to creating a

single internal market, having narrowed down the range of problems which are to be unanimously solved. At the same time, the main problems of the Common Market's economic policy, determining the state of the group as a whole—currency, crediting, budget, industrial, scientific, and technological ones and also a series of problems directly related to the creation of one internal market (bringing in line the levels of indirect taxes and free movement of persons) will still be decided by unanimous vote. The difference of the proposed voting procedure from the practice of previous years is merely that a country can use the right of veto only as a preliminary action, and has to back it up by detailed arguments to prove that an issue is vital to it.

The most significant among the planned EEC reforms are the extension of supranational powers of the EEC bodies—consultative (Europarlament) and executive (Commission of the European Communities). However, the planned changes are a far cry from what was proposed by the maximalist member states. Understanding has been reached in the framework of the Single European Act extending the operation of the Treaty of Rome to technology, currency relations and environmental protection, which have become an object of inter-governmental cooperation.

A characteristic feature of the EEC development at the present stage is that its leaders seek to take the integration process beyond the predominantly economic limits fixed by the Treaty of Rome and to step up integration in the political sphere. The machinery of political cooperation on the inter governmental basis, it will be recalled, has been functioning in the EEC since the early 1970s: the foreign policy position of the Community is coordinated at the meetings of Foreign Ministers, held regularly to discuss European and world politics. The task now is to achieve more united action by the member states in foreign policy (including defence and security matters) and to place the mechanism of political cooperation on an international legal basis. At the same time, the EEC tends to strengthen the political aspect of its relations with the third countries, to bolster up its positions as the nucleus of the West European centre, and to play a more independent role with regard to the USA. The United States, for its part, has always considered that in the foreseeable future this will allow, to some extent, for an increase in Western Europe's political and military contribution to the global strategy of the Western alliance as a whole and will invigorate its activity without diminishing the US leading role. The USA has more than enough grounds for such forecasts. Facts of recent years have proved beyond doubt that West European countries, above all NATO members, have on the whole always toed the US line in the most important international matters, be it trade, finances, defence, or foreign policy, and have acted in accord with US self-seeking interests.

The idea of stepping up the EEC integration in the political sphere, which in the 1980s was advocated mainly by the FRG and France, for a long time came up against the stubborn opposition by a number of member states, primarily the smaller ones. But these countries, threatened with isolation, ultimately yielded to pressure and were forced to make concessions.

The treaty on political cooperation, which is part of the Single European Act, provides for joint elaboration and pursuance of a "European foreign policy", consultations on all major foreign policy issues, formulation of joint principles and goals, action from common positions at international forums, and coordination of the activity of their diplomatic missions in third countries.¹²

The operation of the treaty extends to the political and economic

¹² See *Europe Documents*, Dec. 5, 1985.

aspects of security, including the maintenance of the required technological and industrial development level by the member states. Not mentioning defence matters directly, the Treaty envisages the possibility for closer cooperation in the field of security among some EEC members in the framework of the North Atlantic and Western European alliances.¹³ This wording is designed to dispel the USA's fears of possible discrepancies between the obligations of the member countries within the EEC and within NATO.

It is too early, of course, to say that the EEC will be able to act on the international scene in the foreseeable future as an independent political group. It would be more realistic to suppose that the member countries, seeking "common ground" for their foreign policy actions in this complex and controversial international situation, will, first, follow the US tough military and political guidelines of confrontation and, second, spend a good deal of time and effort on overcoming serious differences in their political lines and priorities.

The efforts made by the Common Market to stimulate intergation do not yet mean that "Euro-optimism is beginning to make inroads into the more fashionable Euro-pessimism",¹⁴ and that the West European centre will soon outstrip its rivals. Neither the common class interests of the Community members, nor their wish to pool economic and political efforts can remove the profound differences among them. As it is noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "the clash of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies will, no doubt, continue as a result of changes in the correlation of forces within the imperialist system".

One cannot fail to see also that the West European integrational mechanism continues to function in a situation of continuing economic instability in the Common Market and in the capitalist world as a whole, with a low economic growth rate, high level of unemployment, and intensified inter-imperialist rivalry, both within the grouping and on the external markets. The planned EEC reforms cannot eliminate the contradictions observed throughout the West European integration process, overcome difficulties and remove the barriers in the way of building a "united Europe", i. e. to resolve the contradictions that are inherent in the capitalist economic system itself. The ways of solving the problems confronting the EEC, which were, described above, confirm the correctness of the conclusion made in the Programme of the CPSU that "no 'modifications' and manoeuvres by modern capitalism have rendered invalid or can render invalid the laws of its development... The dialectics of development are such that the very means that capitalism puts to use with the aim of strengthening its position inevitably lead to an aggravation of all its deep-seated contradictions". This means, in fact, the division of the Community into several groups of countries which would be prepared to jointly promote those intergation processes which suit them and, not preventing the solution of other problems, would just keep aloof from their solution, at least temporarily.

In practice, the outlines of the Community are changeable in some areas of its activity already now: Britain takes no part in the European Monetary System, while Greece participates in it only partially, and a

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¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 17, 1986.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

N. K A P C H E N K O

The plan to implement the strategic foreign policy guidelines elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress assigns a special role to the programme to establish a comprehensive system of international security.

There have been many very well-intentioned plans, permeated with a spirit of humanism, to organise the life of the world community in such a way as to ensure peaceful development and guarantee a secure existence, but their main shortcoming, their Achilles' heel, has been that they lacked a material base for implementation and therefore remained good intentions. Of course, because they expressed human society's intrinsic striving for peace, they did play a role in providing an understanding of political reality and encouraging the search for new ways to ensure international security.

What makes the Soviet programme different is that it reflects the level of material development of modern society and takes account of the objective conditions and factors which give good ground for regarding the establishment of a comprehensive international security system as quite realistic and practicable. That assessment is backed not only by facts which show that there are powerful forces favouring such a system but also by the very factor of time, by the historical juncture at which the world community stands: humanity is at a dangerous and critical point at which its future is actually at stake.

The existence of unprecedented means of destroying all life makes imperative a new kind of political thinking and a resolute break with many stereotypes which have been determining the approach to important international problems. Mikhail Gorbachev has said: "Human thought does not adjust immediately to everything new. This applies to everyone. We feel this. We have begun a reassessment, are adjusting many customary things, including those in the military and, naturally, the political sphere, in full conformity with new realities. We would like such a reassessment also to take place in Western Europe and beyond."¹

That is the approach demonstrated by the CPSU's 27th Congress, one that is creative and based on a profound analysis of reality from the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist dialectics. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress goes to the heart of the problem of international security, reveals its content and the fact that its various aspects condition each other, and gives a comprehensive characterisation of the present historical period. "In the context of the relations between the USSR and the USA, the security can only be mutual, and if we take international relations as a whole it can only be

¹ Mikhail Gorbachev, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1986, p. 373.

universal. The highest wisdom is not in caring exclusively for oneself, especially to the detriment of the other side. It is vital that all should feel equally secure, for the fears and anxieties of the nuclear age generate unpredictability in politics and concrete actions. It is becoming extremely important to take the critical significance of the time factor into account. The appearance of new systems of weapons of mass destruction steadily shortens time and narrows down the possibilities for adopting political decisions on questions of war and peace in crisis situations."

The Congress advanced the fundamental principles of a comprehensive system of international security which would remove the danger of a nuclear war and the ground for military conflicts, ensure peaceful development of the human community, and open up reliable prospects for international cooperation between peoples and states to resolve the military, political, economic and humanitarian problems facing mankind.

The Soviet proposals are directed to the entire international community—governments, parties, social organisations and movements, to all who truly care about our planet's future. And the present stage of world development has posed the matter in such a way that everyone must be interested in peace because today neutrality in the struggle against the nuclear war danger is not only immoral as a political platform but also plays into the hands of the forces of aggression and war.

The fundamental principles formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress for a comprehensive international security system acquire their full, profound content when considered in their close connection with the entire package of far-reaching Soviet initiatives, above all the proposal made on January 15, 1986, to effect full and universal liquidation of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, a proposal which our country will focus on realising in the years ahead. In other words, the Soviet proposal on the fundamental principles for a comprehensive international security system is inseparable from the key concept of creating a nuclear-free world, and stems logically from the Soviet state's consistent and principled policy of peaceful coexistence. The Resolution of the 27th Congress states that "the Congress notes the special significance of the fundamental principles for building an all-embracing system of international security advanced in the Political Report of the Central Committee. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of inter-state relations."

The congress thoroughly examined the main tendencies in world development in the present epoch, taking fully into consideration both scientific and technical, and military-strategic factors, and made a brilliant creative analysis of the correlation and interconnection between universal and national security. Of course, the realities of the new epoch have by no means made national security a secondary consideration; on the contrary, they have brought into sharp relief the need to reliably ensure it. What is new is that the nature of the interconnection between national and international security has altered to a decisive extent.

An objective analysis shows that in our day the fullest and most rational national security can be achieved primarily through a reliable system of general international security. And it is important to emphasise that a reliable international security system has real content and meaning for each state only when it is able to provide that state with reliable and effective guarantees of national security. In other words, the new approach, the new road proposed by the Soviet Union rests on the simple principle of ensuring national security by creating the foundations of a comprehensive system of international security. Only collective security

can ensure the continuation of civilisation on Earth. It is also quite obvious that international security cannot be built if each state is concerned only with its own interests, ignoring those of other states. That approach is bound to lead to impasse.

Realistic political and state figures in the West have also begun to recognise the need for a fundamentally new approach to national and international security. Thus, SPD Chairman Willy Brandt has stated: "Our technological revolution has progressed much faster than our political wisdom... We need to shed the ideas of the pre-nuclear age and formulate a political doctrine for the nuclear age. In my view that means that East and West can feel safe from one another only together with each other. Our aim must be mutual guaranteed security instead of mutual guaranteed destruction."

The Soviet conception of international security has been outlined in clear, concrete and precise propositions backed by the international weight and authority of the Soviet state. It also duly reflects the historical experience of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving forces in seeking to set up a reliable system of collective security in the world. The Soviet approach stresses equal security rather than individual superiority.

This naturally necessitates a politically balanced and realistic approach to the national security of the other side, of other countries. It is noteworthy that George Kennan, American expert on international affairs, has said: "In an age of nuclear striking power, national security can never be more than relative; and to the extent that it can be assured at all, it must find its sanction in the intentions of rival powers as well as in their capabilities. A concept of national security that ignores this reality and, above all, one that fails to concede the same legitimacy to the security needs of others that it claims for its own, lays itself open to the same moral reproach from which, in normal circumstances, it would be immune".²

Similar views are expressed by ex-US Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and Hans Bethe, an eminent scientist, who said in the *Monthly Atlantic* journal: "Post-Hiroshima history has taught us three lessons that shape the present proposal. First, all our technological genius and economic progress cannot make us secure if they leave the Soviet Union insecure, we can have either mutual security or mutual insecurity. Second, while profound differences and severe competition will surely continue to mark US-Soviet relations, the nuclear arms race is a burden to both sides, and it is in our mutual interest to rid ourselves of its menace. And third, no realistic scheme that would rid us of all nuclear weapons has even been formulated".³

The first two theses are sound, but the third is now outdated because of the far-reaching Soviet proposals mentioned earlier, which are a truly realistic plan to rid humanity of nuclear weapons and create a comprehensive international security system.

The Soviet proposals on the fundamental principles for that system have regard for the essential features of today's world, which is contradictory but interdependent, and largely integral. The Soviet conception is a complex one, is not confined within any geographical bounds, and encompasses all the world's regions and areas—military, political, economic, humanitarian, which are rightly considered to be different storeys of the structure of the present-day international relations. But, with all the specific features of its parts, this structure is a single whole, which is why there must exist an internal rather than a purely external link between the component parts of the security system. A reliable and

² *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1985/86, p. 206.

³ *Monthly Atlantic*, July 1985, p. 47.

effective system of universal security can only be built if account is taken of the whole complex of its components.

However, the foregoing does not imply that progress in one area should be made directly dependent on progress in other areas. It is not a single package whose problems should be resolved together. Moreover, it is inadmissible to make advance in one area dependent on progress in any other. The point is to move forward steadily step by step in dealing with matters which, taken all together, can be the only basis for a comprehensive international security system.

The Soviet conception rightly gives prominence to the military aspects,⁴ which does not mean that the importance of the other aspects is underestimated. But at the same time, it is vital to underscore that it would be a fundamental error to separate, and even more so to counterpose them.

Yet there is a widely held view in US ruling quarters that essentially counterposes the military and political aspects of security, a view repeatedly expressed by President Reagan in this way: "Nations do not distrust each other because they are armed. They arm themselves because they distrust each other".⁵ Though superficially appealing, this statement over-simplifies the complicated state of affairs in today's world. The stockpiles of weapons, especially those with unprecedented destructive power, do nothing to promote trust between peoples and states. To a certain extent the arms race has become an independent factor of world politics, influencing interstate relations, particularly between states of the two opposing social systems. What is more, the facts show that militarism is playing a steadily increasing and ever more sinister role as a feature of the social and political life of the imperialist powers. It is therefore fallacious, to say the least, to reduce everything to a dilemma: arms mean trust or trust means arms.

Mutual trust cannot be secured by resorting to the arms race, spreading it to other spheres, and acquiring increasingly destructive means of warfare, but that is precisely the course pursued by the United States, whose leaders believe that the only way to achieve security is to endlessly build up military might. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger says: "It is a consequence of what we have learned since the Second World War, that the security of the West and the peace of the world is absolutely dependent upon US military strength. Strength is the price we pay for peace—it is a price we must continue to pay. Peace through strength is not a motto—it is a fact."⁶

The Soviet conception of international security proceeds from the premise that every step along the road of building its foundations in the military area will facilitate a similar advance in the political area, and vice versa. This position is an adequate reflection of the realities of our day and takes into consideration the close interconnection between the major international problems, which must be resolved if the system itself is to be viable and have content. What makes the Soviet proposal attractive is precisely the fact that it is very well-grounded and that its four components are integrally linked.

It is important to stress that the Soviet conception is being put to the international community as a platform for seeking mutually acceptable solutions, as a basis for constructive dialogue in which each state can express its viewpoint, its approach to the pressing problems.

As to the US ruling quarters, even while professing a desire to develop relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, they are in

⁴ See B. Pyadyshev, "The Military Aspects of International Security", *International Affairs*, No. 8, 1986.

⁵ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Nov. 11, 1985, p. 1347.

⁶ *Vital Speeches of the Day*, March 1, 1986, p. 295.

fact on a course of turning those relations into a competition in strength. The White House must surely understand that the breaking of military agreements, for example the US President's decision to torpedo the SALT-2 Treaty, will not only make arms limitation talks more difficult but will have broader negative effects, political ones above all. Such actions are all the more dangerous because they are accompanied by official statements to the effect that Washington wants to create a favourable atmosphere for a Soviet-American summit.

Our position is quite clear: the Soviet leadership is willing to seek compromise solutions that are mutually acceptable, but it will never agree to unilateral concessions: neither political, economic, nor military pressure will have any effect on us; only constructive talks can bring agreement. A summit can yield results if in the approach to it and to the creation of the necessary atmosphere there are no illusions about Soviet motives for wanting one.

As stressed in the Communiqué of the PCC meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries held in June in Budapest, political means are coming to the forefront in the present international situation, which is aggravated by innumerable existent and constantly arising problems that require solutions. The Communiqué says: "The conference is convinced that only political means and the joint efforts of all countries can ensure the reliable security of all countries and peoples, and peaceful conditions for their development and progress. *This position corresponds to the realities of the nuclear age and testifies to the high responsibility for the destinies of their own peoples and the whole of mankind.*"

The foregoing makes it obvious that the parts of the Soviet proposals concerning various political aspects of security are of very great importance in creating the foundations of a comprehensive international security system. They express the crux of the problem and represent those elements of political inter-state relations without which the entire system is inconceivable.

Of course, some of them have already been fixed in a number of international treaties and legal documents such as the Helsinki Final Act, but the Soviet proposals not only place them firmly in the context of international security as a whole but also consider them from the viewpoint of practical realisation, making them a norm of conduct for all states without exception. Taken together they are the political foundation of a comprehensive international security system.

What are these components?

Unconditional respect in international practice for each sovereign people's right to choose the ways and forms of its development. The Soviet Union has always proceeded from the fact that in today's multi-faceted world, where each country and people has its own interests and aspirations, international relations cannot be based on peaceful coexistence and cooperation if this principle is not observed.

As the CPSU Programme says, the course of international affairs shows that "imperialism refuses to face the political realities of today's world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it tries to deprive them of their right to choose their road of development". There are many facts to show that the imperialist powers, the USA first and foremost, high-handedly interfere in the affairs of other peoples and do everything to prevent them being the masters in their own house. They have elevated this line to a clear strategic course of their foreign policy, as evidenced by concrete US actions against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and other states. The White House does not shrink from direct armed inter-

vention, the best example being Grenada, victim of naked US aggression.

Imperial actions, attempts to make other states subservient to US diktat and to prevent them from choosing freely, and, where a choice has already been made, to use all means fair and foul to subvert unsuitable regimes and reverse those states' development—such is the content of the infamous doctrine of "neo-globalism", whose objective is to warrant politically and through propaganda the present course of the Washington Administration. *US News & World Report* writes that "the Administration is increasingly trying to support and fund rebel insurgents—'democratic resistance forces', as Reagan calls them—who want to fight against Marxist governments forced upon them with outside help."⁷

Washington needs the demagoguery about governments imposed with outside help to somehow justify its naked military and political aggression in the eyes of the world public. This is not the first time that they have used such worthless devices, not even bothering to come up with something a little more original.

For, bluntly speaking, Washington does not care a fig for world public opinion, one indication of that being an article in *Newsweek* magazine which said, in effect, that the Reaganisation of US foreign policy calls for three things: first, pushing ahead with Reagan's doctrine of supporting the resistance movements on the peripheries of the Soviet empire (Nicaragua, Angola and Afghanistan); second, demonstrating readiness to use military force (Libya and Grenada), even and especially without agreement of the allies; third, restoring realism by halting the arms control "process" as a "central point" of Soviet-American relations. All three policy directions, particularly the third, the article continues, require sound even hearty contempt for world opinion.

When such "neo-globalist" reasoning is joined with practical US actions, it makes quite obvious the importance of the inclusion in the Soviet international security system of unconditional respect for each sovereign people's right to choose the ways and forms of its development.

Fair political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts. The Soviet Union consistently advocates the earliest possible settlement of crises in every "hot spot" of the world because it realises that the world is indivisible and that in the present tense international situation any local conflict could boil over into a major, even global, clash.

The primary cause of international crises and of a large number of regional conflicts is the imperialist policy of diktat and interference in the affairs of sovereign states. And the settlement of these conflicts depends to a decisive extent on whether the imperialist forces can be made to respect each people's right independently to decide its future; hence the integral connection between the first and second political components of the security system.

Regional conflicts are not new in international relations, but today they are particularly acute because their very existence is a serious obstacle to a lasting and stable peace. During last November's Geneva summit, the Soviet side outlined its fundamental approach to this pressing problem, emphasising that the tension, conflicts and even wars between different states are rooted both in the past and in those countries' and regions' present socio-economic conditions, which is why it is not only wrong but also extremely dangerous to suggest that all these knots of contradictions stem from the East-West competition.

Yet that is precisely how the US leadership tries to interpret the causes of international crises and regional conflicts, be they in Central America, the Middle East, Africa or Southeast Asia; in other words, it tries to lay the blame at someone else's door. What is more, it links the

⁷ *US News & World Report*, Nov. 4, 1985, p. 90.

very settlement of regional conflicts primarily and mainly with whether the Soviet Union will give in to US pressure since, if that happens, these conflicts will supposedly be resolved almost automatically. At least that is the approach taken by two well-known US Sovietologists in an article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine; expressing a viewpoint prevalent in Washington, they state that efforts to surmount regional crises "are unlikely to succeed unless Moscow makes some of the hard decisions and concessions necessary to implement an effective 'multilateralist' strategy."⁸ There is even discussion of various "standard" ways of resolving crises in various regions using old imperial principles—condominiums, division into spheres of influence, etc. At the back of all this is an attempt to deny responsibility for regional conflicts and for encouraging those forces which hinder their negotiated settlement on a just basis, with account of the legitimate interests of all interested parties.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed willingness to vitalise the collective search for ways to end conflicts in various regions, but this search—and our country holds firmly to this fundamental position—must exclude any interference in the internal affairs of other states. The Soviet Union wants to bring an end to seats of tension and conflict by political means, in a context of complete respect for each country's independence and sovereignty.

As to the United States of America, its approach is essentially one of using regional conflicts to further its global imperial policy rather than of seeking to end them. To call a spade a spade, it is the USA which is principally to blame for the fact that the Mid-East conflict has been poisoning the world climate for almost four decades and is a source of the explosive situation in that region. The main obstacle to a Middle East peace settlement has been the US striving, relying on Israel, to strengthen its positions in the region, the total US support for the Israeli aggressors' expansionist line, and its hopes of driving out the Soviet Union and excluding it from the process of a Middle East settlement.

Though it naturally has its nuances, an essentially similar situation exists in the south of Africa, where Washington's support for the obsolescent apartheid regime in South Africa is the main obstacle to resolving the whole complex of problems in that region. It is clear that without United States backing the racist regime in South Africa would long have crumbled, Namibia would be independent, and aggression against Angola would have ceased; in a word, real preconditions would have been created for eliminating the conflict situation in the region.

Every objective observer can also see quite clearly the true sources of the tension in Central America, where the USA pursues a policy of outright military, political and economic pressure and direct interference in states' affairs. The constant talk about "the hand of Moscow" and Soviet penetration in Central America is but a screen, a kind of propaganda justification for the policy of great power hegemonism pursued by Washington, which simply cannot reconcile itself to the fact that this region of the globe is no longer the patrimony of US imperialism. As Mikhail Gorbachev has said, "but for American interference in the affairs of other states, the regional conflicts would have subsided and could be settled much more easily and justly".⁹

Of course, it is by no means a simple matter to resolve regional conflicts and prevent new "hot spots", but it is also obvious that one can hardly speak seriously about a stable and reliable international security structure as a whole if the international crises and regional conflicts are not liquidated. That is why the political component of the comprehensive

⁸ *Foreign Affairs*, No. 3, 1986, p. 497.

⁹ *Pravda*, Apr. 3, 1986.

international security system is of very great importance, meets the pressing demands of the time, and is a powerful impetus to the efforts to stabilise the whole international situation. And the entire world community as well as the USSR desires this.

A package of confidence-building measures and measures giving states reliable guarantees against outside attacks and of the inviolability of their borders. In international relations, particularly in present-day relations with the continuing arms race and the mutual suspicions and prejudices built up over the decades, trust is not only, or rather, is not so much an ethical category as a political one. That is the Soviet approach to this problem and the reason why it includes as an important component of the international security system a package of confidence-building measures, which, in its turn, will open up favourable prospects for arms reduction as well.

In this respect, the international community has considerable positive experience, which is concretely embodied in the Helsinki process, whose Final Act pays a good deal of attention to confidence-building measures, linking them with various aspects of security and disarmament. Elaboration of appropriate specific agreements has been under way for several years in Stockholm, where documents are currently being drafted on the non-use of force; notification of major exercises and movement of land and naval forces; reduced military activity; and invitation of observers.

In the view of the Soviet Union, the Stockholm Conference must impede the use of force and secret preparation for war—whether on land, at sea or in the air. Together with other socialist countries, the USSR wants fewer troops to take part in major military exercises, notification of which is supposed to be given in keeping with the Final Act. The Conference has received fresh impetus from a number of constructive initiatives made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including the Soviet January 15, 1986 proposal immediately to agree to give notification of major exercises involving land troops and air forces and to shift the question of naval activity to the next stage of the conference. The Warsaw Treaty states reiterated their position on the Stockholm conference at the PCC Meeting in Budapest: "A fruitful conclusion of the first stage of the Stockholm conference would enhance trust and security in Europe and would create more favourable conditions for moving on to consider general European disarmament."

A reliable system of international security is also inconceivable without effective guarantees for states against outside attack and without guarantees of their borders' inviolability. The American invasion of Grenada and its barbarous bombings of Libya show that the international community is in dire need of such guarantees, which could serve each state's security interests and those of the world as a whole.

Inviolability of borders is obviously one of the most essential elements of both national and international security. Attempts to recarve the borders of sovereign states are fraught with very serious consequences, which is why the principle of inviolability of borders is among the inalienable political elements of international security.

Very worrying in this connection are the revanchist forces, above all in the FRG, the encouragement of revanchism anywhere, and the propaganda of revanchist aspirations under the most varied pretexts. The Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries believe that the calls to review borders between European states and to change their social and political system contradict the strengthening of trust, mutual understanding and good-neighbourly relations in Europe. The continent's post-war borders are inviolable. Respect for the existing territorial and political realities is indispensable for lasting peace in Europe and for normal relations between European states.

Effective methods to prevent international terrorism, including the safe use of international land, air and sea communications. The Soviet Union has always been fundamentally opposed to international terrorism in any form, and this was clearly confirmed by the CPSU's 27th Congress, which included effective methods to prevent it as an important political component of its proposed international security system.

The Soviet Union is aware of the danger of international terrorism and has repeatedly voiced its readiness to cooperate with all countries and all peace-loving forces to oppose it, whatever form it may take, which is why there is no ground whatsoever for the slanderous accusations that the USSR does not have a constructive approach to this problem. It was none other than the Soviet Union which raised the question of adopting effective measures to prevent it. What is more, it was our country which called for prevention of nuclear terrorism as one aspect of nuclear security, bearing in mind the incidents of sabotage at atomic enterprises in the USA and Western Europe and theft of highly concentrated fissionable material. The urgency of this problem is apparent, as is the need for states' constructive cooperation to oppose international terrorism in any of its manifestations.

But the whole point is that, contrary to logic, the facts, and common sense, the imperialist quarters have been trying to label as international terrorism the peoples' struggle for their legitimate rights. It is with cries of "international terrorism" that Washington hopes to somehow justify its aggressive actions and threats against Libya, Syria, Iran, Nicaragua and other countries. These actions are nothing but concrete manifestations of the terrorist policy which the peoples quite justifiably call state terrorism. State terrorism aimed at preventing and reversing processes of liberation is an important instrument of the USA's adventurist imperial policy, which is undermining international security and destabilising the situation in various regions of the world. The fact that this foreign policy has not been yielding the desired results does not stop the US leaders from championing their "right" to use the might of a great power to "punish" states and peoples that do not suit them.

For this reason, measures to halt state terrorism should certainly take a central place in the package of anti-terrorism measures; after all, it is impossible to conceive of a reliable international security system which would allow even the slightest manifestation of state terrorism, the worst and most dangerous form of terrorism.

The Soviet conception of a comprehensive international security system and the fundamental principles for it formulated at the CPSU's 27th Congress are concrete and convincing confirmation that the Soviet Union always translates its philosophy of peace into the language of practical actions. Our country proceeds from the premise that all states, regardless of socio-economic system, are interested in such a system. Each of them faces the same dilemma—survival or self-destruction, and that must determine their attitude to the Soviet conception of international security.

The Soviet proposals are a clearly formulated programme for all states to cooperate to attain the main goal—the preservation of human civilisation. As stated in the Resolution of the June 1986 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, in today's complex conditions the socialist countries "will not allow themselves to be drawn into deeper confrontation, and deem it their duty persistently to continue the search for possibilities to reduce arms improve the international situation, and effect

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THE CONCEPT OF TERRITORIAL LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS

K. B O R I S O V

The main direction taken by the Soviet government's foreign policy activity, as was underscored at the 27th CPSU Congress, is the struggle against the nuclear danger, the arms race, for maintaining and consolidating universal peace. The programme for universal security through disarmament put forward in the Statement of January 15, 1986, sums up the tasks in this field. Realising such a programme could free mankind, the entire planet from the threat of nuclear, chemical and other forms of annihilation, would considerably reduce the war danger, would open up before mankind a fundamentally new period of development, the opportunity to concentrate on constructive endeavours. This programme is an integral part of the task set by the 27th Congress of laying the foundation of a comprehensive system of international security. On those very lines, as noted in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "the Soviet Union will also call for the adoption of measures promoting the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the establishment of zones free from these and other weapons of mass destruction".¹ This provision of the Programme further develops and specifies the principled stand of the USSR on territorial limitation of nuclear weapons at the present stage of international relations.

The problem of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons goes back to the early postwar years. It arose in connection with the appearance of nuclear weapons.

On July 16, 1945 the United States tested the first nuclear explosive device at a proving range in New Mexico. Three weeks later an American atomic bomb wiped out the city of Hiroshima. Thus, the released energy of the atomic nucleus—that great gain of human reason in the mid-20th century—became a means of mass annihilation. The emergence of the atomic weapon confronted mankind with a previously unknown task: to safeguard itself against the threat of nuclear destruction. In international relations, this gave rise to a totally new problem, that of nuclear weapons.

Ever since the advent of the nuclear era the Soviet Union has invariably seen the solution of this problem as a key safeguard of peace taking a clear-cut and principled stand on the atomic weapon, a stand it holds to this day. The gist of the Soviet stand is that *the states should by joint effort achieve a general and complete ban on and destruction of*

nuclear weapons and ensure that atomic energy is used only for peaceful constructive purposes.

As early as June 1946 the USSR submitted to the United Nations a draft international convention to forbid the production and use of weapons based on atomic energy for purposes of mass annihilation. In the years that followed the Soviet Union has repeatedly made far-reaching and constructive proposals on that score.

By the mid-1950s, however, it became clear that inspite of the active efforts of the USSR and other peace-loving countries it is impossible to achieve a radical solution to the atomic problem and to outlaw nuclear weapons because the United States and its allies openly sabotage all the proposals directed towards that noble goal. The nuclear arms race became a reality of international life, and nuclear weapons an inseparable factor of international relations.

It was clear that if nuclear disarmament was to be achieved a number of other measures were to be taken to reduce the danger of a nuclear conflict and narrow the sphere of possible application of nuclear means of warfare.

In addition to the impasse in the solution of that problem, which arose through the fault of the United States, a number of other circumstances prompted the need to look for alternative ways to curb the nuclear danger. The 1950s and 1960s saw a growing number of countries acquire nuclear weapons and there appeared near-nuclear states, i. e., countries whose technical and economic potential enables them to manufacture nuclear weapons. Concurrently with the development of military uses of nuclear energy there was rapid progress in peaceful uses of nuclear energy which, apart from the obvious benefits, was fraught with potential snags as it became possible to stockpile fissionable materials from which nuclear weapons could be made in those countries (some of which were not nuclear states) where the atomic power industry was being created.

The real danger of the appearance of new nuclear states and the resulting danger of the sprawl of nuclear armaments in the world (which would immeasurably increase the risk of nuclear war) have made peace-loving countries address themselves vigorously to the search of ways to counter that danger.

All this led to the birth of a fundamentally new concept in international relations, the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons. The adoption of that concept was an unprecedented phenomenon in the theory and practice of international relations because the idea that countries should voluntarily renounce any types of weapons had never been put forward before.

The question of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons was first raised by the Soviet Union. In 1956 it proposed to create in Central Europe a zone from which atomic military units and any kinds of atomic and hydrogen weapons would be banned.²

The 30 years since the first proposals on territorial limitation of nuclear weapons were advanced have seen some practical results in this field which are essential factors in restraining the nuclear arms race in general and maintaining international stability. Among such achievements one should mention first of all the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968) and the international regime of nuclear non-proliferation that took shape on its basis. Also, a nuclear-free zone was created in Latin America (1967). At present, the definition of such a zone is nearing completion in the South Pacific. The proclamation of

² See UN Doc. DC/SC. 1/41.

nuclear-free zones in certain territories and cities and the establishment of zones of peace marked efforts in the same direction.

Thus, the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons which sprang up in the mid-1950s developed and was applied mostly in two distinct but mutually complementary areas—measures of nuclear non-proliferation and the creation of nuclear-free zones. If one compares the common and distinct elements in the concepts on “nuclear non-proliferation” and “nuclear-free zone” one can say that the essence of the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons lies in limiting and narrowing the geographical sphere of nuclear weapons, both national and foreign.

The main motive that leads countries to take voluntary measures towards territorial limitation of nuclear weapons—whether through creating nuclear-free zones or non-proliferation measures—is the desire to avert the threat of nuclear attack or avoid being drawn into a nuclear conflict, to contribute towards concrete measures of disarmament, notably in the nuclear field, and thus promote general peace and international security. This desire stems from the conviction that a number of countries in various parts of the world possess or could quickly acquire a potential for the production of their own nuclear weapons and that there is a possibility that a growing number of countries could decide to act in this way. If that happened, a new threat to the security of states would arise in regions which are presently free from nuclear weapons thus speeding the wasteful and dangerous race of nuclear arms in these regions. Countries also proceed from the conviction that measures of territorial limitation of nuclear arms meet their vital security interests and that these interests would not be threatened as a result of their involvement in these measures.

In several known cases the immediate impulse that has prompted proposals on the creation of nuclear-free zones was the concern of countries over nuclear tests carried out in their region. A case in point is the initiative of African countries proposing making Africa a nuclear-free continent in connection with French nuclear tests there. The same happened in the Southern Pacific where France has been conducting experimental nuclear tests for many years. In some cases international crisis situations have proved to be catalysts in putting forward certain ideas on territorial limitation of nuclear weapons. One can cite as an example the Washington provoked “Cuban missile crisis” of 1962 which provided a tangible impulse for Latin American countries to vigorously advance a proposal on banning nuclear weapons in their region.

Masures of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons involve both nuclear and non-nuclear countries. However, most of the credit for the creation of nuclear-free zones goes to non-nuclear countries which seek to make their region secure against nuclear weapons. There is no doubt, however, that the position of nuclear powers goes a long way towards determining the practical possibility and effectiveness of nuclear-free zones. Therefore nuclear countries which are expected to undertake commitments with regard to the zone should be allowed to take part in negotiating relevant agreements.

The problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has been mainly tackled by the nuclear powers. But there, too, non-nuclear states have an important role to play because these states have undertaken to renounce the acquisition of nuclear weapons. Thus, both problems involve nuclear and non-nuclear countries creating an optimal combination for the territorial limitation of nuclear weapons. Needless to say, the participa-

tion of all nuclear powers in taking measures for territorial limitation of nuclear weapons would render them far more effective.

In the case of the Non-Proliferation Treaty the question of participation is simple. All states, nuclear and non-nuclear, should accede to it. As regards the participation in agreements on nuclear-free zones, the involvement of all the countries within the nuclear-free zone would undoubtedly make it more effective. It may, however, happen that the zone would first be created in a limited region and then be spread to other countries that would agree to accede to it. As the experience of the Tlatelolco Treaty shows, under certain conditions it is not necessary, for the practical implementation of the concept of nuclear-free zones, for all the countries in the region to take part in it from the very beginning.

A country's allegiance to blocs need not exclude it from commitments on territorial limitation of nuclear weapons. The existence in the zone of military bases with nuclear weapons and ships and planes carrying nuclear weapons is incompatible with the concept of the nuclear-free zone. On the other hand, the creation of a nuclear-free zone should not violate existing agreements to the detriment of regional and international security.

Measures for territorial limitation of nuclear weapons may vary in scope. In the case of nuclear non-proliferation the scope should, ideally, be worldwide, global. Yet even there some steps can be carried out on the regional scale, for example, by the Euratom or within a limited group of countries such as the London Club (a conference of the main exporters of nuclear materials and equipment), or on a bilateral state-to-state basis.

In the concept of nuclear-free zones the question of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons is tackled on a regional geographical basis. Existing proposals speak of such zones covering entire continents (Africa), geographical regions (Northern Europe, the Middle East, etc.) and even individual countries.

The question can be considered on a still broader basis. At present conditions are ripe for a new proposal on proclaiming the whole of the Southern Hemisphere a nuclear-free zone. There already exist two nuclear-free zones in that vast region, Latin America and Southern Pacific. A treaty to cover the Antarctic would in general exclude the southern continent from any arms race. The proposal to proclaim Africa a nuclear-free zone is in a relatively advanced stage. Active work is under way to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean which would include the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the region. In the longer perspective one could go further and work towards a global nuclear-free zone covering the whole surface of the planet with the exception of the territories of nuclear states. This would be made possible by the realisation of all the existing and outstanding proposals on nuclear-free zones.

In any case, the boundaries of the nuclear-free zone must be clearly defined with the consent of all the prospective parties to it. One necessary condition to be observed in concluding an agreement on a nuclear-free zone is that its borders should correspond to the norms of international law. Countries should not create nuclear-free zones in areas outside their jurisdiction, especially on the high seas and in straits used by international navigation and in the international air space in violation of international law.

It should be noted that the establishment of nuclear-free zones can be accompanied by certain measures in adjacent areas not included in the zone. The Soviet Union, for example, has declared that if a nuclear-free zone is created in Northern Europe it would be ready to consider some substantial measures on its own territory adjacent to the zone and giving the Baltic Sea a nuclear-free status.

One of the more important elements in the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons is the extent of the ban, in other words, the exact commitments countries undertake to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons or totally free their territories from nuclear weapons. On the whole, in both cases these commitments have the same goal, i.e. to narrow the geographical sphere of nuclear weapons. At the same time, there are certain differences, first, between the commitments of nuclear and non-nuclear countries as a whole and, second, between the commitments of all countries with regard to the Non-Proliferation Treaty on the one hand, and nuclear-free zones agreements on the other. In either case, however, the question of fundamental importance is the observance of the agreed balance of responsibility of nuclear and non-nuclear states.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty contains reciprocal commitments of nuclear and non-nuclear countries. Countries possessing nuclear weapons have undertaken not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever these weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, and non-nuclear countries have undertaken not to manufacture and acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Thus, under the Non-Proliferation Treaty the extent of the ban is aimed only at preventing countries from acquiring their own nuclear weapons, i.e. preventing the appearance of new nuclear-weapon powers. Bans under the Treaty do not cover such actions as the emplacement of others' nuclear weapons in the signatory countries, transit of such weapons across their territories, the use of ports and airfields by ships and planes carrying nuclear weapons on board.

The essence of any nuclear-free zone agreement is to ensure total absence of any nuclear weapons in the region. Therefore, the commitments of countries in the zone should stipulate that these states should not develop, test, manufacture, or acquire nuclear weapons and that they should not allow others to deploy such weapons on their territory. Furthermore, they should agree not to make available, not to seek and not to obtain any assistance in the development or manufacture of nuclear weapons. A treaty on a nuclear-free zone should also ban the transit of nuclear weapons across the zone's territory, including calls by ships with nuclear weapons at their ports and the use of airfields in the zone by planes carrying such weapons. This should be a binding provision both for countries inside and outside the zone in order to prevent the possibility of deploying nuclear weapons in the zone even in such cases.

Thus, nuclear-free zone agreements imply a wider range of commitments by states compared to the Non-Proliferation Treaty because the countries in a nuclear-free zone undertake not only to renounce acquiring or developing their own nuclear weapons but also to prevent the deployment on their territories of nuclear weapons belonging to some nuclear powers. It should be stressed that the commitments directly dealing with non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be equally as strict as in the non-proliferation treaty and should fully accord with the commitments under that treaty.

Generally, nuclear states should undertake to respect the status of the nuclear-free zone. Specifically, this would include the following commitments: not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against any state in the zone; not to emplace and create stocks of nuclear weapons in the zone or, if this has been done in the past, to immediately remove nuclear weapons from the zone; if some state has military bases on the territory of the zone, it should offer safeguards that there are no nuclear weapons there; not to render the states in the zone any assistance in developing, manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons.

Cooperation of nuclear states undoubtedly can make the zone more effective, but such cooperation should be based on negotiations and agree-

ment that each nuclear state should individually consider proposals on creating a zone in each specific case.

A nuclear state can reserve the right to review its commitments to respect the status of a nuclear-free zone if the states participating in the zone act in a way incompatible with their non-nuclear status, including acts of aggression backed by a nuclear state.

Commitments with regard to a nuclear-free zone can, when necessary, be undertaken by a third category of countries, namely, states outside the zone that do not possess nuclear weapons, and have possessions in the zone, for example, the Netherlands in Latin America. The meaning of such commitments should be to ensure the nuclear-free status on the territories of these possessions.

An important element of the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons is effective verification of compliance with commitments in this field. An effective system of verification must typically include a fact-finding mechanism, a procedure for consultations, between individual countries and a forum for multilateral consultations for drawing up recommendations and other measures. There are two main aspects to such control. The first applies totally to non-proliferation measures and to a considerable degree to nuclear-free zones, and consists in ensuring confidence that non-nuclear states are not developing and not manufacturing nuclear weapons. The second aspect has to do only with nuclear-free zones and consists in ensuring confidence that the zone is indeed free of nuclear weapons brought from outside and that any such weapons that existed in the zone before have been removed.

In fulfilling the former set of objectives the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which has proved to be effective and reliable over many years, can play, and is playing, an important role. By applying the IAEA safeguards one can be satisfied that fissionable materials involved in peaceful nuclear activities are not being used to manufacture nuclear weapons.

As for the other aspect of verification, because the IAEA cannot undertake an unlimited number of tasks, it may be necessary in each individual case, depending on the provisions of the nuclear-free zone treaty, to provide for an additional mechanism to verify that the zone is really free from nuclear weapons brought from outside and that such weapons have been removed from the region if they were there before. As indicated by the experience of the Tlatelolco Treaty special agencies would be a most useful means for organising verification in nuclear-free zones for two reasons. First, existing regional organisations may be unsuitable to perform such functions because their aims are either too general, or, on the contrary, too, specialised, and second, the composition of such organisations may not be the same as the composition of a nuclear-free zone because they may include either more states (some of which are outside the zone) or a smaller number of states, i. e. when some countries within the zone are not its members. In such cases verification in the zone could be more effectively carried out by an agency specially adjusted to the composition and aims of the zone and chiefly intended for such verification.

Territorial nuclear weapons limitation measures prohibit non-nuclear states to develop and manufacture nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices, i. e. impose stringent limitations on them. These states, however, should not be constrained in the peaceful use of the immense opportunities offered by the achievements of nuclear physics and technology. Nor should these limitations be a barrier for the development of in-

ternational cooperation in peaceful applications of nuclear energy. On the contrary, agreements on territorial limitation of nuclear weapons should contribute to economic, scientific and technological progress of the parties to the agreements through international cooperation in every field of peaceful use of nuclear energy.

One of the main elements in the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons should therefore be an inalienable right of non-nuclear participants in these measures to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It goes without saying that this right should be exercised in a way that fully corresponds to the goals and provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and nuclear-free zone agreements. The IAEA must play an important role in that.

The benefits of the peaceful use of nuclear energy naturally include the potential benefits from peaceful nuclear explosions which should be available to all non-nuclear countries. But because, technologically, there is no difference between nuclear explosive devices intended for peaceful purposes and nuclear warheads, the development and manufacture of such devices by non-nuclear states would contradict the fundamental aim of all measures on territorial limitation of nuclear weapons. That is why non-nuclear states themselves should not manufacture or acquire, directly or indirectly, any nuclear explosive devices intended for peaceful purposes although they may avail themselves of the services of the countries possessing nuclear weapons in conducting peaceful nuclear explosions with the assistance of the IAEA in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article V of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

One of the main elements in the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons is the question of strengthening security safeguards for non-nuclear states which, if appropriate international agreements are signed, would voluntarily renounce nuclear weapons as a means of ensuring their security. They are therefore entitled to demand and obtain appropriate guarantees from nuclear states not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against them.

Directly related to the Non-Proliferation Treaty are international documents on security safeguards for the parties to the Treaty. In 1968 the USSR, USA and Britain made special statements at the UN Security Council reaffirming their intention, as permanent members of the Security Council, to seek immediate action on the part of the Council to ensure, in keeping with the UN Charter, support for a non-nuclear state participating in the Treaty should it become a victim of aggression or an object of threat of nuclear attack. The Security Council's resolution welcomed the intention declared by the three powers. These documents, which have come to be known as "positive safeguards" in international practice, are an important element called upon to provide security safeguards for non-nuclear states.

However, many non-nuclear countries believe such safeguards to be insufficient, first, because not all nuclear powers are involved; and, second, because they speak only of the intention of the three nuclear states to come to the aid of the non-nuclear participants in the Non-Proliferation Treaty should these states become victims of nuclear attack, and, third, because the Security Council resolution does not provide for any special procedure beyond that established by Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, i.e., any decision on assistance to the state attacked with the use of nuclear weapons should be approved by all the permanent members of the Security Council which are simultaneously the states possessing nuclear weapons.

Non-nuclear states therefore want nuclear powers to commit themselves not to use nuclear weapons against them, i.e. to offer "negative safeguards". The Soviet Union treats these wishes of non-nuclear count-

ries with understanding. As early as 1978 it declared that it would never use nuclear weapons against those states which renounce the manufacture and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them on their territories. In the Soviet opinion appropriate international convention could be an effective solution to the problem. However, progress on that issue has virtually been blocked by other nuclear powers.

Territorial limitation agreements are of unlimited duration because the measures they provide for are not temporary but intended for a long perspective. However, the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty contains a provision (Article X) to the effect that "twenty-five years after the entry into force of the Treaty, a Conference shall be convened to decide whether the Treaty shall continue in force indefinitely, or shall be extended for an additional fixed period or periods". In addition, Article X of the NPT reads in part: "Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject-matter of this Treaty have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country." A similar provision is contained in the treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America (Article XXX). The treaty establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Southern Pacific says (Article XIII) that the treaty is of unlimited duration and is valid over an indefinite period of the time on condition that if any of the sides violates the provision of the treaty which is essential for the goals of the treaty or the spirit of the treaty all other sides have the right to withdraw from the treaty.

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The development of the concept of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons is of undoubted scientific and practical interest. First, it is significant in terms of the use of the accumulated experience to further strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation regime and also to make the existing nuclear-free zones more effective and to totally free some other regions of the world of nuclear weapons. Second, the model of territorial limitation of nuclear weapons can probably be used in solving questions involving other types of armaments. This may apply first and foremost to the chemical weapons because the Soviet Union and some other countries raise the question of taking measures for the non-proliferation of chemical weapons. A relevant provision to the effect is contained in the joint Soviet-American statement issued after the Geneva summit in November 1985. Besides, the socialist countries have come up with proposals on making Europe a zone free of chemical weapons. The Soviet Union has also suggested that the idea of such a zone could be applied to the Mediterranean—one of the most densely populated regions in the world—and, in time, to the whole of the African continent.

The Apartheid Regime and Its Imperialist Patrons

A. P O K R O V S K Y

The situation in South Africa, the country that has become shamefully notorious in the world as the centre of racism and colonialism, is growing ever tenser. For almost two years now the blacks living in the industrial centres and suburb settlements have been engaged in protest actions. The blacks, the coloureds and the Indians are demanding equal rights with the whites, the revocation of those laws qualifying them as second-rate citizens and the abolition of the odious apartheid system. The growing discontent is engulfing more and more regions, including rural areas and Bantustans and the movement is becoming more organised. The black proletariat is playing an active part in this movement. The creation of a powerful trade union centre, the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), in 1985 testifies to its growing political maturity and activity. Besides pressing for economic changes it wages the struggle for working people's civil and political rights, for the elimination of racial inequality. The most diverse strata of South African society representing all ethnic groups are taking part in the protest movement. These are the progressive intellectuals, college and school students, the clergy and other social groups. A revolutionary situation is brewing in the country, a situation characterised by the inability of the dominant elite to rule in the old way and the unwillingness by millions of blacks to submit to oppression any longer.

The struggle of the oppressed is headed by the African National Congress (ANC), which has been underground for more than a quarter of a century. Despite the harsh repressions and the persecutions carried out by the racist regime, the ANC, fighting for the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of Freedom adopted in 1955, spares no effort to make the protest movement more organised. The activists of the ANC and its militant wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, carry out military operations as well by effectively striking at the racist state's various administrative and economic facilities and police stations.

Besides the ANC new political organisations fighting for the rights of the blacks are being created in the country. The most important among them is the United Democratic Front (UDF) which is composed of hundreds of various organisations uniting in their ranks more than 2 million blacks and other ethnic groups. The still legal UDF, whose leaders are unremittingly persecuted by the regime, is working, as the ANC, to carry out the principles contained in the Charter of Freedom. Its goal is to eliminate apartheid and create a state where equal rights are granted to all its citizens, irrespective of their racial and ethnic affiliations.

The movement under the slogan of making South Africa ungovernable is gaining momentum. Its participants have literally disbanded the municipal councils in the urban areas inhabited by the Africans and their members were branded as apartheid regime collaborators.

Reacting to the mass movement of the working people the government more frequently resorts to terror and repression. The number of the protesters shot down by the police over the two-year period is nearing 2,000. The activists of the UDF, the COSATU and other legal black African organisations, to say nothing of the banned ANC, are persecuted and arrested. In response to the general strike in June by Africans on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the student massacre in Soweto the authorities introduced a state of emergency throughout the country accompanied by unprecedented police terror, reprisals against the demonstrators, indiscriminate arrests and harsh censorship.

However, repressions alone, the main means used by the authorities to stifle the protest movement, can no longer halt the disturbances. The regime has to manoeuvre and scheme to dampen the national liberation movement, to split the ranks of fighters for freedom, to deceive the public with the semblance of carrying out radical changes. This goal lies at the core of the reforms undertaken by the Botha government in recent years. One of the most important among them is the constitutional reform of August 1984, which has granted some political rights to the Indians and the coloureds. However, in actual fact the voting rights granted to these groups have not altered to any considerable degree their social standing since their participation in running state affairs remains nominal. Actually, they are allowed to deal only with matters of concern to the corresponding communities. Their proposals in the legislative bodies can always be blocked because the number of deputies in the white chamber of Parliament is more than 50 per cent higher than the sum-total of the parliament members in the chambers of the Indians and the coloureds. As for the Africans, who comprise 25 per cent of the population, their voting rights are yet to be granted. The overwhelming majority of the Indians and the coloureds did not go to the polls at all in the elections to their chambers for they were aware that the racist regime pursued the goal of splitting the ranks of the oppressed population.

The movement of the blacks and the criticism of the apartheid system by the international community forced the government to concede on some points. It is important that the working class and all the country's progressiver forces made the government review the labour law in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a result of which the "colour barrier" in industry was initially mitigated and then repealed altogether, if but nominally. Under that law many types of jobs requiring skilled or semi-skilled labour were reserved exclusively for the whites. The Africans were permitted to participate in collective bargaining, to set up trade unions and they were even granted the limited right to participate in strikes. In spite of their limited nature these measures opened up the opportunity for Africans to wage a legalised struggle for improving their lot.

There can be just one general interpretation of the reforms carried out in South Africa: they leave the foundations of the apartheid system intact, and this is only natural since the government in taking these steps was guided by the desire to save and preserve the white minority rule over the black majority as long as possible rather than by the desire to do away with a situation where the majority of the population are denied any human rights. Provisions and laws like the registration of the population according to ethnic traits and residency determined by racial identity, curbing the right of Africans to move to the cities, setting up Bantustans, and so on, remain as before. The ruling circles do not make secret of the limits to which they are prepared to go in their reformist drive. President Botha

says that he will never consent to the introduction in the country of the principle "one man—one vote" in the unitarian state because in his view the introduction of this principle would spell suicide for the whites. The reforms are also calculated to create in the black community privileged groups and social strata that would prop up the regime.

The ruling quarters of South Africa discuss and invent various plans for further reforming the state system. One can hear more often statements in favour of creating in South Africa a state based on federal principles which would comprise of Bantustans which have been or will be proclaimed "independent" along with the regions inhabited by the whites. Today, there are four such Bantustans and one more will be added in the near future. To implement this plan Botha is attempting to secure the support of the Bantustan chieftains collaborating with the racist regime. He stakes mainly on the sympathetically-minded ruler of the Kwazulu Bantustan G. Buthelezi who is the supreme chieftain of the Zulu nation, the largest in the country. G. Buthelezi, who claims the role of an all-African national leader, heads one of the major legal parties of the blacks—Inkatha, which is expressing the interests of the black bourgeoisie gathering strength in the country.

The ANC and UDF leaders, who resolutely oppose the plans of creating a federation and support the principle of a unitarian state with equal democratic rights granted to all its citizens, have repeatedly exposed the collaborationist essence of the views exposed by G. Buthelezi. The overwhelming majority of the African population do not accept the idea of a federative state system either. This is confirmed by the poll conducted in September 1985 when this proposition was rejected by 80 per cent of the Africans. At the same time, 64 per cent of the whites reject the idea of a unitarian state with universal suffrage.

On the whole, Botha's reforms do not alleviate the situation. On the contrary, on the one hand, the proposed reforms engendered an outburst of indignation on the part of the blacks and, on the other, they are widening the split in the white community. "Much too little and much too late"—that is the Africans' reaction to the reforms. It is the introduction of the new Constitution that imparted a permanent nature to the discontent among the Africans whom the basic law of the state deprives of human rights.

Apartheid is in the throes of the most profound crisis gripping its political system, as well as its economic structure. It has become an impediment to a further growth of productive forces, economic development and to scientific and technological progress. The Botha government mainly gears its activities to modifying apartheid so as to make it more flexible in the changed socio-economic environment and more corresponding to the requirements of highly developed capitalism. It is not by chance that the reforms meet with the approval of the local and foreign businessmen. The most level-headed among them are aware that the present crisis situation jeopardises the very existence of capitalist relations in South Africa. This is a convincing enough explanation of why members of the Progressive Federal Party, which has long been an advocate of Big Business interests and acts as an official opposition in Parliament, more frequently speak about their dissatisfaction over the slow pace of the reforms.

On the other hand, in carrying out its reforms the Botha government has to overcome the growing resistance of the conservative and ultra-right parties and groups of the white population. These are the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale (Revived Nationalist) Party, as well as the para-military semi-fascist organisations of the whites such as the Afrikaner Resistance Movement and the Afrikaner People's Guard.

The ultra-right relying on the support of the white labour aristocracy and some segments of the bureaucracy and the military accuse Botha of

betraying the interests of Afrikaner nationalism. They say that he has gone too far in making concessions to the Africans and allege that his reforms will pave the way for black majority rule in the country. The two-year inability of the Botha government to put an end to the disturbances intensifies the polarisation of the political forces of the whites and creates a mounting threat of an ultra-right coup in South Africa.

The apartheid regime is responsible not only for its bloody crimes against the blacks in their own country. The regular army units systematically carry out aggressive operations against neighbouring states, stage subversive acts, raids and punitive expeditions killing civilians and inflicting heavy damage on the economies of these countries. Pretoria refuses to honour numerous UN resolutions on Namibia and to allow SWAPO, the genuine representative of the Namibian people, to take part in administering the country. Instead, it attempts to transfer power in Namibia to the puppets and to use them to saddle Namibia with pseudo-independence.

The brigand attacks by the racists in May 1986 on the independent South African states Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, as well as a new aggression of Pretoria against the People's Republic of Angola have shown once again how serious is the danger posed by the apartheid regime to the cause of peace in Africa and the world at large. The repeated aggressive actions of South Africa against its neighbours show that the rulers of that country do not intend to discard their reactionary foreign policy and are equally treating with disdain international law, UN decisions and the demands of the world public. At the same time, every criminal act of the racist authorities exposes anew the unseemly role played by some Western countries conniving with the racists and, indeed, encouraging them to escalate violence in the south of Africa.

There is no doubt that the racist regime would not have acted so brazenly for dozens of years if it had been left without patronage accorded to it by the major imperialist powers headed by the United States. Condemning in words the racists for the "excesses" in their policy, the imperialists have been providing the most diverse aid to them—diplomatic, military, economic.

Comprehensive economic sanctions which the world community wanted to introduce for a long time would be an effective instrument in the struggle against the criminal regime, which has been declared an "historic ally" of the USA. The overwhelming majority of the participants in the World Conference on Sanctions Against the Racist South Africa held in Paris from June 16 to June 20 this year stated that comprehensive sanctions, provided they are firmly carried out, are the only measure, besides armed struggle, capable of checking the racists and forcing them to abandon the insane policy of apartheid inside the country and the aggressive course towards its neighbours. However, the practical implementation of that measure is hindered by the vetos cast by official Washington and London in voting on the relevant resolutions at the UN Security Council. The racists, if need be, can always count on the aid of their patrons.

The governments and the monopoly circles in the Western countries spared neither money nor efforts to bolster up the apartheid regime economically and militarily. Transnational corporations of the United States, Britain, West Germany, France and other imperialist states were directly involved in setting up and developing a number of economic sectors which are the backbone of the present-day high economic potential of that country. According to the data supplied by the UN Secretary-General, 1,068 foreign companies were operating in South Africa in 1984 with 406 com-

panies having their headquarters in the USA; 364 in Britain; and 142¹ in the FRG. The major Western TNCs are in the lead in such sectors of the economy as the auto industry (Ford, General Motors, Volkswagen, and others), the oil industry (Mobil Oil, Caltex, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch/Shell, and Total), the chemical industry (Imperial Chemical Industries), radio and electronics (Siemens, Plessey, IBM) and others.

The leading imperialist powers, the NATO countries above all, are directly responsible for arming the racist regime. For a long time they have been selling the racists all necessary types of weapons—tanks, planes, armoured vehicles, artillery pieces and rocket launchers. Blessed by their imperialist governments many TNCs have been providing the apartheid regime with licences for the production of various types of sophisticated weaponry. Despite the embargo introduced by the UN Security Council on arms deliveries to South Africa in November 1977 the racists are finding a number of loopholes allowing them to emasculate that embargo. Moreover, thanks to the zeal displayed by the Western countries weapons production in South Africa has reached such proportions in recent years that the country has become a major arms exporter in the capitalist world.

The fact that the West's cooperation with the racist regime is spreading into the sphere of nuclear weapons production is engendering particular concern throughout the world. For a number of years now South African research centres have been engaged in mastering the nuclear technology and have closely cooperated in this field with specialists from the USA, the FRG, France, and Israel. This assistance allowed South Africa to come close to the production of nuclear weapons. It is obvious that such weapons in the hands of the racists would pose a tremendous threat to the peoples of Africa and the entire world.

There are also many other facts indicating that the imperialist powers closely cooperate with the apartheid regime. For instance, the leading transnational corporations of the USA and other countries of the West supply oil and oil products to South Africa violating the decisions of UN General Assembly, which has more than once appealed to all countries to discontinue such deliveries. In recent years, the UN and other international organisations also severely criticised the consortia of a number of leading US and West European banks for granting loans to the apartheid government—loans needed to balance its payments, develop transport, the power engineering and other important economic branches, including arms production. At present, South Africa's debt on bank loans amounts to \$24,000 million, and the financial institutions of the West have allowed the racists to postpone debt repayment.

The tutelage of the racist regime is explained by the heightened interest of the ruling circles and monopolies of the West in the country's abundant natural resources. The demand for mineral resources by the industrial, particularly military, production of the leading imperialist states is constantly growing, and the share of South Africa in covering this demand is extremely high. The USA get 31 per cent of all imported manganese ore from South Africa, 44 per cent of vanadium, 49 per cent of platinum and other metals of the platinum group, as well as 55 per cent of chromites. Western Europe and Japan are even more dependent on South African deliveries.

One should also keep in mind that in providing this comprehensive aid to the racists the West looks after its multibillion dollar investments in the economy of South Africa. In the bastion of apartheid the TNCs find lucrative soil for reaping ever growing profits. The total sum of direct foreign investments alone in South Africa is valued at \$15,500 to \$17,000 million. Besides, much more money went into portfolio invest-

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICES AND TODAY'S WORLD

Yu. C H E R N Y A K O V

The position of a state in the world and at times its historical destiny has always depended to a great extent on how it conducts its foreign affairs, on the quality of its government's diplomacy and the skill of its diplomatic service.

If diplomacy as a component part of a state's foreign policy is a means of implementing this policy, the diplomatic service is the mechanism that conducts the routine work of carrying out the country's foreign policy tasks. It includes the foreign affairs ministry and diplomatic missions abroad. Encyclopedias and reference books do not contain a definition of diplomatic service although this term is used both in these publications and in well-known works on diplomacy, for instance, in the collective monograph *History of Diplomacy*, published in the USSR, and in the works by a number of foreign specialists. The message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet diplomatic service said that "50 years ago under the guidance of the Communist Party and its leader Lenin personally the foundations were laid for socialist diplomacy, an entirely new phenomenon in history, and the foreign policy machinery of the Soviet state—the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and diplomatic representations abroad—was set up".¹

The ministry of foreign affairs officially represents its state and government in the international arena and maintains relations with other states. Within its own country it is part of the entire system of the central bodies for the state's foreign relations: the supreme legislative and executive bodies, the departmental bodies maintaining special ties with other countries—external economic, cultural, and others. The diplomatic service also includes bodies for foreign relations in other countries: embassies, missions, consulates, representations at international organisations which work according to operational instructions and whose activities are controlled by the ministry of foreign affairs.

So the diplomatic service is a specific part of the state machinery operating both in its own country and abroad, with the aim to protect its state's rights and interests in the sphere of international relations. Its functions include the maintaining permanent ties with foreign policy services of other countries and conducting talks with them on international issues. So despite all the class, national and other differences of states,

* From the book *Diplomatic Service. An Historical Essay*, which is to be published in the *Mezhdunarodnyie Otnosheniya Publishing House*.

¹ *For Peace and the Security of Peoples. Documents of the Foreign Policy of the USSR. 1967*, Vol. 2, Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, p. 317 (in Russian).

their diplomatic services have, to a certain extent, similar forms of activity in accordance with the norms of international and diplomatic law, diplomatic protocol, etc.; otherwise, they would not be able to answer their purpose. Thus, very tentatively speaking and taking into account first of all the fundamental differences in the class nature of states, the diplomatic service can be regarded as a sort of international institution, as the whole complex of all states' diplomatic bodies that exist in the world now or existed in the past with their common or similar forms and methods of work, organisation, etc.

At the same time one cannot agree with the contentions of certain bourgeois diplomats and historians about the existence of "the corporate feeling" supposedly generated by the diplomatic service. The British researcher Harold Nicolson wrote, for instance, that "even as scientists, philatelists and other experts find, when they meet together, that the interests of their calling transcend all differences of nationality or language, so also do the diplomatic services of the several countries evolve a form of solidarity".²

No denying it, in some instances personal acquaintance helps diplomats more quickly reach agreement on some specific issues at talks, but as to "solidarity" even diplomats of capitalist countries who hold common class positions by far do not always understand let alone share each other's interests. As F. Engels wrote, the exploiter classes and their states have always aimed "to set one nation against another and use one nation to subjugate another".³ This definition is also applicable to the diplomacy and diplomatic services of present-day capitalism.

However, the fundamental dissimilarity between diplomatic services is determined first of all by the differences between the states of the two social systems, the two formations. "These contradictions have a long history", said the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. "Since the Great October Revolution in Russia and the split of the world on the social-class principle, fundamental differences have emerged both in the assessment of current affairs and in the views concerning the world's social perspective".⁴

Correspondingly, the history of diplomatic services is divided into the period of their origin and development in conditions when there existed exploiter formations alone and the period after the Great October Socialist Revolution when there appeared two entirely different diplomacies and entirely different diplomatic services: the socialist and the capitalist.

Like a state, diplomacy exists from times immemorial. It originated in a tribal society, but the term "diplomacy" as we understand it today appeared only in the late 18th-early 19th centuries (many believe after the Vienna Congress of 1814-1815). Over time this term became generally accepted because it corresponded to the new features of this really ancient notion defining relations between states. The same applies to diplomatic services.

"Diplomatic relations were conducted on behalf of kings", it is said in the *History of Diplomacy*. "The rulers of the ancient Orient were revered like gods being an embodiment on the entire state. They had at their disposal special 'royal servants'— officials, scribes and heralds".⁵ In this

² H. Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, London-New York-Toronto, 1950, pp. 77-78.

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 212.

⁴ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 14.

⁵ *History of Diplomacy*, Vol. 1, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1959, p. 8 (in Russian).

case, contrary to contentions held by the British scholars, H. Nicolson and F. Ashton-Gwatkin, the American specialist, G. Steward, or the West German author, R. Sallet among others, it can hardly be said that diplomatic service originated in the times of the ancient Orient or the period described in the Old Testament.

Truc, relations among the states of antiquity and even among primitive tribes can be regarded in a certain sense as a prototype of present-day international relations. Such acts as declaration of war and conclusion of peace, return of prisoners of war or the levying of tribute on the vanquished, etc. were usually decided and carried out by tribe leaders and heads of ancient states themselves, or on their instruction by their retainers, military commanders and other persons. The history of the first treaties of peace, alliance, trade, etc. is rooted in the hoary past, just as is the principle of the immunity of persons sent to the territory of another tribe or state on a diplomatic mission.

Yet it would not be accurate to regard all this as the beginnings of the diplomatic service as we know it today because the royal court officials and military commanders, statesmen and politicians, scholars and poets were sent by their rulers on one-time missions of a diplomatic nature and actually no permanent state machinery for this purpose existed in the ancient states. And this despite the fact, for instance, that according to historical sources, Ancient Egypt, Rome or Byzantine Empire had small "diplomatic chancelleries" similar in some ways to the present ministries of foreign affairs and even diplomatic missions that stayed for rather long periods abroad.

Such ancient forerunners of the present diplomatic service, if we may say so, existed only for brief periods of time and were not common either in slave-owning or even feudal states. Besides, as is known, the states of the slave-owning and feudal periods were not of a stable, enduring nature. They continually grew or fell apart, split up or simply disappeared from the political world map. By the same token, only elements of war and armed conflicts were predominant in international relations of those times, with trade, economic, cultural and other ties not acquiring a developed and relatively stable nature, as happened only in the epoch of capitalism. Truc, the use of the small chancelleries of feudals, monarchs as a diplomatic mechanism was further developed along with consolidating feudal monarchies in Europe. Gradually these chancelleries began to resemble ministries of foreign affairs, and the institute of permanent embassies began to form at the same time.

The political, trade as well as cultural and other relations between states began to acquire a more stable nature with the emergence of capitalism, when a single world capitalist market and international division of labour began to form. This brought with it the objective necessity of regular diplomatic and consular relations between states and, consequently, of permanent and sufficiently developed diplomatic and consular services. States began to need not only skilful envoys capable of conducting negotiations on alliance with other countries, concluding a peace treaty at the end of a war, eliciting the largest possible concessions from the defeated country or conceding as little as possible to the victor, but also diplomatic representations and representatives who would be stationed permanently in foreign countries, study their foreign and home policy to inform their own governments, maintain contacts with officials and the public of the host country, etc.

The diplomatic establishments and the network of overseas institutions—embassies and missions—gradually became an inseparable element of the capitalist states' political system. State institutions specially engaging in external relations appeared in Europe in the 15th-16th centuries, and somewhat earlier in a number of countries of the Orient. By the 18th

century these institutions began to evolve into ministries of foreign affairs (in the Orient by the 19th century) or into similar establishments:

The mainstays of international, diplomatic and consular law began to take shape simultaneously, that is, the norms and customs of international law giving the diplomatic services of various states the possibility of exercising their functions. Interacting with one another and forming in their entirety an organisational system functioning in a more or less stable manner (excluding the interruptions during wars), a sort of global framework for relations between states, they ensure not only permanent political contacts, but also the maintenance of economic, cultural, scientific and other international ties and try to channel them in accordance with their government's policy.

Thus the professional diplomatic service occupied a firm position among the agencies and institutions of modern states, irrespective of their social and state system, activity in international affairs, and began to play a considerable role both in the shaping of individual states' foreign policy and in the course of overall world development.

However, because of the exploiter essence of the capitalist system and capitalism's international relations, the diplomatic services of bourgeois countries could not become a factor of political stability and fruitful cooperation of nations. On the contrary, along with the military and intelligence establishments, and in close contact with them, the diplomatic services of capitalist countries, especially after capitalism entered its imperialist stage, turned into an instrument for enslaving other peoples, of aggression and colonial plunder. That is exactly why the exploiter classes, their rulers and state apparatus have shrouded diplomacy in secrecy.

"The most important questions—war, peace, diplomatic questions—are decided by a small handful of capitalists, who deceive not only the masses, but very often parliament itself", Lenin wrote.⁶

The Great October Revolution brought about fundamental changes in the activity of the diplomatic services of states. More than a hundred years ago Karl Marx urged the working class "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics, to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments" and "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations".⁷ The Great October Socialist Revolution brought to life this cherished dream of mankind's best minds, the aspirations of peoples.

..."From the very beginning of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the main question facing us", Lenin said.⁸ This made it necessary to work out the principles and methods of the new, Soviet foreign policy and at the same time to create a new foreign policy mechanism—the Soviet diplomatic service which would be the party's reliable assistant in accomplishing international tasks.

Lenin stressed: "...politics is a science and an art that does not fall from the skies or come gratis, and that, if it wants to overcome the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train *its own* proletarian 'class politicians', of a kind in no way inferior to bourgeois politicians".⁹

Lenin personally played a decisive role in fulfilling these most complex

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 488.

⁷ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 13.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37, Moscow, 1975, p. 153.

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1974, p. 80.

and extremely urgent tasks. Starting with the historic Decree on Peace, he was the author of all the most important foreign policy documents of the young Soviet state. He personally supervised talks with foreign representatives and "went into every detail of all important current diplomatic matters", it was recalled by Georgi Chicherin, who worked directly under Lenin's guidance. "Immediately grasping the essence of each question and immediately giving it the broadest political interpretation", Chicherin wrote, "Vladimir Ilyich always offered in his conversations a brilliant analysis of the diplomatic situation, and his advice (and quite often he offered it immediately) as well as the very text of the answer to another government could serve as models of diplomatic skill and flexibility".¹⁰ "From the very beginning of the creation of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs up to the last days of his life Lenin gave direct guidance to Soviet diplomacy",¹¹ recalled Ya. Ganetsky, a Soviet diplomat, a party member from 1896.

Although Lenin was engaged in immense party and state work, he found time to choose Soviet diplomats and teach them on his own experience. The organisational structure of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, which was of principled political importance, was also formed under Lenin's personal guidance.

"...The Foreign Commissariat is working under the direct guidance of our Central Committee",¹² Lenin stressed, and this meant an amalgamation of the party and the Soviet approach. The day-to-day supervision of foreign policy by the Central Committee and personally by Lenin, the possibility and ability to appeal to the working masses, to express thoughts shared and understood by them immediately gave Soviet diplomacy a superiority over imperialist diplomacy. "Do we not all see that such an amalgamation has been very beneficial in the case of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, where it was brought about at the very beginning? Does not the Political Bureau discuss from the Party point of view many questions, both minor and important, concerning the 'moves' we should make in reply to those 'moves' of foreign powers in order to forestall their, say, cunning, if we are not to use a less respectable term? Is not this flexible amalgamation of a Soviet institution with a Party institution a source of great strength in our politics?"¹³ Lenin wrote.

The Soviet diplomatic service is based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, patriotism, genuine democratism and humanism. Its activity, just as the entire foreign policy of the Soviet state, is unbreakably connected with the fundamental interests of working people, with the tasks of strengthening peace and socialism. That is why Lenin demanded "sincerity in politics, that is, in that sphere of human relations which involves, not individuals, but the *millions*". "Sincerity in politics", he stressed, "is a *correspondence between word and deed* that lends itself to verification."¹⁴

The appearance of the new, socialist diplomacy introduced important, qualitative changes in the very system of international relations. But it is this fact that bourgeois diplomats initially tried not to notice or simply ignored. It is not by chance that the prominent bourgeois diplomat G. Cambon, a high-ranking official in the French colonial administration in Algeria and later a financial tycoon in France, did not have a single word to say about Soviet diplomacy in his book *Diplomat* published in 1925, but at the same time tried hard to prove that "new diplomacy, old

¹⁰ G. V. Chicherin, *Articles and Speeches in International Politics*, Moscow, 1961, pp. 276-277 (in Russian).

¹¹ Ya. S. Ganetsky, *Recollections of Lenin*, Moscow, 1933, p. 73 (in Russian).

¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 438.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1966, p. 495.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, Moscow, 1964, p. 574.

diplomacy—these are words without any real content. If anything does change, it is only the outer appearance, the dress of diplomacy, so to say. The essence remains unchanged because human nature does not change and nations will always have at their disposal one method of settling the differences arising between them, and the word of a decent person will always be the best instrument a government can use to achieve a triumph of its views".¹⁵ And Harold Nicolson, whose book was published in Britain in 1938, was also silent about socialist diplomacy. In effect, he echoed Cambon's thesis that new diplomacy (that is socialist diplomacy)—"are words without any real content" and contended that "it was the Stock Market of diplomatic reputation". He wrote that "it was generally known that men such as Bülow, Aehrenthal, Izvolsky were not to be wholly trusted; it was generally known that upon such men as Bettmann-Hollweg, the two Cambons, and Stolypin one could rely".¹⁶ It will be recalled that Bettmann-Hollweg, who "could be relied upon" and served as Germany's Chancellor from 1909 to 1917, went down in the history of the First World War due to the fact that he called the international treaty on the observance of Belgium's neutrality a "piece of paper". Other "model" bourgeois diplomats named by Nicolson are cast in the same mould and their only merit is that unlike Bettmann-Hollweg they did not parade their perfidious diplomacy.

The moment the civil war victoriously ended, the imperialist intervention repulsed, the economic blockade and diplomatic isolation of the Soviet state foiled, "Soviet Russia", as the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Georgi Chicherin wrote in November 1922 in connection with the Genoa Conference, "joined the community of European states as a great power and began to take part in all international affairs".¹⁷

Under the direct guidance of the Communist Party's Central Committee and the Soviet government the Soviet diplomatic service engaged in routine foreign policy activities and ensured ever more active contacts and talks with foreign states. As the threat of fascist aggression mounted in the 1930s, Soviet diplomacy countered it with efforts to create a system of collective security in Europe, and when the Second World War broke out, Soviet foreign policy, and Soviet diplomacy helped mobilise the anti-Hitler forces, foiled the covert machinations of the USSR's foes, facilitated the creation of favourable conditions for the struggle to rout the forces of aggression, for a democratic post-war settlement, for the triumph of popular and socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia, for the national liberation of colonies and dependent countries. When tremendous social changes took place as a result of the Second World War in the alignment of forces between the two social systems and there appeared the socialist community, the new socialist states set up their own diplomatic services.

In the post-war years it is precisely socialist diplomacy that has taken the initiative in the world area and is waging a consistent struggle for a radical restructuring of international relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, for democratising them, for ensuring the freedom and independence of nations, for eliminating the danger of war. The activity of the socialist diplomatic service is developing on the basis of Leninist principles. The qualitatively new, progressive mainstays of its work, organisation, training and retraining of personnel have become firmly established. Speaking at the 27th CPSU Congress, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze, observing the special responsibility of all foreign policy agencies, stressed: "Undoubtedly, ... a great

¹⁵ G. Cambon, *Diplomat*, Paris, 1946, p. 71.

¹⁶ H. Nicolson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 78-79.

¹⁷ G. V. Chicherin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 235.

deal of work has been done there, valuable experience has been accumulated in conducting international affairs. Generations of Soviet diplomats unreservedly devoted to the party and the people have appeared".¹⁸

Totally in line with Leninist traditions, the Central Committee of the CPSU pays constant attention to the improvement of theoretical training and professional qualifications of those employed in the diplomatic sphere. At the meeting in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 23-24 of this year the tasks were discussed for realising the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress in the area of foreign policy in the light of demands advanced at the meeting by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the post-war years bourgeois diplomacy was forced to look for new methods of strengthening its influence in the world arena. One of them is the drastic intensification of "open" diplomacy. In reality it is the old secret diplomacy but with more extensive use of disinformation to deceive the public. Back in the 1920s and 1930s a bourgeois diplomat reared in the spirit of the secret diplomacy of feudalism could contend that it was not his business to engage in propaganda, that it was "unworthy" of him. In the world famous *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, the British diplomat, Ernest Satow, even categorically stated that "a diplomatist ought not to publish any writing on international politics either anonymously or with his name".¹⁹

Soon afterwards, however, and especially during the cold war against socialism unleashed by the imperialist powers the Western diplomatic services began to actively participate in imperialist propaganda. By using the press, numerous briefings and press conferences, by instigating the mass media they foster the circulation of lies and slander, the waging of anti-socialist propaganda campaigns. Departments and agencies at foreign ministries dealing with the press and information were enlarged, often under the guise of the "bureau of public affairs" as in the case of the US Department of State.

Measures to modernise the structure of foreign policy ministries and also of embassies were taken in the major imperialist countries. It must be said that structural changes were few in the period between the world wars, while in France the foreign service structure even remained the same as it was established after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1825. The nature of diplomatic services changed drastically only in Germany and Italy with the coming to power of the fascists, and of militaristic cliques in Japan. It was already in 1932 that Hitler stated: If our weakling diplomats think that politics can be conducted as an honest businessman conducts his matters respecting traditions and good manners, it is their business. I pursue a policy of violence using all means and caring little about morals and the code of honour... A skilled ambassador should be a master of etiquette. When necessary, he will not stop short of forgery or cheating.²⁰ That is why most diplomats of the Weimar Republic were replaced by Nazis while Wilhelmstrasse itself (the German Foreign Ministry) "was reduced to a technical apparatus", as Ernst von Weizsäcker, a veteran diplomat, wrote later in his memoirs.²¹ A similar lot befell the diplomatic services of Italy and Japan as well. It is not fortuitous that the top diplomats of the fascist states together with the leaders of the

¹⁸ *Pravda*, March 2, 1986.

¹⁹ E. Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, London-New York-Toronto, 1958, p. 104.

²⁰ See H. Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction (Hitler Speaks)*, New York, 1940.

²¹ Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen*, München, 1950, p. 129.

Nazi Reich, fascist Italy and militaristic Japan were tried by International Military Tribunals after the war and severely punished.

After the Second World War the countries that suffered a crushing military defeat concentrated their efforts on the urgent strengthening of their capitalist economies with the help of US monopolies, while in the field of foreign policy on forming a close military and political alliance with the United States in the capacity of its "junior partners". In this connection departments and agencies dealing with external economic relations and foreign trade, on the one hand, and with military-political matters, on the other, became the most important ones in their foreign affairs offices.

On their part, having set their sights on world hegemony, the ruling circles of the United States made the necessary changes in the activity and structure of the diplomatic service as well. In terms of personnel and budget the US State Department (even though it is not the only agency implementing in practice the country's foreign policy) has now become the biggest such establishment in Western countries. In fact, its staff is equal to that of any five or six foreign affairs ministries of the biggest capitalist countries taken together. The State Department had almost 25,000 employees in 1986 and a budget of about \$2,000 million.²²

Besides the Secretary of State, the top leadership of the State Department includes his first deputy, deputies for political and economic matters, on security (military), science and technology questions, on administrative matters, including personnel, budget, security of the personnel and property of the State Department, overseas embassies and missions. The present five territorial departments (European, Middle East and South Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, African, Central and South America) were formed in 1945. They have become a sort of "state departments within the State Department". Among the functional units the biggest are those dealing with the economy and business, the international organisations department, the military-political department, the intelligence and research bureau, the department of oceans, environment and scientific affairs, and others. As a result, the already inflated diplomatic staff of the United States has turned, as it is occasionally said in the State Department itself, into a "monster" that sometimes cannot be promptly controlled even with the use of the Departments' sophisticated computers.

Britain and especially France, whose diplomatic services had been regarded as "model" ones for centuries, also had to adapt themselves to the new trends. The British Foreign Office, (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and the ministry for commonwealth affairs and the colonies were merged into one ministry in 1968. The structure of the territorial departments was put in line with the modern map of the world. Special importance was attached to a whole group of external economic departments maintaining the closest contact with British and international monopolies. No smaller importance was attached to the departments servicing the military establishments of Britain and NATO; the relevant departments of the Foreign Office together with the Ministry for Defence take part in mapping out the government's military-political and military-technical policies, programmes of military deliveries and the sending of military specialists to foreign countries. It is not by chance that early in the 1980s the British diplomat, Lord Carrington, who now holds the post of NATO Secretary-General, publicly stated that NATO was British diplomacy's main concern.²³ The Foreign Office also has its own powerful secret intelligence service that maintains contacts with other imperialist intelligence services, first of all the military ones.

²² *Budget of the United States Government. Fiscal Year 1986, Appendix I-P2, Washington, 1985.*

²³ *International Affairs, London, Winter 1981/82, p. 2.*

France took longest to update its diplomatic services. It was only late in the 1970s that the French Foreign Ministry formed its first independent territorial subunits that became five major departments (similar to those at the US Department of State), a department of disarmament and strategic problems and raised the role of the analysis and forecasting centre which was formed already in 1973.

At the same time the bourgeois diplomatic services were forced to pay more attention to camouflaging the class nature of their personnel. For this purpose "open" competitions are held in the West to fill vacancies. In reality, however, as in the past a person must have wealth, contacts in the business community and officialdom, etc. to hope for a diplomatic post, especially in the top echelons. Thus, in his book *The Diplomats*, published in the United States, Martin Mayer writes that American diplomats come from the wealthiest families, or some who come from the military circles, and that the vast majority of them come from "the upper-middle-class" of America. Mayer is convinced that "the diplomatic cadre (he refers to bourgeois countries—Y. Ch.) share a common origin: they are the survivors of a highly competitive selection process".²⁴ But on the whole the capitalist diplomatic service was and remains one of the most reactionary institutions of the bourgeois state.

The young, forward-looking world of socialism is opposed by the exploiter world of capitalism which is still strong and dangerous, but which has already passed its peak", says the CPSU Programme.²⁵ This circumstance also determines the watershed between the two fundamentally differing diplomatic services of our time—the socialist and the bourgeois, although, speaking in general, with almost two hundred states existing in the world, their diplomatic services differ from one another not only by their class character but also by the specificities of these countries' political and economic structures, the specificities of their historical development; etc. Yet, diplomatic services are created and operate with the aim of maintaining relations with other countries and solving pressing foreign policy matters. That is why they can and must play an important role in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This was especially evident in the 1970s when the diplomatic services not only of socialist but also of capitalist states were directly drawn into the processes of easing international tension. "It is well known", Andrei Gromyko stressed in 1981, "that owing to their social composition and the character of their functions to defend the external interests of the ruling circles, the diplomatic establishments of capitalist countries belong, as a rule, to the most conservative institutions.... They have stubbornly resisted and continue to resist any changes prompted by the development of world events. But the course of history is taking us where it must and no matter how the diplomatic establishments of the West resist, they have to adjust themselves, in the diplomatic respect as well, to everything new that is resolutely bursting into international affairs. They could no longer buy their way out by making cosmetic changes in the forms and methods of diplomacy as they have managed to do in the past. The need has arisen to revise the essence of the approach to international problems."²⁶

In the present conditions, which are called the nuclear age, the historic

²⁴ M. Mayer, *The Diplomats*, New York, 1983, p. 128.

²⁵ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (A New Edition), Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 14.

²⁶ A. A. Gromyko, "Diplomacy in the Modern World".—Foreword to the collection *The Contemporary Diplomacy of Bourgeois States*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, p. 7 (in Russian).

rivalry between the two opposite systems, should be directed at scaling down confrontation, the confrontation that in this nuclear age will not produce either winners or losers, that can bring about an end to world civilisation, and should be switched onto the plane of peaceful cooperation. "The CPSU stands for the creation and use of international mechanisms and institutions that would make it possible to find optimal correlations between national, state interests and the common interests of mankind", says the CPSU Programme.²⁷

Although diplomatic services are state and not international institutions, by the very nature of their activity they are called upon to be in constant contact with one another and work in accord on the solution of international problems. That is why on the whole, despite their different class affiliation, they are undoubtedly among the most important instruments for regulating international relations.

Although bourgeois diplomatic services were and are an instrument of the foreign policy of capitalist states, their day-to-day participation in the development of world political, economic and other relations objectively creates a possibility for their becoming to a certain extent an institution researching solutions to problems facing mankind as a whole, first of all in averting nuclear war. It is imperative for the diplomatic services of all countries to work jointly to create an all-embracing and reliable system of security.

It goes without saying that the diplomatic services of imperialist powers are extremely conservative, to say the least. But the record of international relations shows that not a single state institution can remain on its old, ossified positions for ever and ignore the demands of the time. It is not by chance that people, and precisely in the West at that, recall ever more frequently that in its time the threat to mankind posed by fascism had compelled the leaders of Britain, France and the United States to unite their forces with the Soviet Union despite their long-standing hostility to the Soviet state. The new threat to civilisation, the nuclear one, again raises the question of concerted actions by states and, consequently of their diplomatic services, for the sake of saving mankind from death in the flames of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

²⁷ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 74.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

(Continued from page 92)

constructive cooperation between states. This basic line has been determined by the CPSU's 27th Congress and the congresses of ruling parties of other socialist countries, which showed the ways and real means of building a secure world".

International security is central in present-day international relations. The world is at a stage in its development when failure to resolve this problem is tantamount to criminal neglect of the present and future generations. That is how the matter is posed by life itself.

WASHINGTON'S SUBVERSION AGAINST THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

S. B O L S H A K O V

Throughout the forty postwar years the successive Washington Administrations have tried invariably in their foreign policy to prevent the creation of people's democracies in Eastern Europe and subsequently set up every sort of obstacles to impede the strengthening and building of socialism in a number of East European countries, seeking to "water down" that system, to contribute to its "evolution" and "erosion". For a long time Washington was entertaining the idea of "liberating" these countries by enlisting the forces of imperialist reaction and internal counter-revolution. As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress points out: "Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism an 'error' of history which must be 'rectified'. It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and 'punishments', or refusal of any and all cooperation".

The fact that a number of European states are an integral part of the world socialist system is regarded by the imperialist circles in the West as an "undermining" of the centuries-old foundations of the Old World and they offer their own "formulas for European stability" which boil down to recommending that the socialist system in these countries be eliminated. "The split in Europe must be bridged"—this is the refrain of the apologists of anti-communism. This subversive thesis is still predominant in the publications by Western, above all American, theoreticians engaged in "socialism research", in official publications and documents.

On February 1, 1985, the US State Department issued a release previously stamped "for official use only" dealing with the Yalta Conference and the Administration's approach to that undertaking. While falsifying the essence and the historic importance of Yalta, the Administration used the 40th Anniversary of the Conference for levelling new attacks on the foreign policy of peace pursued by the USSR and the other socialist countries. The document stressed that President Ronald Reagan, Vice-President Geogre Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz in their official statements had reaffirmed the view-point of the USA asserting that the present division of Europe is the result of the Soviet Union's refusal to implement the Yalta Declaration on Liberated Europe. In the best traditions of primitive anti-communism the State Department declared in its statement that to passively resign to the perpetual enslavement of the East European population was an unacceptable approach for the United States, thereby confirming that the US ruling quarters are bent on confrontation with the socialist world. This publication of the foreign policy department indicates the tenacity of the Washington line preserved in the worst traditions of the cold war period.

It happened that socialism emerged in Europe and those who are dreaming of "rolling back" socialism and restoring capitalism on sizable part of the European continent are at odds with reality and with history. Speaking at the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that "socialism now is an international reality, an alliance of states closely bound by political, economic, cultural and defence interests. To threaten the socialist system, to attempt to undermine it from within, to wrest one or another socialist country from the socialist community means not only to infringe upon the will of the peoples but to impair the stability of the entire postwar setup and, eventually, peace itself."

Socialism in Europe is an objective historic fact and nobody can easily discard it. The socialist countries offer the only possible way of doing away with the tensions on the continent. As was stressed in the Communiqué of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states published on June 12, 1986, "Europe needs the restoration of detente and to move to a more stable phase. This is the only way to ensure reliable security for all European peoples, to overcome the split on the continent, to build a peaceful Europe, friendly cooperation and good-neighbourliness. This is a real goal and it by concerted efforts can be attained."

The present US Administration is no exception in the succession of fighters against "world communism" which incumbents of the White House have proclaimed themselves to be in one form or another. The President and his entourage have readily taken up the demagogic moralistic methods of James Carter and his adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who made a campaign in defence of "human rights" everywhere in the world, and especially in the socialist countries, the pivot of US policy vis-à-vis the European socialist countries.

In their foreign policy James Carter and Co. emphasised morality which, notwithstanding the former President's religious beliefs as a practising baptist, merely served to underline the amorality of the tactics his Administration used. Along with talk in support of "human rights" in the socialist countries Washington studiously avoided mentioning the "human rights" record of such totalitarian states as Chile, South Africa, or South Korea. The present Administration is not wearing a preacher's garb. Shortly after the President came to office, he spoke on June 8, 1982 before the British Parliament and called on the West to launch a "crusade against communism."

In this speech the US President formulated Washington's anti-communist credo bluntly and without tactical equivocations. He launched a large-scale programme "to strengthen global democracy" which meant a massive propaganda campaign against the socialist countries geared to the needs of US foreign policy.

On January 14, 1983, the President signed national security Directive 77 which laid down the organisational and financial principles of the new propaganda campaign against the socialist countries.

"THINK TANKS" IN THE "STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY"

The aim of the Programme of Democracy and Public Diplomacy was clearly formulated: to toughen counteraction to the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries in the world, to step up the USA's ideological expansion with the use of the latest "scientifically tested" methods and achievements of the propaganda apparatus and "think tanks" of the leading imperialist state. These methods have for decades been perfected and tested in the propaganda and specialised research centres by leading experts and practical politicians. The Programme of Democra-

cy and Public Diplomacy was proclaimed in 1983 to replace Truth Project which had been launched by the US foreign policy propaganda machine in August 1981. The theoretical basis for both these projects, and, indeed, for all the numerous initiatives of the USIA had been formulated and brought together much earlier during the long years of the existence, development and improvement of the area of studies which in the USA has come to be known as "Sovietology".

The recruitment by government and state department bodies of experts from numerous research centres specialising in studies and research into the political and socio-economic development of the socialist countries has always been a characteristic feature of the way US foreign policy has been shaped. At present, however, the link between the government apparatus and the "think tanks" in preparing and carrying out long-term and "routine" ideological sabotage against the socialist countries is stronger than ever before.

In the 1970s the number of centres specialising in "producing knowledge about socialism" topped 100 in the USA. This in addition to the 150 research centres engaged in shaping US military and political strategy as a whole. One should also mention such US centres as the Russian Institute at Columbia University, the first organisation of this kind set up in the USA in 1946 and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation; the Russian Research Center at Harvard University founded in 1948 by the Carnegie Endowment. And finally, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University set up back in 1919 as a scholarly and archive centre to prepare "analytical materials" on the USSR and other socialist countries. It has put out a large amount of anti-Soviet pseudo-scientific printed matter and possesses extensive archives of historical documents from the socialist countries.¹

It is significant that over the past 20 years government bodies, presidential candidates, and the presidents themselves availed themselves of the consultations of these "experts on socialism" who held prominent posts in the Washington foreign policy establishment and at various times headed influential Sovietological centres. Among these "experts on socialism" and on international relations are Walt Rostow, Marshall Shulman, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Adam Ulam, Eugene Rostow, Richard Pipes, William Griffith and Seweryn Bialer.

Having emerged from their academic offices and having gained access to real power, these experts set about to transform their anti-Soviet views into reality, exerting considerable influence on the exercise of US policy with regard to the European socialist countries.

Professor Ivan Volgyes, Director of the Program of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of Nebraska who was for a number of years consultant to the US Department of Defense stressed in his work on the Warsaw Treaty Organisation that US policy with regard to the European socialist countries should be geared to: "a) active pro-Western information programs; b) expanded economic engagement [with Eastern Europe.—S. B.] favoring those nations in the region which either oppose certain Soviet foreign policies or significantly differ from Soviet domestic patterns."² These instructions, however, have always been rendered ineffective by the close unity and cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries. Yet they leave no doubt as to what the strategists of a "crusade against communism" have on their minds. These groundless plans are a real thorn in the side of theorists and practitioners of anti-communism; and their zealous pursuit of anti-Sovietism should be taken into account

¹ See J. Hazard, *Recollection of a Pioneering Sovietologist*, New York, 1984, pp. 89-92.

² I. Volgyes, *The Political Reliability of the Warsaw Pact Armies. The Southern Tier*, Durham, 1982, pp. 95-96.

by the peoples of the socialist countries which are the "targets" of the campaigns aimed at disuniting them now being planned by the US Department of State under the pretext of "friendly concern" for and "understanding" of the requirements of individual socialist countries.

The leading experts of the main "think tanks" at present take positions that are in very many ways similar. And this is not surprising if one remembers that the present Administration has long been relying heavily on the potential of such centres as Harvard University, the Hoover Institution and Columbia University which collaborate closely with one another. Milorad Drachkovitch, one of the leading experts with the Hoover Institution, also, works for the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. His recommendations on the approach the USA should take to the European socialist countries reflects the current commitment of US Sovietologists to the advocacy of various scientific, technological, trade, economic, cultural and information contacts as a means of disguised (and sometimes not so disguised) pressure on the socialist states. One talks of attempts to legitimize ideological sabotage through available and widely practised political, economic and cultural exchanges between states with different social systems.

Drachkovitch calls on the West to unite its efforts to step up direct interference in the affairs that are exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of the socialist states. Depending on how well they "respond" on these issues he "promises" them short-term credits, aid in joint economic ventures and assistance in joining international economic organisations. These tactics, he believes, could lower "political and intellectual barriers in East Central Europe."³

Younger experts follow the instigatory policies of their centres and experts who were trained in the 1950s and the 1960s, while, at the same time trying to disguise their thinking about the European socialist countries by a larger dose of pseudo-objective assessments. They pay growing attention to the "factor of the USSR" which, they say, should not be underestimated in making any forecasts for US policy with regard to the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. "The Soviet Union plays a major role in the region's ...policy and is... an important actor in the East European ...system" stresses Condolezza Rice, Director of the Centre for the Study of International Security and Arms Control, in a recent book devoted to the military policy of the Warsaw Treaty states. In this book the author recognizes that normalisation of relations with the East European socialist countries cannot be effective if the USSR and its legitimate security interests are ignored.⁴

Such wishes, however, are purely demagogic. The White House, the Department of State and other government bodies are still inclined to listen to those theorists who stubbornly recommend Washington to practise a splitting (the scientific word for it is "differentiated") policy vis-à-vis the European socialist countries. The present US Administration has enlisted the services of more than 60 experts thinking along these lines. Among them is Glen Campbell, Director of the Hoover Institution, and Richard Staar, one of the Institution's leading members, both are close to the White House and were involved in drawing up its foreign policy programmes including those aimed at bringing political pressure on the socialist countries.

Richard Staar, a career officer who teaches at the National War College, has written a book, *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe*, which survived several editions in the US and is a standard textbook

³ *East Central Europe. Yesterday. Today. Tomorrow*, Ed. by M. M. Drachkovitch, Stanford, 1982, p. 42.

⁴ C. Rice, *The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army. 1948-1983. Uncertain Allegiance*, Princeton, 1984, pp. 7, 28.

used at more than 130 higher education institutions.⁵ The book is a practical manual for those who study the political system and institutions in the socialist countries. It contains cleverly arranged information of their structure. It is a typical specimen of a "manual on communism" that purports to be objective and uses certain facts and statistics borrowed from publications in the socialist countries but whose main task is to create a generalised false image of the socialist community.

Among consultants to the White House are such famous organisations specialising in "analysis" of socialism as the Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, the W. Averell Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, the Research Institute on International Change and the Institute on East Central Europe at the Columbia University, the Brookings Institution and Hudson Institute, the Massachusetts Technological Institute's Centers for East European and Communist Studies.

In addition to collaborating with government departments such as the Department of State, the Department of Defense and the CIA the experts from these centres are actively involved in preparing programmes and new bulletins for the Free Europe and Liberty radio stations and take part in their work. This leads to some of them joining the staff of the National Security Council, the chief coordinator of US foreign policy. The joining of the activities of research, propaganda and intelligence staff in developing and carrying out subversive strategy and tactics against the socialist countries is a key feature of the current phase of the ideological struggle pursued by the US ruling circles against existing socialism.

PUTTING THE STAKE ON POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL SABOTAGE

In realising its foreign policy goals Washington propaganda bodies, equipped with "expert" recommendations, and with the go-ahead from the President, set about applying open pressure on Poland when the country was in an internal political crisis in the early 1980s. The most striking manifestation of the anti-socialist strategy of the US Administration was the widely publicised television programme "Let Poland Be Poland", a sharply anti-Polish programme which under Washington's pressure was shown via satellite to several countries of the West. According to the USIA this "show" was fully or partially broadcast in 43 countries.

During the Polish crisis, the USIA cooked up two other films with a biased interpretation of the difficulties experienced by the Polish people. Jointly with the BBC and the West German radio station a film was shot in the mines of West Virginia entitled "Poland—Two Weeks in Winter" which "reproduced" strikes in Polish mines after martial law was introduced. The film was run simultaneously in early 1983 in the USA, Great Britain, the FRG and the Netherlands. Another film, entitled "Broken Promise", gave a biased and fact-distorting coverage of the political history of Poland.⁶

A strictly documented White Book issued by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses that US diplomatic missions abroad, working closely with the local USIA offices, had launched a massive world-wide campaign to disseminate printed misinformation about Poland in the form of daily reviews, periodic publications or bulletins. The most typi-

⁵ R. F. Staar, *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe*, Stanford, 1977.

⁶ *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki wobec Polski w świetle faktów i dokumentów (1980-1983)*, Warsaw, 1984, p. 180.

cal sample of this kind of "material" is the pamphlet *Poland—a Season of Light and Darkness* distributed by the American missions abroad. This propaganda booklet, reflecting the official US view of the developments in Poland in 1980-1982 was prepared by the USIA in order to whitewash the activity of the Solidarity trade union association.⁷

The Polish service of Radio Free Europe started round-the-clock Polish-language broadcasting instead of the 19-hour service it had conducted before martial law was introduced in Poland.⁸ At the height of the internal political crisis in Poland the Polish service of Radio Free Europe maintained close ties with CIA people who worked in Munich under the cover of the US General Consulate.

During the Polish events, the US propaganda machine, fulfilling the social order of the foreign policy departments, operated at full blast. To promote the Programme of Democracy and Public Diplomacy which to a large extent provided the framework for the Administration's anti-Polish campaign, and to supervise the propaganda machine, the White House set up a special planning group in 1983. The Administration earmarked \$20 million for the new campaign in 1983 and \$65 million for 1984-1985.⁹

The realisation of the Programme of Democracy and Public Diplomacy at a time of serious internal political crisis in a European socialist state and the launching of US propaganda campaigns with regard to the other socialist countries at present indicate a marked tendency of American diplomacy to abandon its former policy of avoiding direct involvement in any measures organised by propaganda agencies. Under this Programme it is the US diplomatic missions abroad that are charged with spreading anti-Polish publications and staging screenings of anti-socialist films. Because such propaganda projects have been initiated by the Administration the need has arisen for American diplomatic services to be openly involved in them. Thus, we witness a growing collaboration between US propaganda and diplomatic services which are following the main goals of the US foreign policy in undermining the unity of the socialist countries.

WASHINGTON AND RIGHT-WING EMIGRE RIFF-RAFF

Washington today is encouraging the activity of sundry emigre nationalistic organisations and groups entrenched in the USA from fascist-like right-wing emigre riff-raff to organisations claiming to be adherents of continued or even strengthened ties between Americans of East European extraction and the countries of their origin.

The White House has never been above dealing with representatives of the emigre communities fiercely hostile to socialism. In fact, it has done so openly and brazenly. Washington's contacts with reactionary bourgeois nationalistic sections within ethnic groups and organisations which take an anti-communist and anti-Soviet stand have also been constant practice in recent years.

One of the most recent instances of contacts with renegades who have abandoned their countries was the US President's reception, on October 21, 1985, of E. Miliewski, a representative of Solidarity headquartered in Brussels. During the meeting the US President attacked Poland and commented on some facts of the domestic Polish situation that are entirely an internal matter of the Polish state.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ See *The New York Times*, May 5, 1982.

⁹ *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki wobec Polski w świetle faktów i dokumentów (1980-1983)*, p. 159.

Provocative flirting with "dissidents" who have emigrated, legally or illegally, from the European socialist countries in order to struggle against socialism by all available means, or with bourgeois nationalistic members of ethnic groups of East European origin is now the norm for the US Administration. Among the organisations with which Washington maintains regular ties are groups of Americans of Serbian and Croatian origin who are fiercely hostile to the socialist state in Yugoslavia. These include, for example, the Serbian National Committee, which regularly submits to the US Congress the lists of "murders" and other "atrocities" allegedly committed by the Yugoslav "secret police" against Serbian political emigrés living in the West; the Croatian National Congress set up in 1974 by Croatian separatists which operates out of New York, Chicago, and Cleveland. Its aim is to split Yugoslavia and create an independent Croatian state, to disseminate nationalistic propaganda, to organise terrorist acts, like for example, the armed attack on the Yugoslav Mission to the UN in 1977, and the explosion in the Yugo-bank premises in New York in 1980.

The bellicose Movement of Czechoslovak Christian-Democrats in Exile which has entrenched itself in Hartford, Connecticut, operates under the slogans, "Working for a Free Czechoslovakia"; "Informing the Free World About Communism"; "Helping Our Political Refugees".¹⁰ There are dozens of such organisations in the USA. Rejected by their own peoples the members of these organisations claim to express the will of the citizens of the socialist countries whose system they hate.

The Assembly of Captive European Nations poses as a protector of the Eastern Europe peoples who are "denied freedom" and takes an active part in the Captive Nations Week conducted by the US Congress since 1959, a vicious anti-communist activity, whose slogans and appeals seem to have been lifted out of the cold war era.¹¹

All the right-wing emigre organisations have their patrons in Washington, if not in the White House, then in Congress. The members of the so-called "East European lobby" in the US Congress regularly speak in support of bourgeois nationalistic ethnic groups, encouraging their activity, constantly attacking the foreign and domestic policy of the East European socialist countries during Congress debates. Among them are Congressmen with considerable influence in Washington whose pronouncements are heeded in the White House and who represent states with large East European sections in the electorate. One should mention Representatives from the States of New York: Mario Biaggi, Benjamin Gilman, Henry Novak; Illinois: William Lipinski, Dan Rostenkowski; Minnesota: James Oberstar, Jerry Sikorski; New Jersey: James Courter, and many others.

US imperialism is perfecting its tactical methods in the struggle against world socialism and testing new instruments and forms of attacking socialism's constantly strengthening international positions. The methods of psychological warfare and plans for ideological sabotage are constantly being updated at special "research" centres. Washington's goals, however, remain unchanged. It still seeks to weaken the international positions of the European socialist countries, to split the socialist community; to loosen the links between the socialist and developing countries and progressive democratic movements; to erode the socialist system; to promote anti-socialist and bourgeois ideas among

¹⁰ *Encyclopedia of Associations*, Vol. 1, Part 2, Detroit, 1976, p. 1398.

¹¹ *Political Science Quarterly*, Summer 1978, p. 305.

the people of Eastern Europe; to stimulate and support those forces interested in the restoration of capitalism there; to use discriminatory measures and sanctions to undermine socialism's economic positions, to step up the penetration of bourgeois ideology in the life of the socialist countries.

To engage in ideological sabotage against socialism--and all the above-mentioned goals currently being pursued by the US foreign policy apparatus and the gigantic propaganda machine at its service are nothing less than that--and to talk about the "desire for peace and mutual understanding", as Washington is doing in various forms, are incompatible things.

In recent months US imperialism has taken a number of steps intended to whip up international tensions. Using the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the American propaganda machine, with Washington's blessing and guidance, has unleashed another strident campaign against the socialist countries hoping to besmear the policy of the USSR and its allies, to soften the impact of the Soviet proposals for halting nuclear tests and for eliminating nuclear weapons, and to simultaneously mitigate the mounting criticism of the adventurist foreign policy of the USA and its militaristic course.

As was emphasised by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement on Soviet TV, US ruling circles "regarded the accident as another opportunity to raise additional obstacles to the development and deepening of the East-West dialogue, which is progressing slowly enough as it is, and to justify the nuclear arms race. Moreover, an attempt was made to prove to the world that talks and, even more so, agreements with the USSR are impossible, and thus to give the green light to further military preparations."

The socialist countries fully support the idea of a dialogue and fruitful efforts aimed at stopping the arms race and improving the international political situation. However, this goal can be attained only through the concerted efforts of states with different social systems for the sake of equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation rather than by promoting subversive activities and ideological warfare and by creating conflict situations.

THE UNITED NATIONS: COMING INTO BEING

A. R O S H C H I N

...July 1945. The USSR Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was having a hectic time of it—work was in full swing on problems of war termination and peaceful settlement. Two of them were most pressing: preparations for a meeting of the foreign ministers council set up in Potsdam to draft peace treaties with the former enemies, and participation in the activities of the bodies concerned with preparations for the convocation of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other UN organs. Soviet Ambassador to the USA Andrei Gromyko was charged with the second task. This writer, at that time a staffer of the Soviet embassy in London, was appointed his aide.

Preparations for springing the UN into action were complicated and labour-consuming. The San Francisco Conference had approved the UN Charter and defined the UN bodies and the principles of their activity, but there remained a host of unsolved practical problems relating to the seat of the Organisation, the structure of its organs, procedural rules, financing, initial services, etc. The Conference entrusted its Executive Committee (which consisted of the following 14 countries: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Iran, Mexico, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the USA, the USSR and Yugoslavia) with mapping out relevant proposals; it was in its turn to set up a Preparatory Commission of all members of the Organisation and to start its work on August 15, 1945 in London.

So on August 15 the UN Executive Committee and later the Preparatory Commission assembled in the ancient Church House, the seat of the Church of England, near Westminster Abbey where the British Parliament sits. The two bodies were to deal with the following matters: the future location of UN headquarters; preparations for the activities of the UN principal organs, including recommendations on their structure, rules of procedure and agendas; the formation of the UN provisional secretariat; the system of UN financing; the League of Nations' assets and a baffling number of other problems.

LOCATION OF THE UN HEADQUARTERS

A very heated discussion unfolded around choosing a site for the UN central office or headquarters. Its acuteness could be explained by the essential advantages, political as well as economic, to befall the chosen host country. As a matter of fact, such a country would be in a position to capitalise on a considerable share of the UN and member-states' spending. It was also clear that most of the Organisation's personnel would be recruited from among the natives of that country.

The principal contenders were the states of Europe and America. The former insisted that the UN headquarters be located in a European country (preferably Geneva), whereas the latter wanted it to be in the United States of America. Intensive debates went on at the preparatory bodies' official meetings and behind the scenes. The British representatives' stand for the European location was supported by other countries of the continent and many non-European nations. The USA was mainly backed up by Latin American states.

The discussion of this point in the Preparatory Commission revealed sharp differences between the USA and the UK. Each hoped to gain a dominant position in the UN. As a host country the USA expected to gain essential advantages for increasing its influence on world affairs. London's ambition was the same. It hoped to retain as much authority in the UN as it used to wield in the League of Nations. For this purpose the British wanted very much to have the UN headquarters closer to their capital city and farther from the USA. In that case it would also be much easier for the UK to handle UN personnel recruitment problems: it could, for example, fill relevant vacancies at the Organisation with former pro-British League of Nations staffers with their visible and invisible connections.

Advocates for Europe as the UN seat claimed that the European continent had been the hotbed of two world wars and its security was a major universal concern. Moreover, they insisted, Europe was the heart of present-day world civilisation and geographically closest to most countries of the world. References were also made to much cheaper UN maintenance costs in Europe than in America where the cost of living was higher. In addition, the Palace of Nations in Geneva which had housed the League of Nations could do well as the UN headquarters.

In a long speech before the Preparatory Commission British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (First Deputy) Philip Noel-Baker emphasised, apart from above arguments, that it was expedient to have the UN headquarters in a small country to protect the Organisation from political emotions of larger states. Locating the UN headquarters on the territory of a great power with its vigorous and restless political activities, he said, might negatively affect the Organisation's functioning. Noel-Baker also laid special emphasis on the geographical factor pointing out that Geneva was the nearest place to Europe, the Middle East, Africa and India. He was supported by delegates from Belgium, Poland, the Netherlands, Denmark, France and other countries. The French delegate said that France was prepared to offer one of its cities for UN accommodation and even internationalise one of its regions for this purpose, though a smaller country (he had in mind Switzerland) was, in his opinion, preferable. Monaco and Copenhagen were mentioned as unofficial options among the delegates.

Supporters of locating the UN headquarters in the USA claimed that it would be a safeguard against Washington's comeback to "isolationist" policies pursued after the First World War preventing the USA from playing a more active part in international affairs. Moreover, this gesture would be an acknowledgement on the part of anti-Hitler coalition states of the US active participation in the war against the "Axis" powers and its important international role. Also, it would be a sort of confirmation that an alliance of the united nations that had existed in war years continued its activities.

This point of view was specifically championed by Pedro López from the Philippines. He was supported by Latin American delegates (Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, etc.). US delegates did not take part in the discussions pretending to be "disinterested". Actually they did a good deal of behind-the-stage lobbying in favour of the USA as the host country.

Petitioners from 11 US States had specially arrived in London with invitations to accommodate the UN headquarters on their territories. US representative Adlai Stevenson read out to the delegates of the Preparatory Commission a unanimous resolution of the US House of Representatives and Senate inviting the United Nations Organisation to the USA, with the aim to exert pressure on them.

Two rounds of voting were taken by the Preparatory Commission—first on Europe, then on the USA. Secret balloting was turned down. The results of the voting on Europe were as follows: for, 23; against, 25; and abstentions, 2.¹ The second round of voting (on the USA) had the following results: for, 30; against, 14; and abstentions, 6.² So the motion in favour of the USA as the host country was carried by more than two-thirds of the votes.

An important factor conducive to the adoption of such a decision was the stance taken by the USSR, the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian republics, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The USSR acted on the assumption that extending support to its wartime American partner on this point would help maintain friendly relations with it in postwar years which could facilitate the solution of many problems connected with postwar settlement, specifically, the conclusion of peace treaties with Germany and its former European allies.

Contributive to this decision was also the fact that at that time 22 American countries were members of the Organisation while Europe was represented in it only by 14 states, including the USSR and the two Soviet republics. Sweden, Iceland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Albania and Switzerland were not members of the United Nations; naturally, none of the former enemy were its members either. The Preparatory Commission's choice of the UN Headquarter's site was in effect final as the same countries were members of the UN General Assembly that was to approve it.

To decide what specific invitation from the USA should be accepted, the Preparatory Commission set up a small committee to study the situation on the spot. The Soviet Union was represented on the committee by G. Saksin, a counsellor at the USSR Embassy in London. Committee members visited several American cities and Saksin told us later how hard the city councils tried to talk them into accepting respective invitations. The city authorities of San Francisco were especially insistent.

Meanwhile the Preparatory Commission was discussing whether to choose the Western or Eastern coast of the USA. 25 delegations voted for the East and 5 for the West with 10 abstentions. The Commission finally agreed that the most suitable place for the UN headquarters was the State of Connecticut, but its residents protested against this plan claiming that it would destroy their "provincial way of life". The US Administration stepped in to help find a new place. Ultimately, the First Session of the UN General Assembly in 1946 settled the question.

¹ Voted in favour: Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, South Africa, Great Britain and Uruguay. Voted against: Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, the Byelorussian SSR, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. Ecuador and the USA abstained. Costa Rica was absent.

² Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian SSR, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, the USSR, Turkey, the Ukrainian SSR, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. Voted against: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Great Britain. Abstentions: Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, New Zealand, Syria and the USA.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF UN PRINCIPAL ORGANS

The drafting of documents related to preparations for convening the General Assembly, the Security Council and other principal UN organs proved to be a strenuous job. It was necessary to define their modus operandi, principal and auxiliary committees and commissions, term of reference and working procedures; also, to define the rules of procedure for each principal UN organ and its basic functions, as well as to map out provisional agenda for them. And, of course, services, financing and many other problems had to be dealt with.

Ad hoc committees were set up for this purpose. The work in some of them, for example, the committee on the General Assembly, was so strenuous that they had to meet four times a day, even at night.

A wide range of questions was raised, for example: should the General Assembly have two political committees—on security and on political matters? Should there be one or two committees to deal with social and economic problems? What kind of records should various Assembly committees keep? Should a selection committee be set up? Should balloting to UN organs be open or secret? Will committee rapporteurs be elected or appointed by the Secretary-General? When should the Security Council and the Social and Economic Council be convened after the opening of the Assembly's session? Should a provisional trusteeship committee be set up in anticipation of a Trusteeship Council that could be instituted only after decisions had been made on former Italian and Japanese colonies? All these questions gave cause for lengthy discussions and debates in the UN preparatory bodies.

For instance, a heated debate flared up in respect to provisional agendas for the General Assembly and the Security Council especially in view of the USA and some other Western countries' intention to include in the Security Council's agenda items obviously spearheaded against the Soviet Union, such as, for example, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran.³

Generally speaking, the activities of international forums essentially differ from national forums. At the international forum every representative has the right to be listened to. Nobody has the right to interrupt the speaker though he may be repeating what another has just said. Some representatives made lengthy speeches merely for ambitious political reasons in an attempt to win popularity at home and internationally. Others wanted to appear active and competent to win a job with the UN Secretariat, UN committees or the International Court of Justice.

Myself and my Soviet colleagues were often strongly impressed by the activity, confidence and competence displayed by British, French and other West European representatives. They submitted projects for rules of procedure and the structure of various UN organs, financial memos and a host of other draft documents furnishing convincing substantiations therewith. Why was this done? The answer is very simple. Many of the Western representatives had years of experience working with the League of Nations, knew its operational mechanism and re-drafted its documents for submission to the UN preparatory bodies. They often seized the initiative and seemed indisputable authorities on the problems under discussion.

The Soviet delegation was also active. It vigorously opposed the British proposal that committee rapporteurs be appointed by the Secretary-

³ The Soviet troops stayed in Iran under an agreement signed by the Iranian government during the war. In keeping with its provisions they were withdrawn from Iran six months after the termination of the war.

General instead of being elected thus making abortive the UK's attempts to add exaggerated weight to UN Secretariat personnel, at that time mostly from Western countries.

The Soviet Union was also against setting up a provisional trusteeship committee as the idea behind it was to weaken the role of the United Nations in handling colonial problems for many years to come. The arguments advanced by the Soviet delegation to the effect that the proposal was inconsistent with the UN Charter were convincing enough to have it turned down.

Some of the Soviet proposals, however, were not accepted, for example, to set up one principal committee of the Assembly for economic and social matters as the UN Charter provided for a single Economic and Social Council. The Preparatory Commission recommended that two separate committees be set up on economic and social questions.

All in all, the Soviet Union's influence in solving problems related to the preparations of UN activities was quite considerable being a derivative, in the first place, of the important contribution made by the Soviet Union to the very founding of the United Nations Organisation.

PROVISIONAL UN SECRETARIAT

A provisional mechanism was required for taking care of the preparatory arrangements and the First Session of the General Assembly and other UN organs. As the preparatory UN bodies were invited by the British government to reside and work in London, it provided them with service personnel and secretaries.

The British government appointed as Chief or Executive Secretary of the Provisional Secretariat Gladwyn Jebb, Assistant Foreign Under-Secretary, an experienced career diplomat and active participant in the conferences in Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco. He was quick to place his people in the preparatory bodies. In fact he was staffing the UN Secretariat.

Your obedient servant was made available by the Soviet side for appointment as deputy on security problems to Gladwyn Jebb. Some time later the Soviet side was offered 3 to 4 more vacancies to fill in the Provisional Secretariat. For the Soviet appointees the new experience was not so easy. The Executive Secretary cooperated mostly with his British "team" who knew each other and relied on people they knew from other countries. Many of the Latin Americans, French, Scandinavians and even some of the British recruited for the Secretariat were also in a predicament.

Of course, at that time we, the Soviet personnel, lacked both expertise and experience working in international agencies of this kind. An expert in international affairs is required to meet a lot of standards. He must know and understand a wide range of international problems and relationships, be able to analyse developments and the situation, be familiar with various politicians and, of course, be fluent in two or three foreign languages; he must also know how to behave in strange and sometimes alien surroundings.

Be as it may it was necessary to work, to acquire experience. Gradually, the weaknesses in our work and the language barrier were overcome and our participation in the Secretariat's activities was more involved and useful for the purpose we were placed there.

In discussing the organisation of the UN Secretariat provision was made for 6 departments (Political and Security Council, Economic, Social, Trusteeship, Public Information and Legal) and two services—general services (General Assembly meetings, accommodation, technical services, guards, etc.) and administrative and financial services. As it was planned

to fill the post of the Secretary-General with a representative from a small country, i. e. a non-permanent member of the Security Council, the great powers were expected to provide posts of heads of four departments. US citizens were expected to fill the posts of department directors and representatives of smaller countries to head two departments. These principles still apply today. In 1945 temporarily the posts of department heads were filled by Alexei Roshchin (USSR)—political affairs; David Owen (UK)—economic affairs; Henri Logié (France)—social affairs; Victor Hoo (China)—trusteeship; Ivan Krnó (Czechoslovakia)—legal; and Ben Cohen (Uruguay)—public information. Both services were headed by US citizens.

On the whole Americans and the British had a dominating position in the UN Secretariat. They were forking out top posts to their staff. Deputy heads of all departments were appointees from London or Washington. Many former League of Nations staffers received high-ranking appointments in the Secretariat.

The appointment of the UN Secretary-General was postponed till the General Assembly, the first part of which was to meet in London in January 1946, but Washington and London had been in active consultations on this point. Two candidates seemed most probable—Henri Spaak and Lester Pearson, foreign ministers of Belgium and Canada. However, when the decision was made to situate UN headquarters in the USA, Pearson had to be dropped to avoid too much American involvement in UN affairs. As a result, Henri Spaak seemed to be the most probable candidate for the highly prestigious post of the Secretary-General. Of course, there were many other "aspirants" for the post among them, for example, Edward Stettinius from the USA and Alexander Cadogan and Gladwyn Jebb from Great Britain, but their chances were low as they were natives of the countries that happened to be permanent members of the Security Council. At that time Trygve Lie, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway, who was later elected Secretary-General, had not been on the list of candidates.

UN FINANCIAL SYSTEM

Much of the discussion centred on financial problems. The American side undertook to head the relevant service of the UN Secretariat. The expenditures on preparatory arrangements for the meeting of the General Assembly and other UN organs were covered by the British government to be later shared by the USSR, the USA, the UK, France and China.

Quite a few problems had to be dealt with in elaborating the UN financial system including drafting the budget for 1946, establishing the procedure of financing the Organisation before contributions from member-states started coming in, providing for a provisional scale of member-states' contributions, etc.

The budget for 1946 drafted by the UN preparatory bodies came to \$22 million which at that time seemed too extravagant. For example, the annual salary of the Secretary-General was set at \$40,000 plus a furnished residence at the Organisation's expense; assistant secretaries-general's salary amounted to \$20,500 to \$25,000; directors of departments were paid \$14,000 to \$17,000 and international judges' salary was the same as department heads', that is assistant secretaries-general. Taxes on UN staffers' salaries levied by national revenue agencies were paid by the Organisation. Secretariat personnel were paid benefits for children, their education, accommodation in the host country, etc. Five delegates from each member-state were to be paid travelling expenses and per diem to ensure full-scale participation of UN member-states in General

Assembly meetings. Particularly active in the discussion of financial arrangements were those members who expected to capitalise on the benefits thereof.

Under the UN Charter permanent members of the Security Council had equal say on financial arrangements with states whose contributions were rather small. The latter were interested in swelling the Organisation's budget financed as a matter of fact by other states, primarily, the major powers. This procedure has conducted to an irresistible growth of the UN budget to more than \$800 million in 1986.

To keep the Organisation going in case of belated payments by member-states a working fund of \$25 million was established on a loan from the USA.

The Organisation's expenses were to be paid from member-states' contributions under a General Assembly-approved scale based on a member's national (gross) product, GNP per capita and the respective country's foreign exchange receipts. Originally the share of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR was 7.4 per cent of the total contributions to the UN budget. At that time it was quite justified. Later, the UN budget and, consequently, the quotas of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR grew considerably.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' ASSETS

The League of Nations, founded after the First World War practically functioned up to the outbreak of the Second World War. Legally, its closing assembly was held in 1946. While in existence the League had acquired large assets. Specifically, its property included the Palace of Nations in Geneva with a large tract of land, a library and archives. The League was engaged in publishing economic statistics, registry of international acts, treaties and agreements, control of narcotics trafficking and health maintenance. At the same time, on British initiative and insistence, it guaranteed the loans granted to six states for postwar economic reconstruction, stabilisation of currency and the settlement of displaced persons after the First World War. All these loans had never been paid back.

It was decided in London that a special UN commission would come to terms with the League liquidation committee on the transfer of its estate and property, as well as the library and the archives to the United Nations. As to the loan guarantees they were left to the discretion of the British side. It was also decided to charge the UN Secretariat with the publication of international instruments and to turn over health protection to the World Health Organisation expected to be founded the following year. The publication of economic statistics and information on narcotics trafficking was to be looked into by the Social and Economic Council as soon as it met within two weeks' time after the election of its members by the General Assembly. The reception of the League's assets was completed only in 1949. The Soviet Union's share due to it for investments in the construction of the Palace of Nations and the acquisition of adjacent land was accepted as part of its contributions to the UN budget.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE UN PREPARATORY BODIES

In narrating the story of UN preparatory bodies it is worthwhile to say a few words about some participants in their discussions. The said bodies were quite representative consisting largely of London-accredited ambassadors. As mentioned above the USA was represented by former State Secretary Edward Stettinius, a youthful man of 45 years. A protege

of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, he had been appointed Secretary of State on the eve of the Crimea Conference, but was made to resign shortly after Harry Truman's coming into office. A sociable and affable person, Edward Stettinius seemed dejected by his appointment to a little-known international agency. He rarely took the floor, but was very active in behind-the-stage advocacy for locating the UN headquarters in the USA.

Philip Noel-Baker from Great Britain was known as a key Labour leader. He was of middle age, ascetic, courteous, very active and experienced in international affairs. Later, when addressing the British Parliament he said he was the only member of the House of Commons to have read all UN documents related to disarmament. He used to be in disfavour with Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, who was openly hostile to the USSR. On retiring in the 1970s he became a lord and devoted himself to public activities, the struggle for disarmament and against the nuclear threat.

China was represented by Ambassador to London Wellington Koo, a prominent statesman and diplomat, but the practical work in the preparatory bodies was done by China's former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Victor Hoo. The son of a former Chinese Ambassador to St. Petersburg, where he attended "Petershule" (German language school), Victor Hoo was fluent in five languages, including Russian. Then he was on the staff of the League of Nations to later fill Vice Minister's post in his country. On the surface Victor Hoo seemed unconcerned with politics, interested only in the technical aspects of the problems under review. In reality he was pro-American which helped him win the high post of an Assistant Secretary-General in the UN Secretariat.

An active member of the Preparatory Commission was Greek Ambassador to London Tonassis Aghnides, ex-Director of the League of Nations' Political Department and one of the organisers of the 1932-1935 World Conference on Disarmament. He told us how he had had to visit Hitler at his estate in Berchtesgaden to persuade the Nazi leader to bring Germany back to the disarmament conference, but all his attempts proved futile. In the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations T. Aghnides headed a small committee that dealt with financial questions. On his initiative a committee of the General Assembly was set up on administrative and budgetary matters which previewed all financial projects and requests for money before giving its judgement.

Mention should be made of the Preparatory Commission's Executive Secretary Gladwyn Jebb, an energetic and knowledgeable British diplomat. He was very thorough in concealing his hatred for the Soviet Union and its people because he secretly hoped to fill the post of the UN Secretary-General. Later, Gladwyn Jebb held important positions in the British diplomatic hierarchy: he was Ambassador to France and then Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. On retirement he wrote in his memoirs with respect to the purposes of postwar British diplomacy: "It was no longer a question of defence against possible German aggression, but against the gradual political expansion westwards of the Soviet Union."⁴ As to his function in the UN preparatory bodies it was, as he saw it, to "take the offensive" in challenging Communist penetration in as many of the Eastern countries of Europe as possible and (very properly) counteract any attempt of the USSR to communize and obtain political control over Germany, Italy, Greece or Turkey".⁵ One may well imagine how difficult it was for me to work as his aide.

On the whole, however, the attitude towards Soviet representatives in

⁴ *The Memoirs of Lord Gladwyn*, New York, 1972, p. 168.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

the UN preparatory bodies was good. Soviet contribution to the defeat of the common enemy and the establishment of the United Nations was so essential that delegates could not help reckoning with the Soviet Union and respecting its representatives. Some even tried to carry favour with them for a successful career in the UN Secretariat or even in their own countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION OF THE PERIOD

The activities of UN preparatory bodies drew a lot of attention from world public. London was thronged with foreign correspondents. There was a great deal of publications in the press. The role of the United Nations in maintaining peace and security was under active discussion in the political circles of many countries.

Meanwhile the world situation was noticeably changing—for the worse.

The USA, by then in possession of nuclear weapons, sought for a dominant position in the world. Washington was sure that all its designs concerning world postwar arrangements could and had to be put into effect. Counting on Washington's support London went out of its way to have as much as possible of the victory pie and to realise its plans in respect of Germany, Eastern and Southeast Europe and the Balkans.

Western plans of postwar settlement came into conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union and the countries and peoples friendly to it in Europe, the Far East and other regions of the world. International tensions began to mount. Illustrative of this was the Western powers-engineered failure of the first meeting of the Foreign Ministers Council held in London in parallel with the proceedings of the UN Executive Committee (September 11-October 2, 1945). The foreign ministers were to draft peace treaties with the former enemy countries. They met 33 times with no avail. The major issue that was expected to be agreed upon, to wit, peace treaties with Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria, also remained outstanding. US State Secretary James Byrnes and British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin insisted that the meeting be attended by representatives of France and China, which had not been at war with the said countries and had never severed diplomatic relations with them. The meeting even failed to agree on a final communiqué, and the results of its work were not made public.

I still remember an angry exchange of views between Vyacheslav Molotov and Ernest Bevin at the reception in the Soviet Embassy on the occasion of the Foreign Ministers Council meeting. The Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs accused the Western powers, and not without reason, of violating the Crimea and Potsdam accords and, in general, of a biased approach to the settlement of postwar problems. The British Foreign Secretary retaliated by attacking the Soviet Union for its "closed-doors policy" in Soviet-liberated countries of Southeast Europe. When they sat down to discuss a few points the crowd of people wishing to hear what they had to say was so thick around them that it was practically impossible to continue the conversation.

All the efforts of the Soviet side to avoid rupture and prolong the Council's meeting just for a day to achieve agreement were in vain. The Western powers were consciously seeking confrontation: possession of atomic weapons made the USA enraptured with power to the point that they lost all sense of reason.

Increasing tension was noticeably telling on the activities of UN preparatory bodies: more and more differences on the points under discussion came up.

The discussion of the military staff committee of the Security Council serves as an example of Soviet-Western disagreements. Under the UN

Charter the committee is to consist of the Security Council permanent members' chiefs-of-staff or their representatives. The USA and Great Britain counted on a dominant position in it so as to be able to use the UN united armed forces in their interests, including the exertion of pressure on the Soviet Union in solving the problems of postwar settlement. Washington and London had been hatching up detailed plans of organising and using these forces.

The Soviet Union did not deem it expedient to make haste in addressing this point. The principal hostile powers—Germany and Japan—had surrendered. There was no power in the world at the moment to warrant an immediate use of the UN armed forces. Later developments proved that the Soviet approach was correct.

The UN Preparatory Commission's last meeting on December 24, 1945 was held in a disquieting atmosphere. The positive impact of the Foreign Ministers' (USSR, USA and UK) conference which was taking place in Moscow in those days had not yet been felt though it did achieve some progress in relaxing the international tension. The first part of the First Session of the UN General Assembly was scheduled to meet in London on January 10, 1946.

The world was witnessing mounting international tension and sometimes hostility on the part of Western powers towards the Soviet Union and its friends which signified an abrupt departure from the close cooperation between the USSR, the USA and Great Britain within the framework of the anti-Hitler coalition. Such cooperation was interfering with the Western powers' plans to smash the democratic and national liberation movements which had been gaining momentum in the last years of the Second World War and particularly in the postwar period.

(To be continued)

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND TODAY'S WORLD

(Continued from page 66)

factor is the CPSU's solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social emancipation, and our course towards close interaction with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary democratic parties, and with the Non-Aligned Movement."

In consistently pursuing the policy of expanding friendly ties with the newly-free countries, the CPSU and the Soviet government are striving to consolidate interaction and strengthen cooperation with the non-aligned movement and enhance its role in world politics.

Socialism and the Struggle of Ideas

Stoyan Mikhailov, Sociological Problems of Developed Socialism, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1985, 598 pp. (in Russian).

This monograph written by Stoyan Mikhailov, prominent Bulgarian philosopher and Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, investigates in detail the principal problems of socialist development in the light of sociology. The author views society as a sociological system, singles out its basic spheres, brings to light the essence of socialism, analyses the vestiges of the past with emphasis laid on the methods and means of combatting them, and allots ample attention to the process of the development of spiritual culture, in general, and art, in particular.

Of special interest are those chapters in the book that consider the ideological struggle between the two world systems, the socialist community countries' joint striving against anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, problems of relations among socialist countries, socialist Bulgaria's role in the contemporary world, relations between the BCP and the CPSU, between the PRB and the USSR. It is namely these issues which deserve detailed treatment.

Notable for profound analysis are the sections of the book in which Mikhailov ponders over his country's foreign policy destinies, where he argues with the Western ideological opponents over the essence and concrete directions of the PRB's international activities.

The choice plank in the West's anti-Bulgarian campaign, Stoyan Mikhailov says, boils down to the statement: the Bulgarians allegedly always act as "blind followers of Moscow and are not able to act independently" (p. 506). In other words, the argument is that the policy which has been allegedly foisted by the Communists on the country is void of independence and is in conflict with the Bulgarian people's national interests. Bourgeois propagandists feel that

they are advancing an unfailing argument with which one can discredit socialist Bulgaria, undermine its international prestige.

As to the inseparable links of Bulgaria with the Soviet Union, the book stresses, "all this is correct". The Bulgarians, the author goes on to say, are proud of the fact that they "profess such sincere, deep and loyal feelings towards the CPSU, the Soviet Union and the Soviet people" (p. 506). But musing over a divergence of today's political course of the BCP from the vital interests of the Bulgarian nation is just a malign lie.

While rebuffing convincingly concoctions by bourgeois ideologists, Mikhailov comprehensively analyses the state of affairs in various spheres of Bulgaria's politics and economy and persuasively shows that the BCP's consistent course towards cooperation with the Soviet Union provides Bulgaria with the necessary conditions for dynamic and stable economic development, for constant cultural enrichment, for raising the standard of living (p. 507). The alliance and cooperation with the Soviet state advance the Bulgarian people along the road of human progress, the author stresses. The indisputable fact is that, with present day realities, this is the only course leading to the improvement of all aspects of life of Bulgarian society. "Not a single bourgeois party in Bulgaria was setting or could set such a task. It has been set by the Bulgarian Communist Party, and it can be solved only by the socialist system" (p. 512).

Foreign publications, the book points out, are ever more frequently forced to recognise that Bulgaria, is one of the most original countries in the world, where large scale socio-economic experiments are under way and where the problems are solved in an imaginative way.

The author rightly holds that one of the central tasks of international scholars, of all the social sciences in the socialist states, is to expose contemporary anti-Sovietism, which "lies at the crux of the strategies of imperialism and reaction" and represents the core of the new "crusade" against communism (p. 84, 82).

The book reveals the ideological and political essence and goals of bourgeois attacks against the CPSU and the USSR, which, in the final analysis, are attacks against the socialist system, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and the international communist movement. The author shows, making use of concrete material, how the US Republican Administration and the ruling circles of some NATO countries resort, with increasing coordination of actions, to incorporating directly into state politics and international relations anti-Soviet tenets, slander and insinuations concerning the USSR and other socialist countries. Contemporary anti-Sovietisms, Stoyan Mikhailov writes, constitutes a mixture of pseudo-theoretical approach, vulgar anti-communism, a semblance of scientific objectivity combined with propagandistic ruses and old and new myths whose gist is fabrications about a "Soviet military threat".

Imperialists are also trying to play on national sentiments, stating that socialism in Bulgaria is allegedly feasible without any cooperation with the USSR and, furthermore, that friendship with Moscow is, allegedly, a threat to the national interests of a socialist state. To heed such statements is a risky affair, the author emphasises. "The breaking away or partial alienation of some of the socialist countries from the world socialist system can give such countries even certain temporary advantages or what is deemed by their leaders as advantages... However, such a course, as has been evidenced by historical facts, is very shortsighted. It leads sooner or later to breaking international commitments, to a distortion of the correct and profound understanding of the true national interests of the working people of a given country and inflicts heavy losses on the country" (p. 80-81). Such a political course inevitably leads to the given state's coming under bourgeois influence, when it gradually finds itself in a vice of capitalist market forces, under pressure from the international capitalist market and suffers all consequences in terms of its national economy, political and ideological life

and the upbringing of the popular masses.

That is why, the book emphasises, the Bulgarian Communist Party has been regarding the struggle against anti-Sovietism as one of its paramount tasks. Truly socialist construction and effective struggle for peace and international security are impossible without the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

Imbued with interesting and profound observations and facts are those sections in Stoyan Mikhailov's book which analyse the key aspects of the PRB's foreign policy activities. The author draws attention to pronouncements by some Bulgarian historians and literary figures who erroneously hold that Bulgaria should abstain from staging activity in world affairs. These statements, the author says, sound like the slogan: "Retreat into your shell, take no interest in what is happening in the world... On the one hand, this is a utopia; on the other - idealism; and in political terms this spells a break with Marxism-Leninism, with socialism" (p. 510).

Stoyan Mikhailov emphasises in this connection that the class and party approach used by the BCP in international affairs best secures a combination of the Bulgarian people's national interests and the international tasks in the struggle for social progress, peace and international cooperation.

With its consistent line of developing and deepening cooperation and mutual understanding with the neighbouring countries, Bulgaria plays an important stabilising role in such a politically complicated region as the Balkans. To a large degree this is due to the efforts of Bulgarian diplomacy that the situation in this region is relatively quiet. Wide response has been evoked by its proposal advanced together with Romania to rid the Balkan Peninsula of chemical weapons.

People's Bulgaria, together with the Soviet Union and other fraternal states, invariably strives for peaceful coexistence to become a universal principle in international relations. As emphasised by Stoyan Mikhailov, this will create optimal conditions to the effect "that every social system can display all its potentialities to develop the economy, culture, and the individual..." (p. 35).

Stoyan Mikhailov has written his book abreast with the best traditions of revolutionary Bulgarian Marxist science, which, while developing under the direct influence of Leninism, in the course of the whole of its history has been marked by a breadth of

theoretical generalisation, militancy, and a distinct class approach. The author has once again proved a master at analysing acute and urgent issues that arise in the course

of socialist construction in the PRB and in Bulgarian foreign policy activity.

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An Important Sphere of Diplomacy

I. A. Ornatsky, **Economic Diplomacy**, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 336 pp (in Russian).

There is no arguing with the author that the problems of disarmament, peace and security play the primary role in world affairs. However, he is certainly right in drawing our attention to the economic aspect of diplomacy in the system of international relations. "In the postwar period," he writes, "particularly in the last decades, diplomatic activity in the sphere of international economic relations has been vastly intensified and its role in shaping conditions for national economic development has grown sharply" (p. 3). This is due primarily to the deep-going social and political changes in the world that have occurred in the post-World War II period, to the collapse of imperialism's colonial system, which, in turn, has narrowed down its sphere of activity, and also to the sharp increase in volume and intensity of world economic ties, more profound international division of labour, and the current revolution in science and technology.

As the author sees it, economic diplomacy implies use by a state of both diplomatic methods and economic measures (trade policy, the provision or receipt of aid, loans or technology, etc.) to secure foreign economic interests as well as to attain the more far-reaching goals in the framework of an overall foreign policy on the world arena.

The author delves deep into the imperialist system of collective diplomacy within NATO, the EEC, OECD, and other groupings, and shows the mechanism of collective neocolonialism (e. g. the EEC's relations with developing countries). Here emphasis is put on the efforts by the imperialist Big Seven to coordinate their economic and political strategies so as to set up a united front against the socialist countries and all liberation movements (pp. 62-68).

An analysis is made in the book of the role played by transnational corporations (TNC) in the world economy and trade, in shaping and implementing imperialism's neo-colonialist policies, and in plundering the developing countries. "In international relations," the book stresses, "TNCs have come to exert strong influence on the policies pursued by dependent nations. The TNCs trample on other countries' sovereignty and openly interfere in their internal affairs by financing racist and reactionary regimes, engineer overthrows of progressive governments and provide money for that" (p. 138). To a large extent, the TNCs shape and control their own governments' economic diplomacy.

The colossal foreign debt of developing countries is a major economic issue today. Here is what the author has to say on the subject: "What has made this problem so acute is, largely, a self-seeking policy of exploitation pursued by the developed capitalist states... US imperialism is directly responsible for the tragic plight of debtor-nations, conducting its aggressive policy and spiralling arms race." (p. 199-200).

The book also deals extensively with the Soviet approach to restructuring international economic relations, with emphasis being put on the active and constructive role of Soviet diplomacy. In the early 1970s, the newly free nations advanced a joint idea of establishing a new international economic order. The USSR and other socialist countries vigorously supported their joint platform. The result was that the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action aimed at establishing a new international economic order. The Western powers, however, have repeatedly tried to cast a doubt on the practical significance of these docu-

ments or scrap them altogether. The countries seeking to ensure genuine independence have opposed these policies of the West with increasing resolve.

Unfortunately, the author has not elaborated adequately all the problems he had touched upon. To our mind, environmental protection, combatting illiteracy and disease, developing the World Ocean's resources, and

similar global problems have not been treated in sufficient detail.

On the whole, however, the book gives an idea of the major changes which have occurred in the economic diplomacy of countries in the first half of the 1980s.

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The Hows and Whys of US Political Decision — Making

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Roger Hilsman. *The Politics of Governing America*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1985, 484 pp.  
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The author of the book under review, Roger Hilsman, is a professor at Columbia University. In the early 1960s, he was US Assistant Secretary of State and then headed the bureau of intelligence and research of the State Department. This alone makes him an authority on the issues he deals with in the book. This work, writes Hilsman, is about the people involved in political decision-making, about those in whose interests these decisions are taken and about the decision-making process itself.

As an example of how government functions in the USA, the author cites the case related to the elaboration and adoption of the US Administration's economic programme after the Republicans came to power in 1980. The American economy was then experiencing a slump, and "in foreign affairs the United States had suffered one humiliation after another" (p. 4). As is known, the President's programme provided for reductions in personal income taxes and in government spending (except defence), for loosening up government regulations of the economy and for encouraging private enterprise. To get the programme speedily approved without prolonged debate in Congress, the White House was arguing that the Programme must be taken as a package with nothing left out. The President himself was contacting Congressmen over the telephone with requests to support his project. Under the influence of such "tactical ploys" the House and the Senate approved the President's bill, which initiated "Reaganomics".

The author of the book notes that the Ad-

ministration manages with the greatest ease to push through bills pertaining to foreign policy and military issues. Though theoretically Congress has considerable jurisdiction over budget appropriations, including for defence purposes, and can even block steps taken by the Administration, actually this happens rather seldom since it "participates only fitfully in the actual formulation of foreign policy and takes formal action only in approving or rejecting appropriations, treaties, and resolutions and in confirming the appointments of ambassadors and other high officials" (p. 434). The overall result is, the author concludes, that "presidents are so powerful in the field of foreign affairs that they can even get the United States involved in a rather large war with Congress unable to do much to stop them—as President Johnson got the United States into the war in Vietnam" (p. 433).

In practical terms, the case is that each government agency strives to secure only its own interests. "Many interest groups, organizations, and institutions, inside and outside the government, are joined in a struggle over the goals of governmental policy and the means by which these goals shall be achieved." As a result, "instead of clarity and decisiveness there are tangle and turmoil; instead of order, confusion" (p. 34).

Among such interest groups Hilsman ranks the CIA. In the 1970s, the CIA was heavily criticised on the part of both American and world public opinion for "abuse of power, for carrying out operations that were illegal or questionable on moral grounds,

and for carrying out activities that had not been authorized by the President or other high authority" (p. 223). However, after the coming to power of the Republican Administration, control over CIA activities became much more relaxed, and some essential restrictions were lifted from the CIA. The very secrecy of CIA operations permits this espionage body to pursue its own policies, avoiding government control. Because of this, the atmosphere of plot and intrigues inevitably spills over into the country's domestic life, "threatening the very society the intelligence agency is supposed to protect" (p. 223). The CIA's influence is, according to the author, explained by the fact that it has a large staff and is heavily funded. Besides, a great volume of information passes through the CIA; hence, it has the power to influence the interpretation of this information. Says the author: "The fact of being the representative of the American secret intelligence service confers prestige that translates into power" (p. 224).

In addition to the CIA, the Pentagon is playing an ever increasing role in shaping the country's foreign policy. By virtue of its extensive links with the business community, the Defense Department, Roger Hilsman notes, is capable of attaining, at the expense of other budget items, appropriations for any kind of weaponry, even if it is in no need of it. The resulting military-industrial complex favours hard-line foreign policies and exerts great influence on the formation of military-strategic doctrines and concepts, on the elaboration of programmes for building up the armed forces and on creating new weapons systems.

The author holds that participation in the elaboration of foreign policy is a task that is "too delicate for a 'military mind'" (p. 230). But he, in the case at hand, does not at all suggest limiting the Pentagon's influence on shaping foreign policy; what he proposes is enlightenment of the military--by way of incorporating political subjects into every level of their training curriculum, so that they could be versed in political problems just as well as in military matters. Then, according to Hilsman, the tendency for resolving international issues by force will be replaced with the tendency for their resolution in a political way. As one can see, the recommendations are rather naive ones.

Considerable attention in the book is devoted to demonstrating the influence exerted on governmental decision-making by groups

"outside the governmental orbit, but having specific interests". Among this category the author ranks various associations and groupings, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the "highway lobby" and other organisations or organised associations of the same sort. According to estimates, says the author, in the USA there are more than 100,000 such associations and private organisations. Hilsman does not single out from among these the largest monopolies and organisations depending on them, which play a role in mapping out domestic and foreign policy. Nevertheless, he mentions such corporations as Rockwell International whose interests are represented in Washington by 125 lobbyists. They widely resort to bribing, and other illegal methods (donations to election campaign funds of senators, congressmen, etc.), use the press, radio and other mass media. Finally, Hilsman writes, "corporations enjoy a more privileged position in American society than other kinds of interest groups, including the very largest of the labor unions" (p. 397).

"Interest groups", above all, groups of monopolies, have more possibilities for influencing the process of decision-making, than political parties. "The parties are too loose and disorganized, too dependent on their local bases" and "are not so much instruments of power or institutions for attaining power as they are areas or stages for mobilizing support and attaining elective offices" (p. 285).

In conclusion, the author says that "the power to make decisions of national and international consequence is now so clearly seated in political, military, and economic institutions that other areas of society seem off to the side..." (p. 457).

The author specifically mentions that far from all high posts in the American power institutions are held by persons from the top political, military and industrial circles, that representatives of US business don't always get what they want from the government in foreign and domestic politics, that centres of real power do not always act in consort. However, in actual fact his analysis of the functioning of the US political mechanism confirms afresh the fact that real power in America is primarily wielded by the mighty monopolies and the military in whose hands lie the main controls for ruling the country.

The Contadora Is Looking for a Political Settlement

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Apolinar Diaz-Callejas, *Contadora: desafio al Imperio*, Bogotá, 1985, 301 pp.  
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The efforts by the Contadora Group to achieve a political settlement of the Central American crisis are arousing increased world interest. In the first place, this is because for the first time ever Latin American countries are making an attempt to reach, without US involvement, a peaceful solution to problems facing the region which Washington has always regarded as its own private domain. Much has been written in Latin America on the Contadora process. The best coverage is, however, given in the book under review. Its author, Apolinar Diaz-Callejas, is a prominent public and political figure in his native Colombia, a former cabinet minister and Senator.

The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the upswing of the national liberation movement in other Central American countries, Diaz-Callejas points out, brought an end to the period of unrestrained US domination in the area. The US Republican Administration responded, on the plea of "safeguarding its national security", by launching an interventionist, aggressive policy against the freedom-loving Central American nations.

For Washington strategists, the author writes, US "national security" issues and the "prestige" of the leading power in the capitalist world on the international scene hinge on the "success" of their expansionist policy in Central America. "Unless we defend ourselves in this region," he quotes the American President, "we will not be sure we can play a key role in other areas of the world" (p. 35).

To give propaganda backing to its aggressive policy, Diaz-Callejas observes, Washington is trying to place the developments in Central America within the general context of East-West relations and to attribute the tensions in the area to the imaginary "scheming by international communism". "Without this trump card," the author emphasises, "no credence could be attached, in the eyes of the international community and

international organisations, and even the US Congress, to the arms deliveries to Honduras and the undeclared war against Nicaragua" (p. 71).

The US Administration's fraudulent arguments can no longer deceive anyone. As the Latin Americans' political awareness is growing they are lending increasing support to the fighting Nicaragua. The author continues: "In the event of foreign intervention in Nicaragua no government in Latin America would be able to contain the popular movement of solidarity with Nicaragua against the USA. Nicaragua is not, and will never be, a Grenada, for Nicaragua is Latin America itself" (p. 48).

The author focuses on the intensifying efforts by Latin American countries to arrive at a political settlement to the Central American conflict. He gives a detailed account of the history of the Contadora Group (including Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia) set up in January 1983, and later the Contadora political support group comprising Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Peru.

The author recalls that the desire of the continent's countries to deal on their own with the situation in Central America was engendered by the crisis of the inter-American system which was eloquently corroborated during the conflict between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The fact that the USA took the side of its NATO ally was, in the author's view, "a stern lesson to all of Latin America as well as Argentina" (p. 139).

The Contadora Group's efforts, which were subsequently held up by the Contadora political support group, to find a political settlement to the Central American conflict, were taken in the United States as a direct threat to its hegemony in the area. By paying lip service to the Contadora's peace-making moves, Washington in fact obstructs its initiatives by putting pressure to bear on its members to wrest a favourable resolution of the crisis.

Citing numerous facts, the author makes a justified conclusion that almost every step the Contadora Group is taking towards a peaceful settlement in the area comes up against strong US resistance. For example, the USA marked the birth of the Group by staging the Big Pine exercises in Honduran territory, and a short time after, it held exercises jointly with Costa Rica's security forces (p. 148). By proxy of the reactionary governments in some Central American countries, the White House blocked the signing of the Cancun Declaration, the first plan to resolve the crisis in the region. In August 1983, a commission under former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was set up in the USA as a counterweight to the Contadora Group. The report prepared by the commission confirmed that fighting the national liberation movement and imposing its economic, political and military domination are the prime objectives of US policy in Central America.

On October 7, 1983, the Contadora Group members signed a so-called Statement of Purpose with the five Central American countries, and on October 10 CIA mercenaries attacked the Nicaraguan port of Corinto. After the Contadora produced, in 1984, an Act of Peace and Cooperation in Central America, the USA started mining Nicaraguan ports and supplied the Somoza bandits with a manual on subversion and murder (p. 171). "Still," the author writes, "the growing solidarity in Latin America and throughout the world with the just cause of the Contadora and the mounting opposition

to the Administration's policy of aggression against Nicaragua in the USA itself proved a solid foundation for a peaceful settlement in the region".

Yet, Diaz-Callejas remarks, the Contadora Group suffers from one drawback: nowhere in its documents does it state that US policy is the source of growing tensions in Central America.

The author is convinced, however, that the rallying of Latin America around the Contadora is evidence of the growing political consciousness among the continent's states, which are trying to put up a united front against the present US Administration's aggressive policy. If, Diaz-Callejas believes, the USA makes up its mind to directly invade Nicaragua, its intervention would spark off a rapid escalation of the Central American conflict with very serious, even unpredictable consequences.

The fact that the Contadora Group continues to occupy a leading place on the present-day political scene was borne out at the latest meeting between the foreign ministers of the Contadora Group and the support group and their counterparts from the Central American countries in Panama in June. Although the conferees failed in reaching full accord on the contents of the Act of Peace, the search process has demonstrated that the Contadora Group upholds the interests of the Latin American countries which are opposed to direct US armed interference in the affairs of Central America.

I. STROK

Annotation

A. V. Baryshev, *El Salvador: "Two Wars"*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 128 pp. (in Russian).

While analysing the origins and the course of the struggle waged by the Salvadoran people for their rights and freedoms, the author first of all notes that the wrath of the people in that country was a natural result of the internal developments rather than the alleged "intrigues of Moscow and Havana", as the Washington politicians are at pains to prove following the course of

blatant interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador. Fourteen of the richest family clans closely connected with American capital ruthlessly robbed the Salvadorans and have brought them to the brink of exhaustion and extreme poverty: every third citizen of the country is jobless; nine out of ten are undernourished; medical service is practically non-existent; and the real an-

nual per capita income is one of the lowest in the world. The author stressed that this situation "cannot but engender the most resolute forms of protest including an armed uprising" (p. 14-15).

The struggle of the Salvadoran people for freedom and social justice began back in the 1930s. After the suppression of the popular uprising in 1932 a brutal dictatorship was established and maintained for several decades only due to bloody terror and US support. El Salvador was on the verge of a revolutionary outburst when the ruling right-wing military once again staged a coup d'état on October 15, 1979. True, this time the military had to declare that they were prepared to bring about some political transformations in the country. However, the broadly advertised reforms turned out to be a bluff: only some of the political prisoners were released; when the banks formerly belonging to the family clans were nationalised by the government, they turned out to be empty for these clans had managed to move their capital abroad; agrarian reform remained on paper. The government has made reprisals against the civilian population even more severe, interspersing them with political manoeuvring. However, the ruling quarters have failed to either intimidate or mislead the patriotic forces of El Salvador. The formation of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the unification in October 1980 of the left-wing military-political organisations into the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, which has actually turned into an insurrectional army, was of great significance for consolidating the progressive forces of the country.

Dealing with the present-day political situation in El Salvador the author points out the inability of the present government, actually placed at the helm of power by Washington, to achieve a victory over the forces of the rebels despite generous American aid (over the past six years the United States has allocated some \$2,000 million for the anti-popular regime) and the two-

fold increase of the army since the early 1980s. Baryshev notes that the main goal of the large-scale US intervention in El Salvador is to prevent the appearance of a "second Nicaragua". Besides, Washington strategists have set themselves the task of teaching El Salvador a lesson and thus intimidating the entire national liberation movement in the developing world.

In the opinion of the author the aggressive course of the White House stems from several reasons. First, Washington fears that the victory of the popular revolution in El Salvador will substantially undermine the US positions in Central America; second, El Salvador is viewed in the USA as a potential bridgehead for an attack on the revolution in Nicaragua. Finally, Washington attempts to turn this small Central American republic into a laboratory for testing various forms of interference into the internal affairs of sovereign states. As was pointed out by Shafic Jorje Handal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador, "two wars are being waged in the country today: on one hand, the unjust war of annihilation waged by North American imperialism and the local reactionary circles against our people and, on the other, the just war of the Salvadoran nation for liberating itself from the brutal, almost fifty-year suppression of the right-wing dictatorship, for democratic freedoms, independence and social justice" (p. 9).

As is noted by Baryshev, the escalation of American aggression in El Salvador smoke-screened with declarations of "good intentions" to bring the country to democracy does not bring Washington and its henchmen any nearer to victory over the Salvadoran patriots. It leads only to the escalation of hate of American imperialism in Latin America and stimulates the expansion of international solidarity with the struggle of the patriotic forces of El Salvador for freedom and independence.

A. SAFRONOV

CMEA Priority: New Materials and Technologies for Their Processing
★ The Labour Effort of People's Korea ★ The Socialist Republic of
Vietnam: Labour Achievements ★ Narcotics: a Lucrative Business ★ What
Is Behind American Aid ★ Côte d'Ivoire ★ Northern Europe in NATO's
Plans

CMEA Priority: New Materials and Technologies for Their Processing

The introduction of high-strength, corrosion-resistant and heat-proof composite and ceramic materials, new plastics, the use of powder metallurgy methods, technological lasers for welding and heat treatment, plasma, vacuum and detonation technologies, impulse excitation and the energy of explosion to synthesise superhard materials makes it possible to substantially increase the reliability and service life of machinery and equipment, reduce their material-intensity and cost, save rare and valuable materials and, as a result, create a crucially important basis for developing equipment of new generations.

The need to introduce extensively fundamentally new types of materials into the socialist countries' economies is explained also by the fact that the further improvement of the physical, chemical and mechanical properties of traditional materials is limited and fails to meet the demands made of them at the new stage of scientific and technological progress. The new materials possessing especially valuable properties as compared to traditional ones, the technologies of producing and processing them are needed to bring about a qualitative breakthrough in the attainment of the highest level along the entire front of the scientific and technological revolution. But it is not enough to master the production of new materials. It is necessary to create technical and technological possibilities for their effective application in the national economy. This problem will be comprehensively solved by the CMEA countries following the "material-construction-techno-

logy" cycle. This will make it possible in each concrete case to not only correctly choose the necessary material but also to use it economically, in other words efficiently, when manufacturing products.

It should be said that the CMEA countries have laid down the necessary groundwork in this priority area, are developing many types of new materials and technologies, mastering highly effective methods of obtaining new ceramic and polymer materials, unique alloys and superpure materials, have worked out new methods of powder metallurgy, electron-beam and vacuum processes, and so on. The pooling of efforts in this field will multiply the efficiency of the economies of CMEA countries many times over.

Composite materials obtained by means of special technology and being a combination, say, of a metal and a polymer, a metal and a ceramic, offer great opportunities for the technical and technological modernisation of production. These materials in a number of instances possess a set of unique properties that metals and other components cannot possess by themselves. Practice shows that by their strength, resistance to heat and aggressive media, composite materials surpass metals three to five times. Their rigidity is many times greater than, for instance, that of steel constructions, which is very important for engineering structures.

Much interest is being shown in *ceramic materials*. This concerns not household or heat-proof ceramics but new heat-resistant and shock-resistant ceramics which will become a key construction material in the

coming years along with metals and polymers. Combined with a small specific weight as compared to metals, the unique physical, chemical and mechanical properties of these ceramics greatly widen the scope for their use in many branches of the economy. The greatest use of ceramics is expected in gas-turbine and diesel engines. This will require sophisticated technology, in particular the production of ultra-pure and fine powders as the main component. The use of ceramic parts in internal-combustion engines will make it possible already in the near future to increase by 50 per cent the efficiency of using diesel fuel and also to do without the entire cooling and ventilation system. On a nationwide scale this will save billions of rubles.

Powder metallurgy is one promising area of technical progress in the field of metal studies. This production technology (the process of pressing and sintering of parts from a metal powder) offers tremendous potential possibilities and fundamentally changes the existing pattern of the production of metals and machines. It excludes such traditional processes as smelting, casting and cutting that account for two-thirds of the entire labour input. The surface spraying of a layer of refractory, wear- and corrosion-resistant materials forms another direction of powder technology. The strengthening of machine parts by this method makes it possible to virtually completely restore worn parts and reduce several times losses of metal due to corrosion.

The development of modern technology makes increasingly exacting demands of the strength, heat-resistance and other properties of structural materials. In many instances it is materials, first of all metals, that limit the possibility of creating new, more economical machinery and equipment. The engineering industry in CMEA countries is already switching to light metals--titanium, aluminium, magnesium and also silicon. Titanium-magnesium alloys stronger than traditional brands of steel have already been created. Studies aimed at improving the properties of metals concentrate first of all on developing ways of strengthening them by alloying, depositing various coatings on their surface and also by way of thermomechanical treatment, this promising huge savings.

The use of alloying additives considerably improves the qualitative properties of metals and reduces their use in production. If

constructions exposed to atmospheric corrosion as well as to fresh and sea water are coated by means of electric-arc metallisation, they can serve without repairs for 20 to 30 years. The best existing varnishes and paints protect constructions for not more than seven years. The laser hardening of parts and the depositions of superhard materials on their surface increase the service life of parts and, hence, of machines 3 to 4 and sometimes 10 times.

Much attention is given to joint studies connected with the practical use of *plasma, vacuum and detonation coatings*. It will be necessary to create and master industrial technologies involving the use of high pressures, impulse excitation and the energy of explosion, as well as the out-of-furnace treatment of steel. High-pressure technologies make it possible to create materials with special physical and mechanical properties and possessing super conductivity and super hardness. For example, the mass production of artificial diamonds resulted in a qualitative breakthrough in instrument-making.

In the coming years we can expect a tempestuous development in *space technology* with the aim of the pilot production of superpure metals and semi-conductor materials. Scientists in the fraternal countries are also tackling problems of developing and introducing into practice production processes combining the continuous pouring of metal with its simultaneous rolling, welding and subsequent rolling, this being closely connected with further improving the quality of metal and increasing the output of those progressive metal products which are now in short supply. Metal of a higher quality will lessen the metal-intensity of products, increase the reliability of equipment and its productivity.

The creation of new semi-conductor materials is another important field in this priority area. Its importance is explained by the ever greater demands made of semi-conductors by the present and especially the future generations of electronic elements and instruments, computers, and so on. Semi-conductors have made it possible to reduce the size and weight of radio-electronic equipment tens and hundreds of times and, what is most important, have dramatically improved its reliability.

A large-scale programme of cooperation is planned in the important field of *perfecting the technology of producing plastics*

which in most instances produce little or no waste at all. The products thus obtained successfully compete with such traditional materials as metal, wood and glass, and require almost no additional mechanical working. It has been estimated that a ton of constructional plastics replace at least 4 to 5 tons of ferrous rolled metal and require 2 to 3 times less energy to produce.

The constructional characteristics of plastics, for instance, rigidity and strength, can be improved by using various fillers, especially mineral and fibre ones. Some filled polymers are well known: there are linoleum and glass plastics that are extensively used in households and in construction. Polymer films and fibres possessing greater resilience and strength will be in extensive use. In agriculture this is true of the so-called light-prone films, that is, films disintegrating under the influence of light. Experiments show that these films suppress the growth of weeds and improve the water regime of soils during the period of vegetation. As a result, crops grown under such films yield three times more than without films.

To carry out cooperation along these and

other direction envisaged by the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress Up to the Year 2000, the CMEA bodies have set up a Standing Commission (it held its first session in Moscow in February of this year) charged with the task of assisting the organisation of the cooperation of CMEA countries in solving the biggest intra-sectoral problems, creating fundamentally new types of materials, developing industrial technologies of their production and processing and also of equipment for mastering these technologies with the aim of ensuring on this basis the accelerated development of the leading sectors of the engineering industry and other branches of the CMEA countries' economies.

The fulfilment of the part of this programme concerning the creation of new materials and technologies of their production and processing will make it possible to drastically raise the technical and technological level of production in the key branches of the economy and this, in turn, will serve as a crucial condition for accelerating the social and economic development of all the countries of the socialist community.

I. PENZII

The Labour Effort of People's Korea

Thirty eight years ago, on September 9, 1948, the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea declared the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Soviet Union was the first to establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK (October 12, 1948) and rendered it all-round assistance in the consolidation of national independence. The development of fraternal ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and North Korea led to the signing in Moscow on July 6, 1961 of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK. The Treaty was a logical continuation of the course of the CPSU and the WPK toward creating reliable political and legal foundations for Soviet-Korean relations, an embodiment of the vested interest of the two countries in the strengthening and development of good-neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations.

The USSR supports the DPRK's struggle for Korea's peaceful and democratic unifica-

tion without outside interference and for withdrawing US troops from South Korea. It should be emphasised that the DPRK government initiatives for relaxing the tense situation on the Korean Peninsula and for peacefully unifying the country conform with the USSR's proposals on an all-round approach to resolving the security problem in Asia. The USSR and the DPRK counter the course of the US and Japanese imperialist circles towards turning the Asian-Pacific region into an area of confrontation, of "axes" and "triangles", with the policy of peace and cooperation. They propose attempting to resolve disputes through bilateral and multilateral consultations and, by the same token, creating prerequisites for joint search for constructive solutions, for holding an All-Asia forum.

The Soviet Union is rendering People's Korea weighty assistance in consolidating its economic potential and tackling practical tasks in the construction of the foundations of socialism. Over a comparatively

short historical period, the DPRK has become an industrially developed state and has reached new frontiers in economic, scientific and technical progress.

A tangible contribution to solving problems connected with building socialism in the DPRK was the successful implementation of the tasks outlined in the country's seven-year plan for 1978-84. The volume of industrial output rose 2.2 times, while average annual growth rates came to 12.2 per cent. 17,785 industrial projects were built in the country: hydro- and thermoelectric stations, metallurgical and chemical works, mines, concentrating mills, engineering enterprises, plants producing consumer goods. At the present time, capacity has been created in the DPRK for the annual production of 30,000 million kwh of electric power, over 52 million tons of coal, over 5 million tons of steel, 13.1 million tons of cement, 4 million tons of chemical fertilizer and of 40,000 metal-cutting machine tools.

Major successes have been scored in agricultural development. Grain yields came to an average of 10 million tons, with rice crops of 70 and maize of 60 centner per hectare. Also on the rise are harvests of vegetables, fruit, and industrial crops. 1.4 million hectares of land, or 70 per cent of all arable land, are irrigated. In the DPRK, there are 1,700 reservoirs, over 23,700 pumping stations, and 124,800 artesian wells. The aggregate length of irrigation canals tops 40,000 km. The amount of chemical fertilizer per hectare comes to 1.6 tons. 97 per cent of the rice and maize fields are treated with herbicides.

The literacy rate in the DPRK is 100 per cent. In socialist Korea there function 10,000 schools, 576 secondary special establishments, and 216 higher educational establishments. Since the beginning of people's rule the education system has produced 1.2 million specialists with a higher and secondary special education.

The DPRK's achievements in building socialism are evident. However, the country faces some problems: bottlenecks in transport facilities and electric energy supply, complications in providing enterprises with raw materials and problems in sales of export output, especially on the world capitalist market, under conditions of increasing competition. At present, much attention is paid to the development of a flexible mechanism for foreign economic

ties with the use of new forms of production and export integration, the creation of research and production associations, the development of direct links and joint enterprises.

In its economic development and construction of the material-technical base of socialism, People's Korea relies on extensive assistance and support from the socialist countries, above all from the Soviet Union. A fresh impetus to the development of Soviet-Korean relations in the 1980s was imparted by the May 1984 visit to the USSR of a party and state delegation headed by the General Secretary of the WPK Central Committee and President of the DPRK, Kim Il Sung. The understandings reached in the course of the Soviet-Korean summit meeting were embodied as a result of subsequent visits to the USSR by the Premier of the Administrative Council Kang Sung San and the Foreign Minister of the DPRK, Kim Yong Nam, and of other meetings between Korean and Soviet leaders.

The USSR is the DPRK's leading trade partner accounting for over one-fourth of the republic's foreign trade turnover. In 1984, commodity turnover between the two countries amounted to 714.3 million roubles, and in 1985, more than one billion. The Soviet Union delivers oil and coke to the DPRK, machinery and equipment, transport means, food; and the DPRK, in its turn, exports to the USSR magnesite powder, output of the mining industry, high-quality steel, fruit and vegetables for the Far-Eastern areas of the USSR and some kinds of engineering output.

Rendering the DPRK Soviet technical assistance in the construction of a number of projects remains a traditional form of cooperation between the two countries: 64 enterprises, shops and installations have been constructed with the USSR's help, and 8 more projects are under way. There develops a new form of cooperation: processing of Soviet raw materials at Korean enterprises, which smoothes over the difficulties concerning raw materials availability and utilisation of light industry capacity. Product-pay-back cooperation has also been viable. On the basis of product-pay-back cooperation, the Soviet Union receives, for instance, automobile storage batteries and enameled wire.

The two countries' planning bodies have completed work on coordinating trade and

economic cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK for 1986-1990, and concerning some of the aspects for longer periods as well—from the standpoint of bringing up the quality and effectiveness of cooperation. In planning coordination, mutual interests were taken into account. The DPRK is, for instance, interested in expanding work in the field of power generation. An agreement has been signed on extending assistance in preparing in 1986-1990 a feasibility study on constructing the first atomic power station in the country with a capacity of 1,760 Mw. On a product-pay-back basis, capacity is being expanded at the Kim Chak Iron-and-Steel Works. With Soviet assistance, the DPRK will start building the East-Pyongyang thermal power station with a 200,000-kilowatt capacity, the plant for producing fire-proof articles with an annual capacity of 150,000 tons, a textile mill with 100,000 spindles. In the Soviet Far East, in Khabarovsk Territory, joint logging is under way with the participation of several logging-lumbering enterprises, where to the DPRK sends work force and the USSR provides transport, sawing and other means. In the timber

exploitation area processing enterprises have been built.

Commodity turnover between the DPRK and the USSR in 1986-1990 is to grow in comparison with the previous five-year period by more than two fold.

Scientific and technical ties between the two countries have been expanding. The priority areas of this cooperation are those branches which facilitate the acceleration of technical modernisation of the Korean industry as a whole: engineering, the chemical industry, metallurgy and many other spheres. An agreement has been signed on scientific cooperation in 1986-1988 of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the DPRK Academy of Social Sciences, which will result in increased exchange of experience in conducting scientific research in the field of social sciences.

Relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and DPRK in recent years have been noted for their dynamism, equality and mutual benefit. These are the pledge of the fraternal Korean people's successful advancement along the road of building socialism.

M. TRIGUBENKO

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam: Labour Achievements

On September 2, 1986, it will be 41 years since Vietnam became independent. Its gaining independence ushered in a new era in the country's history, the era of struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, for socialism. The past decades have been marked by arduous fighting against foreign invaders who more than once resorted to armed aggression to restore colonial rule in Vietnam.

Recently, all the friends of the Vietnamese people celebrated the 10th anniversary of the country's reunification and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV).

The Vietnamese people have paid a high price in the struggle for the liberation of the South and the reunification of the homeland: the US imperialists had demolished hundreds of industrial enterprises, thousands of kilometres of railways and highways, a countless number of dwelling-houses. About

three million Vietnamese sacrificed their lives so that their country might be free and independent.

Today, the Vietnamese people, while facing serious difficulties, are tackling major complex problems involved in laying the material and technical foundation of socialism. The 4th (1976) and the 5th (1982) Congresses of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) elaborated the guidelines for restructuring the Republic's entire socio-economic life at the new historic stage. At the 5th Congress it was decided that in the 1980s the Party and the people would concentrate their efforts on accelerating agricultural development which is regarded nowadays as the backbone of socialist construction in Vietnam, on intensifying consumer goods production, as well as on setting up key branches of heavy industry, without which the country's further industrial development is unthinkable.

Over the years since the country's reunification and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976 its working people guided by the party, have scored impressive successes in all areas of economic and cultural life, in developing the country's productive forces and in cementing new, socialist relations of production. The SRV has built approximately 300 major economic projects and material production assets have grown almost threefold. The considerable growth of social production was facilitated by consolidating the economy's technical and material basis and improving management in all economic branches. Thus, while in the 1976-1980 period the increment of agricultural output averaged 2.0 per cent annually, in the last five years it has climbed to 5.1 per cent; the corresponding figures for the industry are 0.7 and 14 per cent.

The Ninth Plenary Meeting of the CPV Central Committee and the 10th Session of the SRV National Assembly held in December 1985 summed up the results of the country's socio-economic development in 1985 and over the Third Five-Year Plan period and approved the 1986 guidelines. The Session noted that despite various obstacles the country's economy had made an important step forward: gross industrial output rose by 7.4 per cent in 1985; electricity production—by 6 per cent; steel—8.5 per cent; phosphorous fertiliseres—9 per cent; and cement—9 per cent. Agriculture has also made further progress: the growth of the food-stuffs output (by 800,000 tons a year on the average in the five-year period) was accompanied by the considerable expansion of land used for cultivating annual and perennial crops (ground nuts, tobacco, tea, hevea, and coffee), and the yields have risen.

In evaluating the results of the economic development over the five-year span the National Assembly session noted that, compared to 1980, in 1985 the output of many products grew by 50 to 100 per cent. This growth permitted a 100 per cent increase in the country's exports for the 1981-1985 period, compared to the previous five-year period. The fact that in 1984 the socialist sector accounted for more than 56 per cent of the national income and more than 60 per cent of the gross domestic product is indication of economic growth.

The rise in production serves as a basis for expanding the scale of the construction of housing and cultural projects. Another step has been taken in the development of

culture, art, and health care. For instance, in Vietnam, with illiteracy exceeding 90 per cent before the revolution, there are now 93 institutions of higher learning, 278 technical secondary schools and other specialised secondary educational establishments.

Implementing the decisions of the party and the government, Vietnamese scientists have carried out extensive work in recent years. Between 1981 and 1985, they elaborated 72 state goal-oriented programmes, as well as 40 sectoral and 50 provincial programmes involving about 15,000 scientific workers and 500 organisations and enterprises. Relying on its experience and a backlog in science and technology, the SRV actively cooperates with other socialist countries in elaborating 33 problems under the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member Countries Up to the Year 2000.

All these victories, which can be compared with the victories on the battle-field, reflect the leading, organising and guiding role of the CPV, the purposeful work of the party bodies, party cadre and all Communists aimed at fulfilling the tasks set by the Fifth CPV Congress. The legislative formalisation of the guiding role of the CPV in the Constitution adopted in December 1980 confirms the tremendous contribution the party has made to tackling the tasks posed by the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. Today, the Communist Party of Vietnam numbers about two million members who are working in more than 35,000 local organisations.

In tackling the internal problems the SRV government has to pay special attention to strengthening the country's defence and protecting its borders. In its foreign policy Vietnam pursues the goals of developing friendship and cooperation with all countries, of creating external conditions favourable for socialist construction. The party and the government pay particular attention to developing relations with the socialist community countries. This course reaffirmed by the Fifth CPV Congress implies that the consolidation of the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal states on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism is the primary goal of the CPV and the SRV.

The successful solution of the complex economic problems facing the country is inseparably linked with the development of its economic ties with other states. In recent

years, the growth rates of foreign trade consistently outstripped the growth rates of industrial and agricultural output and the national income. As before, most of the Vietnamese exports go to CMEA countries. The Soviet Union is the SRV's major trading partner accounting for about two-thirds of the country's total foreign trade.

Being an integral part of the socialist community, the SRV enjoys well-deserved prestige in the world. Today, Vietnam maintains diplomatic relations with 112 states, is a member of the United Nations and many of its specialised agencies, a member of more than 30 international organisations and plays an active part in the non-alignment movement.

Vietnam's foreign policy is based on extensive Vietnamese-Soviet relations which have been turned by our Parties and peoples into an inseparable part of the social life in the two countries. The visit of the party and government delegation headed by Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee, in June-July 1985 was just another manifestation of the unshakable friendship of the two countries. In his welcoming address Mikhail Gorbachev noted: "The peoples of the Soviet Union and Vietnam are moving ahead together jointly tackling the tasks of socialist and communist construction and defending the cause of peace and international security."

The Soviet peaceful moves are met with

broad support in the SRV. The Communist Party of Vietnam carries out extensive and purposeful work to elucidate the foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state and to mobilise the Vietnamese public for the struggle for peace, against the mounting threat of world nuclear war. This reflects the cohesion of views held by the two parties as regards the major world political problems and the coordination of their activities on the world scene.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, fully supports the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at improving the situation in Southeast Asia and creating a climate of trust and cooperation in this region.

Looking back on what has already been accomplished, the working people of Vietnam have every right to proudly state that over the past decades they have overcome numerous obstacles, resolved many monumental problems and scored victories in all sectors of socialist construction and in the struggle against the foreign invaders. The Vietnamese people are marking their holiday by new feats in their labour and are unfolding a large-scale socialist emulation to honourably meet the forthcoming 6th CPV Congress.

A. GLAZUNOV

Narcotics: A Lucrative Business

Specialists maintain that drug addiction has spread to the whole of capitalist society, affecting many countries. Until recently, heroin addiction was an affliction peculiar to American society; today, there is heavy drug trafficking in many West European, Asian, Latin American and even African countries. Still, the United States leads the world in the number of drug addicts: in 1984 alone US drug traffickers netted \$110,000 million. Official US statistics put the number of heroin addicts at 500,000. This figure does not include cocaine and marijuana users. In all, there are more than 30 million drug and alcohol abusers in the United States.

In New York alone, the US narcotics capital, there is an annual 150 per cent increase in the number of those who need medical

treatment for drug addiction, most of them young people. In the past 13 years the number of young American marijuana smokers went up by 25 per cent. Eleven per cent of all US high school students need treatment for drug addiction, while over 40 per cent of all school leavers regularly take various drugs.

The US Department of Justice has information that many Congressmen and civil servants in the White House and Congress are drug users and pushers. According to the House Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations roughly 25 per cent of the enlisted men in the Army, Navy and the Marines admitted taking drugs while on duty. Over 15 per cent of them said it negatively affected their capabilities.

Western Europe has not fared all too well, either: it has become a major consumer of and a "clearing house" for death-dealing white powder. Here, powerful transnational centres which distribute heroin and other drugs in West European countries have mushroomed. They receive narcotics from the notorious "golden triangle", an almost inaccessible mountainous area, where Burmese, Lao and Thai borders meet; from the "golden crescent" countries (e.g., Iran, Pakistan); from the Middle East and from Turkey. Sicily, Frankfurt am Main, Amsterdam and Cyprus are the largest delivery centres, from which after processing the drug flow goes to major customers in the United States, France, Britain, the FRG and Italy.

According to its press bulletin of a special EEC commission set up to look into drug addiction problems the scale of narcotics traffic in Western Europe and the United States is enormous. Police and customs officers in capitalist countries, says the report, confiscated 5 tons of heroin and arrested 3,500 drug dealers in just 10 months of 1985. Western Europe's heroin haul was 1,233 kg. The heroin smuggling has swept Britain (over 50,000 drug addicts), Italy and the Netherlands. In 1985, British police and customs officers smashed 70 groups of drug traffickers, confiscating drugs to the tune of £100 million.

Narcobusiness is so lucrative that even those whose official duty is to combat drug addiction cannot resist doing some business for themselves. For instance, Assistant Federal Attorney for the State of New York was arrested for stealing drugs from his office safe. The heroin and cocaine he took were material evidence to a number of cases and cost \$450,000. Eastern Airlines, the second biggest US civil aviation company, was a central figure in the latest narcotics scandal. In the past four years, its employees working on many of the USA-Latin America lines smuggled over 30 tons of cocaine into Miami and New York. According to the narcotics agents of the bureau against the spread of narcotics, a regular batch of drugs used to come once a week to the Miami in-

ternational airport where trusted people separated it from the rest of the luggage and forwarded it to New York. The secret operations involved over 150 company employees (workers, mechanics, loaders, etc.). In all, the cocaine they smuggled into the United States was worth about \$1,000 million.

For the most part, the drug dealing is in the main preoccupation of the mafia, who has at its disposal huge sums of money, aircraft, helicopters, professional killers, businessmen, and even government officials in both customer and producing countries. Organised crime bosses make enormous money out of drug purchasing. In terms of profit making, it is second only to gambling and far ahead of such traditional rackets as prostitution and robbery. The US mafia alone annually makes \$5,000 million on drug selling, to say nothing of how much the small pushers and middlemen pocket. The narcotics boom has swept the United States; everyone wants a piece of the pie—drug pushers, mobsters, pimps, whorehouses and underworld den runners, racketeers, and even respectable millionaires.

When drug addiction first started to erode the mainstays of the capitalist world, the authorities were more than lenient to the new "whim" of their countrymen: "pot smokers don't read Marx"—such was their attitude. Now they are genuinely alarmed because drug addiction is threatening the very foundations of capitalist society. Neither the United States, Western Europe nor Japan can say it has achieved success in grappling with the drug problem. The capitalist social environment is breeding more and more drug addicts. But despite the efforts of the US authorities, the police, the FBI narcotics agents, the Department of Justice special unit, customs officers with specially trained dogs and a host of informers, narcotism is spreading. And this is so because drug business is a lucrative, and therefore attractive, business for a growing army of drug dealers among whom there are Congressmen, lawyers, law enforcement officers and prospering millionaires.

R. GASANOV

What Is Behind American Aid

So-called aid to foreign countries is an important part of the arsenal Washington uses to further its foreign policy goals. Taking advantage of other countries' difficulties, the USA uses "aid" to actuate the carefully-though-out and efficient mechanism of neo-colonial exploitation of independent states. Washington has turned its "aid" into a kind of bargaining: either a country agrees to carry out measures imposed by the USA to be rewarded by American money, arms, food, or, if it fails to toe the US line, the country may be "punished" by suspension of aid. In fact official Washington does not bother to hide who can count on its "aid" and why and who stands no chance. Former US Secretary of State Alexander Haig said with military bluntness: "US aid will go in overwhelming proportion... to nations which share our strategic concerns or which are situated to improve our own diplomatic and military capabilities". These words fully apply to the roster of countries to which the USA intends to render most "aid" in the current fiscal year: Israel—\$3,000 million; Turkey—\$643 million; and Pakistan—\$575 million.

The USA makes wide recourse to aid to shore up pro-American regimes and to destabilise the situation in those countries which have chosen independent development. For example, American "aid" began to flow to Chile when the bloody Pinochet dictatorship came to power and all the gains of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government were eliminated. A similar approach was used with regard to Somalia which, like Chile, was offered aid as soon as American-inspired and engineered changes took place in that country.

In applying the "selective" approach to aid-giving, the USA pursues far-reaching military and political goals. This was the nature of the economic "aid" to Somalia and Oman which became recipients in the early 1980s, but not until they had agreed to allow American military bases on their territory. Another example is Pakistan to which military and economic aid was resumed on a large scale in May 1981 in connection with the role Zia ul-Haq's regime began to play in recruiting, training and arming the dushmani bands which are bringing death and destruction to the land of People's Afghanistan.

Vivid proof that the USA uses economic "aid" as an instrument of political pressure is the Act of 1982 whereby the US Congress,

in deciding to grant aid to one or another country, must take into account to what degree the given country backs the USA in voting at the United Nations. As early as 1983, the US Administration, angered by the way Zimbabwe voted at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly, cut its aid by half as an act of punishment.

With the advent of the Reagan Administration the USA has toughened its stand on economic "aid". In the 1980s Washington has given priority to bilateral programmes which, in its view, were more effective in promoting US economic, political and military interests. This brings us to another important feature of US "aid": it is always granted to the private sector at the expense of the state sector. Stressing that aspect of US "aid", the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahali* wrote: "The USA openly supports the private sector in the Egyptian economy. It is not without its participation that the sector's share in the total output rose from 45 per cent in 1970 to 60 per cent in 1985." In early 1985 the White House issued a statement reaffirming that priority in American food aid would forthwith be given to those countries which would promise Washington to privatise their agriculture.

Touting its "aid" to other countries, official Washington claims that this aid is disinterested. But is that really so? The Cairo *Al-Ahali* comments: US 'aid' to Egypt is far from being disinterested. In rendering it the USA proceeds first and foremost from the interest of its monopolies which use Egyptian markets as outlets for their goods. They demand, for example, that goods be transported only by US merchant ships and the credits be used in ventures in which the USA plays the leading role. Quoting expert calculations the paper writes that only 15 per cent of all US aid goes to meet the needs of the Egyptian economy. This happens because most American loans stipulate that only American equipment be bought and only American experts be employed. As a result, the lion's share of the money settles in the coffers of American companies.

"Food aid" on preferential terms to developing countries plays a special role in the US imperialist strategy. Being the main supplier of food to the world market, the USA uses its aid for open political blackmail of the developing countries. According to Frances

Lappe and Joseph Collins who head the Food and Development Institution, feeding the hungry has never been the main aim of US food aid. No wonder, they write, the USA supplies six times more foodstuffs, on a per capita basis, to the pro-American dictatorships in Central America than to the whole of famine-stricken Africa south of the Sahara.

Washington often uses "aid" to get rid of its agricultural "surplus" that finds no market inside the country and elsewhere in the world. The Kenyan newspaper *Daily Nation* wrote that in the spring of 1985 the USA tried, as part of its "food aid", to send to Kenya 40,000 tons of spoiled grain that had been rejected by the quarantine authorities in the USA. Also in 1985, writes the paper, the USA tried to supply tainted grain to India. The whole batch had to be dumped into the sea. According to Western studies, much of the grain the USA supplies as "food aid" is contaminated with ethylenedibromide which, like DDT, is stored up in the organism and may cause cancer.

The background to the US "aid" would have been incomplete without a brief mention of the International Development Association (IDA), a federal body in the USA which distributes "aid". Countries which have dealt with the IDA are unanimous in their assessments of it. The Beirut magazine *al-Kifah*

al-Arabi writes: "Behind the innocuous name International Development Association hides a major instrument of cheating in US foreign policy." The activities of IDA missions in the host countries, the magazine continues, are as dangerous as the operations of the American special services and military missions in these countries. Not that IDA staff make any bones about the true motives of their employer. For instance, Michael Stone, former IDA head in Cairo has publicly admitted: "...the IDA programme in Egypt is a political programme and that we are here for political reasons."

Developing countries, which are the main recipients of US "aid", are fully aware of the true motives behind Washington's charity and its aims. Many are outspoken in their attitude towards this aid. The Indian newspaper *Patriot* summed up these sentiments when it wrote: "Foreign aid is an important tool of world monopoly capitalism designed to exploit the countries of the third world. The third world countries that do not enjoy a special relationship with the US have, for some time now, been compelled to recognise the fact that the Reagan Administration's foreign aid policies are determined by its global military perceptions and the spending priorities based on them".

V. ROGACHEV

Côte d'Ivoire

The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (RCI, the Ivory Coast up to October 1985) lies in the south of West Africa. It has an area of over 322,000 sq. km, and a population of over 10 million mainly consisting of the following ethnical groups: Baoulé, Agnis, and Bete. French is the official language. The majority of the population adheres to local traditional religions, for the most part connected with the cult of ancestors and the forces of nature. About one quarter of the population professes Islam and close to 15 per cent are Catholic. Since 1983 the town of Yamoussoukro, the birthplace of President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, has been the official capital of the country, but Abidjan is still the major business centre and sea port.

Administratively the country is divided into departments, suprefectures and communes. The central government appoints prefects.

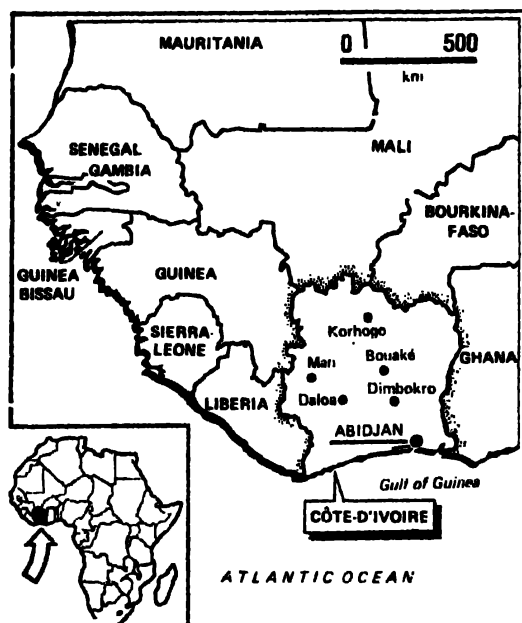
The President is head of the government

and the state; he is elected for a five-year term and enjoys unlimited powers according to the Constitution. Since independence was proclaimed in 1960, Félix Houphouët-Boigny has been the President of the Republic. Legislative power is vested in the Parliament, a unicameral National Assembly, consisting of 175 deputies, elected for a five-year term. The last parliamentary elections were held on November 10, 1985.

The Democratic Party is the ruling and sole political party in the country; it was founded in 1947 by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who remains its leader up to the present day. The Democratic Party controls the activities of all mass public organisations, including the General Workers' Union, the Students' and Pupils' Movements, Women's Association, and so on.

The country's history is long and eventful. In the 17-18th centuries there was a number

of independent states on the territory of the present-day Côte d'Ivoire, formed by the largest nationalities of the region. Most prominent among them were the kingdoms of Ndeni, Buna and Kong, which survived up to the late 19th century. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach the coast in 1482 and start slave trade in Africa. In a bitter contest with Portugal, Holland and Britain, France managed to take firm hold of the Guinea coast and started a systematic colonisation of this part of Africa. As a result, at the end of 19th century vast French colonial possessions formed—French West Africa. In 1958 the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire received the status of an autonomous republic within the French Community, and on August 7, 1960, it attained full independence.



The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire is one of the most economically developed states in Tropical Africa. Its government encourages private enterprise and large-scale foreign investments, allowing private foreign capital to take firm root in the national economy. The share of foreign capital, primarily French and American, amounts to 55 per cent of the entire volume of investments. The republic is an associate member of the Common Market.

Judging by indices like the general growth of GNP, and its per capita growth, the degree of economic diversification and the evolution of foreign trade balance, Côte d'Ivoire has achieved major economic progress since independence. A comparatively small country by African standards, it has become a major

producer of cocoa, coffee and palm oil in the world.

In contrast to most other African states, it has a rather well-developed transport network. A 1,350-km long Abidjan-Ouagadougou (Bourkina-Faso) main railway line over 800 km of which lie within the Republic's territory, crosses the country from north to south. A ramified network of modern highways connects the main economic regions of the country. The Abidjan sea port is the biggest in West African terms of its freight turnover (about 10 million tons). Another large sea port with freight turnover of about 2 million tons has been built and put into operation in San-Pedro.

The RCI integration into the world capitalist market has largely increased its chances for obtaining loans and grants through the IMF and IBRD, from the former mother country, the USA, Canada, and other countries and international organisations. This has greatly stimulated the country's economic development.

However, in the early 1980s crisis phenomena became apparent in the RCI socio-economic development. They were brought about primarily by a new bout of the crisis of the world capitalist economy, which hit most and above all the developing countries. A particularly hard blow came when the world prices for RCI's main export items (cocoa beans, coffee and products of their processing) plummeted in 1981-1982. These export items accounted for up to 60 per cent of total exports revenues, about 40 per cent of which came from cocoa.

Another serious problem facing the country is its external debt, which soared to \$6,000 million at the end of 1985. Annual payments to "service" the debt swallow over 40 per cent of export revenues. In that way the country will become ever more dependent not only on the world commodity market, but on the market of capital which is sufficiently evidenced by the "geography" of the RCI main "donors". Thus, in 1981-1982 more than 50 per cent of all credits were granted to Côte d'Ivoire via the IMF, the IBRD and by international finance organisations connected with them (more than \$300 million from the IBRD). The country received a credit amounting to \$275 million from the consortium of 48 European banks operating on the Eurodollars market. Major credits were also granted by France, the USA and Canada. To stabilise the economy the government had to institute a policy of economic austerity and

to curtail a number of social and production programmes.

Agriculture remains the backbone of the country's economy, accounting for 30 per cent of the GNP, with almost 80 per cent of the gainfully employed population engaged in it. The country exports coffee, cocoa, bananas, pineapples, valuable sorts of tropical woods, and other goods. RCI ranks first in the world in cocoa production (552,000 tons) in and forth in coffee production (300,000 tons in 1984-1985). However, it has to import certain food products to satisfy internal demands.

Since 1960 the share of manufacturing and processing industries in the GNP grew from 5 per cent to 20 in 1980. The extractive industry is based on oilfields, where 1.5 million tons of oil was produced in 1985. There are over 750 industrial enterprises in the country, the largest of which are the oil-refining and auto-assembly works, dairy factories, flour mills, sugar and oil refineries, and instant coffee, weaving and garment enterprises. Leading in terms of value of output are the food, textile, chemical and wood-working industries.

In its foreign policy, the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire adheres to the non-alignment and "positive neutrality" principles. It maintains closest political and economic ties with France on the basis of an Agreement of April 24, 1961, which embraces all important aspects

of cooperation, including military cooperation. A contingent of French armed forces is constantly deployed on the territory of the Republic under the provisions of the Agreement on mutual defence. The Republic also maintains diverse and well-developed ties with the USA, Canada, Britain and the FRG.

In its own region, RCI initiated the formation of a Conseil d'Entente, which also includes Bourkina-Faso, Niger, and Benin and Togo; it is active in the West African Economic Community and was one of the founders of the West-African Development Bank formed in 1973. The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire is a member of West African Economic Alliance set up in 1975 which unites, under the aegis of France, all former French colonies in the region. Since 1963, RCI is a member of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire has diplomatic and trade relations with Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, China and Albania. In 1967 it established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; they were severed unilaterally by the Ivorian side in May 1969 as a result of an anti-Soviet provocation staged by Western secret services. In February 1986, the diplomatic relations between RCI and the Soviet Union were re-established on RCI's initiative.

Yu. FYODOROV

Northern Europe in NATO's Plans

British General Farrar-Hockley, former NATO's Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces, Northern Europe, prophesied one day that if the war in Europe was not won at the northern flank, it would not be won at all. This is perhaps the best indication of the importance the bloc's Northern theatre has in the NATO military-political authorities' aggressive plans.

Not surprisingly, the Northern Europe theatre of operations sprawls over the territories and coastal waters of Norway, Denmark, the West German Land of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Baltic straits zone. Its geography allows NATO to control the sea lanes linking North America and Europe and seal off hostile naval forces in the North, Norwegian and Baltic Seas. The region also opens the shortest air routes from the United States to the Soviet Union's western areas; according to

Western press reports, the flight tracks of intercontinental ballistic missiles and strategic aircraft from the North American continent and the runs of nuclear-tipped cruise missiles stationed in Britain are plotted over this area, too. Nor is the fact that Norway shares a common border nearly 200 kilometres long with the USSR ignored at the NATO headquarters.

The Northern Europe Command is structured organisationally to oversee war preparations under way in its theatre of operations. The Northern Europe Command (Kolsas, Norway) has under its subordination three allied task forces: in North Norway, with the HQ at Bodo; in South Norway, with HQ at Oslo; and at the Baltic approaches, operating from Karup, Denmark. The Allied Armed Forces in the Northern Europe theatre of operations incorporate the armed forces of the

countries within its boundaries. In peacetime, however, only a fraction of the national army, air and naval forces is placed under NATO Command, the remaining forces being under direct orders from NATO only for the period preceding hostilities or during military exercises.

Ground forces are the largest component of the Northern Europe Command. They comprise units and formations of permanent preparedness and local defence forces (territorial troops in West Germany, and Hemvern in Denmark and Norway). The ground forces of countries in the Northern Europe theatre have about 60,000 officers and men, 700 tanks, 800 field guns and mortars, more than 800 anti-tank weapons, and up to 100 army airplanes and helicopters.

The West German army units stationed in Schleswig-Holstein include the 6th Motorised Infantry Division, a special Lance missile battalion, an anti-aircraft missile regiment, and combat support and logistical units, numbering a total of more than 20,000 officers and men, equipped with nearly 300 Leopard and M-48 medium tanks and over 180 field artillery pieces and mortars. Under a mobilisation plan for the Land, the Bundeswehr can deploy another infantry division and put it under NATO control within a few days.

The peace time strength of the Danish ground forces exceeds 18,000 men organised into five motorised infantry brigades, several special battalions and support units having about 250 tanks (Leopards, Centurions and M-41s), 72 self-propelled 155 mm howitzers, and 650 armoured personnel carriers. Estimates offered by foreign military analysts place Denmark's wartime strength at several more infantry brigades, as many as 20 infantry battalions, and seven artillery battalions.

Norway's army consists of a motorised infantry brigade, *North*, special infantry and artillery battalions, and armoured units, equipped with 100 tanks (Leopards and M-48s), 130 self-propelled 155 mm howitzers, and anti-tank weapons. At mobilisation, Norway can raise another 11 infantry brigades and a few combat support units.

The Allied Air Forces in the Northern Europe theatre include the West German air force units and Hawk surface-to-air missile (SAM) units deployed in Schleswig-Holstein, and some Norwegian and Danish air force units. The Allied Air Forces comprises three Commands—North Norway (with the HQ at

Bodo), Southern Norway (Oslo), and the Baltic straits area (Karup). The air force task group totals 16 air squadrons (up to 280 combat aircraft) and five SAM battalions (180 missile launchers).

Naval forces in Northern Europe theatre are assigned a major role in NATO's aggressive plans, in particular, they are to take control over the Baltic, North and Norwegian Seas in the event of war. For this purpose, Allied Naval Forces Commands have been set up at the Baltic approaches, incorporating West German and Danish naval forces and in North and Southern Norway (made up of Norwegian naval forces). In all, the Northern Europe Command has more than 250 warships and motorboats, a large number of auxiliary vessels, a fighter-bombers and land-based patrol aircraft.

The West German Navy (Bundesmarine) is NATO's main striking force in the area. It has a strength of some 38,000 officers and men, equipped with 24 diesel-powered submarines, 7 destroyers, 5 guided missile frigates, 40 missile-carrying boats, and dozens of other warships, organised into four squadrons, a landing-amphibious craft group and a supply ship squadron. The naval air arm (four squadrons organised into an air division) has more than 180 aircraft and helicopters, including Tornado nuclear-carrying fighter-bombers.

The Danish Navy consists of five submarines, 11 frigates, 38 motor-boats, 13 minesweepers, and 16 helicopters. The Norwegian Navy has about 100 warships and auxiliaries, including 5 guided missile frigates, 15 diesel-powered submarines, and 40 missile boats.

Despite this impressive strength in the Northern Europe theatre of operations, the NATO Command plans to boost it significantly by transferring troops from other theatres to Northern Europe. For example, a US 10,000-strong marine brigade is soon to arrive in Norway, where heavy weapons and equipment dumps are under construction in the northern province of Trondelag. Besides, up to four battalions of NATO's mobile forces, a Canadian brigade, a British marine brigade, a British army brigade, up to 14 combat air squadrons, and NATO's Atlantic striking naval units have been earmarked for the Northern Europe theatre of operations.

It will be recalled that, when Denmark and Norway joined NATO, they announced their adherence to the so-called base and nuclear policies, under which these countries undertook to keep nuclear weapons and foreign

troops and bases out of their territories. In legal terms, these policies remain in force to this day. Yet, they are virtually invalidated by NATO's behaviour on Norwegian and Danish territories. Specifically, the building of hundreds of NATO installations and bases, including headquarters and command posts, radar and radio navigation stations incorporated within the NATO system, reconnaissance facilities, and fuel and ammunition dumps for NATO troops due to arrive in the area in "a crisis situation", is clearly a departure from the principles of these policies.

In effect, foreign contingents never leave either Norway or Denmark, engaging in manoeuvres or exercises, or undergoing combat training, and foreign warships keep visiting the two countries' ports, and overflights of their territories by military aircraft are regular occurrences. This is a way for the NATO Command to adjust itself to the possible area of hostilities. Last year, a squadron of US warships led by the battleship *Iowa* entered the Baltic Sea in the course of NATO's Autumn Forge-85 exercises near the shores of some socialist countries.

The Northern countries' growing involvement in NATO's nuclear policies is the most dangerous outcome of their membership of the bloc. There is enough evidence to show their direct and indirect role in the Pentagon's nuclear plans—a number of Lorane-C radio navigation stations, repeatedly reported in the Western press to be used in supporting US submarine operations, have been deployed on their territories. Or another example—both Norway and Denmark are taking part in the airborne warning and control system, AWACS, that is being deployed by NATO to guide first-strike nuclear missiles to their targets. Two AWACS control stations have already been made operational at the air force

bases in Skrydstrup, Denmark, and Erlann, Norway.

The Pentagon and NATO continue to flex their military muscle in the Northern Europe theatre of operations. Four US supply ships, carrying equipment for the 9th Infantry Division, which is part of the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force, have been plying the sea off the Norwegian coast since the spring of 1985. For several years on end, US Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman, has been seeking authorisation for US aircraft carrying task forces to hang around the Norwegian shore as part of the "forward line" offensive strategy. Meanwhile, political and military pressure is being brought to bear on Norway and Denmark to force them to take a greater part in NATO's aggressive preparations.

Norway and Denmark are not the only ones to be pressured by their more powerful NATO allies. Aspiring for worldwide domination, NATO strategists make no bones about their intentions to take other North European countries under their northern wing. The Danish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, for one, commented on the views current in Washington about the need to "step up pressure" on Sweden to compel it to "increase its efforts in the defence field" and, therefore, provide a shield to give Norway and Denmark "a sense of relative security". As for Finland, NATO leaders have for some time been making attempts to sway its policy of good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union.

The growing military activity in the North of Europe points beyond doubt to the NATO leaders' desire to turn Northern Europe theatre of operations into a bridgehead of aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Captain V. KUZAR
USSR Navy

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL DOCUMENTS

The term "international treaty" denotes a juridical (legal) formalisation of the accords reached by the parties—subjects of law. They include states, international organisations, as well as organs representing peoples fighting for their national liberation. Treaties are the main sources of international law because most of the principles and norms regulating interstate relations are elaborated on their basis.

International treaties are one of the most ancient forms used in interstate relations. In 1296 B. C. Pharaoh Ramses II (the Great) and Hittite King Hattusiles III concluded a treaty establishing peace between their countries, formalising a military alliance providing for mutual assistance in case of war with third states and in suppressing internal uprisings, as well as for extradition of deserters. The text of the treaty was written on silver plates, and both copies were countersigned and sealed. The structure of that treaty is in many respects similar to the present-day form: it was composed of the preamble (the introductory portion), the content of the treaty and the concluding portion.

At present, an international treaty consists of a preamble listing the parties to the treaty, setting forth the guiding motives and the underlying goals, the articles, and the concluding part stipulating the term of the treaty, the procedure of its coming into force, the prolongation or the termination and the terms of accession by other states.

There are bilateral or multilateral treaties. The latter category includes such instruments as the Charter of the United Nations, peace treaties of 1947 signed by the victorious countries with the former allies of fascist Germany, the defence Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe signed by the leaders of 35 states has quite a peculiar form. It is distinguished by the accord of the participating parties to hold regular meetings. Some treaties are called *pacts*. For instance, the Charter of the League of Nations was initially called the Pact of the League of Nations.

There exist other categories of bilateral and multilateral instruments besides the treaty.

An *agreement* usually formalises an accord on a specific issue, for instance, on trade, fishing, the establishment of joint-stock companies, air traffic, and so on. However, in some cases an agreement can be no less significant than a treaty. Such is the Soviet-American of 1973 agreement on the aversion of nuclear war.

Some forms of treaty documents are called *conventions*. Mostly they include agreements on some specific legal, economic and other matters such as the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Convention on Maritime Regime on the Danube, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Non-Application of Prescription to War Crimes and the Crimes Against Humanity, and many others. In 1961, a Convention on Diplomatic Relations regulating many aspects of diplomatic activities was concluded in Vienna.

An accord on any specific, relatively restricted matter can be formalised as a *protocol*. It can be a separate document such as the Geneva Protocol on the Prohibition of the Military Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Similar Gases and Bacteriological Means of 1925, or it can be a part of a more general treaty or an agreement as a supplement to them, or a clarification of individual provisions. Protocol can also formalise an accord on the prolongation of a treaty or an agreement.

In some cases an accord between sides on any specific issue, including a matter like the establishment of diplomatic relations, can be formalised by an exchange of letters and notes which are similar in their content. The parties can also regulate some details of a treaty or an agreement. The letters signed by the persons authorised by each side are regarded as part of a treaty or an agreement.

The evolution of international relations has produced other forms of documents which can be justifiably relegated to the category of treaties. In particular, these are bilateral

and multilateral *declarations*. The declaration is a document in which the countries express a concerted position on some international problems and declare the underlying principles of their external and internal policy. Such declarations can be signed, that is, they bear signatures of the participants. However, they can also be approved without signing. Among such documents one can name the Declaration of 26 States signed in Washington on January 1, 1942, which formalised the anti-Hitler coalition and laid the foundation for the future United Nations.

In recent years international practice has produced new forms of treaty documents differing from those which are called "classic". At the USSR-France summit in Paris in October 1971 the participants signed the Principles of Cooperation Between the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of France. In 1972, also at the summit, the participants elaborated the Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. The document stipulates that both sides "will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence". Both sides have undertaken an obligation "to do their utmost to avoid military confrontations and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war".

The Understanding on the Intent of the Parties elaborated in the course of drawing up the Moscow Treaty signed by the USSR and the FRG in 1970 should be also regarded as a treaty document.

There does not exist a strict differentiation between the listed categories of treaty documents. The sides to a treaty have the right to choose the category which seems most appropriate to them. That is why an accord on a minor issue is infrequently formalised in a treaty, while when more important matters are involved the parties sign protocols, exchange letters, notes, and so on. Nonetheless, all treaties can be classified according to the nature of the issues on which they are concluded or, as it is said, on the object of international legal regulation. Thus, there exist treaties and agreements on political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and legal matters.

In the USSR the issues of international legal practice are regulated by the Constitution of the USSR, the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers and the Law on the Procedure of the Conclusion, Observance and Denunciation of the Treaties Concluded by the USSR (1978).

All treaties are prepared in written form. However, there are accords in international practice which are not formalised by written documents. For instance, there are "gentleman's agreements". Bourgeois science proceeds from the assumption that such agreements do not entail formal obligations of the parties because they carry only moral weight. Soviet legal science holds another view: although a "gentleman's agreement" is concluded orally such an agreement should fully correspond to the *Pacta sunt servanda* principle. The 1934 "gentleman's agreement" between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic on mutual support in matters of warning and preventing a threat of a military attack and providing mutual assistance in case of an attack by a third state can serve as an example of such an agreement. In 1936, this agreement was formalised by the Protocol on Mutual Assistance, and in 1946—by the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance.

In bilateral documents the parties infrequently have to resort to an alternate, or the rule under which the text of a treaty is printed in the language of one party and its name, signatures of the authorised persons and the seals are put first. The same order is followed for the text of the other side. In the past the matter of who was the first to sign the treaty gave rise to arguments leading to misunderstanding. As a result, some multilateral treaties were signed in circle. The alternate has removed this sort of arguments. Nowadays, the alphabetical order of the countries is most frequently used in multilateral treaties.

Before the treaty is signed it infrequently passes through the stage of initialling, that is a stage when the authorised persons preliminarily put their initials under the treaty, on each page, as a rule. Although this procedure is not always resorted to it is very important since it actually signifies the final agreement as regards the document.

The signed treaty must be ratified by the supreme legislative body. The need for ratification of international treaties is established legislatively by each state. Besides, it can be provided for in the body of the treaty. The date of entering into force of a bilateral

treaty is usually determined by the time of the exchange of the instruments of ratification. In the case of a multilateral treaty it is determined by the time of depositing such instruments with the depositary state, which is one of the parties to the treaty. However, in some cases the text of a treaty may contain a reservation to the effect that it enters into force upon signing although its ratification is provided for. It may also enter into effect immediately after signing if its ratification is not provided for. All depends on the decision of the contracting parties.

Upon the expiration of a treaty it can be prolonged for a period set by the parties. The procedure of prolongation can be stipulated in the text of the treaty itself. The prolongation can be effected by signing a special protocol, by an exchange of letters and notes or by some other way at the discretion of the contracting parties.

The treaty can be terminated by one of the parties in connection with the expiration of the treaty or due to a lack of desire to prolong it. This is done by way of denouncing the treaty, i. e., by a legitimate act which can be stipulated in it or according to some other procedure stipulated by the parties. It can be also annulled by one of the parties. However, in that case the annulling party must provide weighty reasons for doing this. Among these reasons can be non-observance or a gross violation of the treaty provisions by the other side. The annulment is customarily done in writing.

Some multilateral treaties allow the accession to them by the states other than its signatories. Sometimes the latter are outnumbered by the new participants. For instance, the UN Charter was originally signed by 50 states, Poland excluded, for which a seat had been reserved. At present, the UN membership is 159. Some international conventions are open for signing. The procedure for the accession to the treaties or international organisations (adoption as a member) is specified by the original participants.

The international treaties are registered at international inter-governmental organisations (the secretariats of the UN, the CMEA, the ICAO and others). Only when the treaty is registered by such organisations it is allowed to refer to it in their bodies. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs is entrusted with registering the treaties of the USSR in the UN and other international organisations.

O. ANDREYEV

THE EEC—SEEKING WAYS OF OVERCOMING CONTRADICTIONS

(Continued from page 83)

number of scientific and technological projects within the Common Market are being carried out by different groups of the countries concerned.

It is obvious that this most probable way of the EEC's "flexible" development will run into great difficulties. The worst of them will be the widening gap between the "rich" and "poor" member states, between the "leaders" and the rest, and, according to the French newspaper *Le Monde*, it will lead to a "differentiation of the Community". Moreover, this is a path on which new conflict situations and differences will arise, which only means that the hopes pinned on the new means of stimulating EEC integration are an illusion.

THE SOVIET-AFRICAN SYMPOSIUM

In June 1986, Moscow's Centre for International Trade was the venue of the second Soviet-African scientific and political conference "For Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress". It was attended by prominent statesmen, public figures and scholars from 30 African states, as well as Cuba, the USSR and other socialist countries. P. N. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, opened the conference and gave the floor to Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who delivered his report entitled "The Soviet Union and African Countries: The Struggle for Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress". Also among the rapporteurs were P. Ya. Koshelev, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. V. Starushenko, Deputy Director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and representatives of African countries.

The conference focused on the drive for peace and international security, and regional African problems such as the struggle against racism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Southern Africa. The conference has stressed that countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke are fighting against imperialism to consolidate their independence and social progress, and that their struggle is part and parcel of the world revolutionary process. The imperialists would like to preserve and even tighten their grip in young African states by bringing to naught what these countries have achieved, by exerting military pressure and economic diktat on and supporting reactionary forces in these countries.

That is what the doctrine of neo-globalism boils down to. Shelton Joliker, a prominent public figure of the Seychelles, has said that neo-globalists advocate the status quo and do what they can to perpetuate the seats of tension in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Central America. Moreover, they want to drive a wedge between the developing countries and isolate them from one another. The ultimate goal is to prevent them from vigorously participating in world affairs.

The conference has made a profound analysis of the economic problems facing Africa. The Special Session of the UN General Assembly (May 1986) examined the critical situation in Africa and the difficult problems facing the African continent and outlined a set of measures to overcome them. These concern, above all, the need to find an early solution to the most important and controversial issue—that of the nature of economic assistance to Africa.

The Soviet Union has been expanding cooperation with African countries and continues to render these nations substantial and constantly growing material assistance. Today, P. Ya. Koshelev said, more than 330 projects have been built and commissioned in Africa with Soviet assistance, and there are plans to build another 300 projects in the nearest years. The USSR has concluded inter-governmental agreements on economic and technological cooperation with 37 African nations.

Under these agreements, the Soviet Union has provided training for 30,000 students from African countries, and another 22,000 take courses now. In all, the USSR has trained for African countries more than 450,000 skilled workers and specialists.

The USSR has always maintained that international assistance to Africa, important as it is, could be more efficient in rectifying Africa's critical economic situation if part of the funds currently spent on the arms race were channelled to promoting economic and social progress of the developing world. The 1980s have seen a worsening in the international situation, Seku Kamara of Guinea emphasised. In this context, he went on to say, the need to solve the two interlaced problems facing the world community—those of disarmament and development—has become more urgent than ever before. "There is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these countries and the

more than trillion-sized growth of US military expenditures in the past ten years," says the CPSU CC Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress. "The 200-odd billion dollars that are being annually pumped out of the developing countries and the practically equal size of the US military budget in recent years, are no coincidence." The African, Asian and Latin American countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke, are becoming increasingly aware that the arms race is geared to perpetuating their economic backwardness.

The conferees made an in-depth analysis of the situation in Southern Africa. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, said that in the past two years the anti-racist struggle in South Africa entered a higher, and qualitatively new stage. The dominant classes and state economic institutions they established are no longer able to govern the country in the old way. They are compelled to manoeuvre, resorting to cunning "reforms". Anti-racist struggle in South Africa is merging with the Namibian people's national liberation movement into a unified revolutionary current.

The Soviet Union is confident, it was stressed at the conference, that Namibia and South Africa will be liberated not only due to the operation of the objective laws governing social development, due to the historical inevitability of abolishing colonialism and racism. This confidence also reposes on the tangible results of the processes underway in this region and on the ripening of the preconditions and the subjective factors of the liberation revolution. What is needed is to preclude foreign interference so that people themselves are able to decide their own future.

The participants unanimously noted the high standard of scholarship and the constructive atmosphere of the second Soviet-African conference. They expressed their firm belief that it would promote mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and African countries.

A. DMITRIYEV

THE APARTHEID REGIME AND ITS IMPERIALIST PATRONS

(Continued from page 105)

ments. It is interesting to note that only five countries of the West—Britain, the USA, the FRG, France and Switzerland—account for 90 per cent of all foreign investments in the country.

The support granted by the USA and their allies to South Africa is also explained by the special relations binding the main capitalist powers with the apartheid regime. The doctrine of neoglobalism which the USA is striving to put into practice provides for the application to the African countries such measures as the support given to the internal reactionary forces, the undermining of progressive regimes at all costs and their eventual elimination, the installation at the helm of power of collaborators and puppet regimes, and the suppression of the national liberation movements. In implementing these plans the West makes extensive use of the Pretoria racists, assigning South Africa the role of the policeman in Africa.

STATEMENT MADE BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ON SOVIET TELEVISION

Good evening, dear comrades.

At our meeting today I would like to make a statement on one of the key issues in international politics.

The Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing which the Soviet Union strictly observed for one year expired several days ago, on August 6.

What was the basis for and what prompted this very important, extremely responsible decision which, I would say, was a difficult one for us to make?

In brief, it was based on the realities of the nuclear space age.

What are they? How do we regard them?

Firstly. Mountains of nuclear and various other types of weaponry have been piled up; but the arms race, nonetheless, is not abating, but gaining speed. There has emerged the threat of its transfer into outer space. The militarisation of the United States and the entire NATO bloc is being carried out at high speed.

It is important to stress that the pace of the development of military technology is so high that it leaves ever less time for peoples, states and politicians to become aware of the real danger, and limits mankind's ability to stop the slide towards the nuclear abyss. No delay is permissible. Otherwise, there will emerge such sophisticated arms systems that agreement on their control will be altogether impossible.

The situation is becoming ever more intolerable. Today, it is not enough to preserve the existing treaties. Major practical steps capable of curbing militarism and reversing the course of developments for the better are required. The "balance of terror" is ceasing to be a deterring factor.

This is not only because fear and reason do not go together and because fear could bring about actions with unpredictable consequences. This fear is a direct collaborator in the arms race: by enhancing mistrust and suspicion, it creates a vicious circle of heightened tension. There are many examples.

It is now clear, as clear can be, that the old notions of war as a means of attaining political objectives have become outdated. In the nuclear age, these obsolete tenets feed the policy that may result in a worldwide conflagration.

Secondly. Our moratorium decision was based on the adherence of socialism as a social system to the cause of peace, and on the profound understanding of its responsibility for the fate of civilisation. The Soviet Union, as a socialist state and nuclear power, regards it as its supreme duty to do everything possible to save the peaceful future of the planet.

Our efforts directed at ensuring that international development proceed under conditions of detente accord with our philosophy, our socialist mora-

lity. In the nuclear age, saving the Earth from atomic annihilation is a universal human task, the cause of all peoples.

Thirdly. The present-day world is complicated, diverse and controversial. At the same time, it is becoming, objectively, ever more interdependent and integral. This peculiarity of the human community at the end of the 20th century cannot be disregarded in foreign policy if it is founded on reality. Otherwise, there will be no normal international relations, they will be doomed to instability and, ultimately, to catastrophic confrontation.

Pre-nuclear thinking in fact lost its significance on August 6, 1945. Today, it is impossible to ensure one's own security without taking into account the security of other states and peoples. There can be no genuine security unless it is equal for all and comprehensive. Thinking otherwise means living in a world of illusions, in a world of self-deception.

The new way of thinking, required by the present-day world, is incompatible with the notion that the globe is someone's domain, or with attempts to patronize others and instruct them on how to behave and what path to choose — socialist, capitalist or some other.

The Soviet Union believes that each people, each country has the right to be master of its own destiny, its resources, to independently determine its social development, uphold its own security and participate in the organisation of a comprehensive international security system.

The aggravation of global problems is also characteristic of today's world. But they cannot be resolved without pooling the efforts of all states and peoples. The exploration of outer space and the ocean depths, ecology and epidemics, poverty and backwardness are the realities of the age which demand international attention, international responsibility and international cooperation.

Many new world processes are thus tied into a tight knot. Disarmament could play an immense role in untangling that knot by releasing considerable funds, intellectual and technical potential for constructive purposes.

Our foreign policy draws inspiration from the fact that people, political and public forces of diverse orientation and outlook around the world become ever more convinced that the very existence of the human race is at stake, and that the time for resolute and responsible actions has come. This conviction calls for the utmost mobilisation of reason and common sense.

Two tragedies, involving nuclear-space age technology, occurred recently: the death of the Challenger crew and the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power plant. They aggravated anxiety in the world, and were a brutal reminder of the fact that people are just beginning to master the fantastically potent forces they have themselves awoken and are only learning to make them serve progress. These events were a vivid lesson of what would happen should nuclear weapons be used.

Everyone, statesmen above all, should draw concrete and clear conclusions from that. Probably the main lesson is that weapons devised by man should never be used and that today it is simply suicidal to build interstate relations based on the illusion that superiority can be attained through terrible means of destruction.

Fully eliminating them is the only path towards genuine peace. Embarking on this path means passing the test of historical maturity. This applies to all political leaders who have come to be entrusted with this lofty humane mission.

One has to learn to face the facts with courage: experts have estimated that the explosion of the smallest nuclear warhead is equal in radioactivity to three Chernobyls. Most likely this is true. If that is so, the explosion of even a small part of the existing nuclear arsenal will become a catastrophe, an irreversible catastrophe. And if someone still dares make a first nuclear strike, he will doom himself to agonising death — not even from a retaliatory strike, from the consequences of the explosion of his own warheads.

This is neither propaganda, nor political improvisation, nor intensifying of "fears". This is reality. It is simply irresponsible to reject it, and criminal to disregard it.

An objective and honest analysis of all these realities prompts other approaches to world politics. They underlie the principled conclusions we have drawn recently, especially at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Soviet foreign policy, including disarmament issues, is based on the understanding of the profound changes in the world.

We believe that the Soviet proposals of January 15, 1986 on eliminating nuclear weapons worldwide by the year 2000 fully meet the demands of the times.

We have displayed readiness to search for a compromise solution to the problems that are causing debate and suspicion.

The Soviet Union has offered a package of constructive proposals at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments.

Jointly with our Warsaw Treaty allies, we have submitted a package of measures for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In this sphere too we want advancement — mutual and consistent — towards lower and less dangerous levels of military confrontation.

New proposals on chemical weapons have been made which, in our view, make it possible to sign either this year or next a convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles, and the industrial base for their production.

At the Stockholm conference, the socialist countries, constructively cooperating with the other participants, have done a great deal to find solutions to such key issues as non-use of force, notification about military exercises and troop movement, exchange of annual plans of military activities, invitation of observers, and verification.

We have advanced a broad platform for ensuring security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region, and we invite all to participate in this process.

We have displayed initiative to cooperate with all states concerned for establishing international safeguards for the development of nuclear power engineering.

We recently submitted to the United Nations, as an alternative to the "star wars" programme, a programme of building "star peace", of establishing a world space organisation.

The 27th CPSU Congress formulated the foundations of a comprehensive international security system which is the most generalised expression of our new approaches to foreign policy. Recently, a group of socialist countries submitted the issue of establishing such a system to the regular session of the UN General Assembly for consideration.

At the same time, I want to stress that we understand that, no matter how important and significant our proposals might be and how committed we are to them, we will not be able to achieve all that on our own. The problem of international security is a common problem and, therefore, a common concern and a common responsibility.

When working out our proposals, we study and take into account the points of view and initiatives of other governments, public and political movements. We are very careful about providing for the equal security of all at each stage of the implementation of the proposals. And still, we by no means regard them as final, as no longer subject to discussion. The way out of the deadlocks of confrontation lies through dialogues and contacts, discussions and talks. This is the only method of thawing the ice of mutual mistrust and achieving practical results.

This also determines our attitude to the problem of control during the solution of all disarmament problems. For example, when we put forward our proposal on the discontinuation of any nuclear blasts we said that we had no

objections to international control. Our consent to the installation of American monitoring devices in the area of Semipalatinsk is convincing proof of this. It would seem that the problem of control has ceased to be an obstacle to reaching agreements. However, it continues to be persistently used with a view to concealing the true stance — the unwillingness to disarm.

People of goodwill welcomed our decision concerning the moratorium on nuclear explosions. We heard words of approval and support from all parts of the world. Politicians and parliamentarians, public figures and mass organisations regarded this step as an example of the correct approach to the present-day problems and as hope for scrapping the fear of a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet moratorium was approved by the UN General Assembly which is the world's most representative assembly of countries.

We were supported by outstanding scientists — physicists and medics — who understand the danger of the atom better than anyone else. I saw for myself at the recent meeting with scientists in Moscow that our moratorium inspired scientific workers from various countries to vigorous action.

However, all these obvious and encouraging manifestations of a new way of thinking are coming up against the militarisation of political thinking, primarily in the United States. The political mentality of the Western ruling circles is dangerously lagging behind the process of profound transformations in international life, while advances in science and technology rapidly outpace social and moral progress.

The right-wing militaristic grouping in the USA which represents the powerful military-industrial complex is just crazy about the arms race. Its interest in it seems to be three-fold: it seeks to prevent the flow of profits coming from arms manufacturing from ebbing, to secure military superiority for the USA, to try and exhaust the Soviet Union economically and to weaken it politically, and, in the long run, to ensure for the USA key positions in the world, to realise long-sought imperial ambitions and to further pursue a policy of plunder with regard to developing countries.

Hence the foreign policy, which with all its intricacies and verbal camouflage continues to be based on the following dangerous delusions: underestimation of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and newly free states, as well as the overestimation of its own potentialities that nourishes technological self-confidence and political permissiveness.

Some American politicians regard our participation in the talks as the result of the growth of US military might and the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Basing its policy on such erroneous premises, the US Administration cannot embark on the road of honest agreements, of improving the international climate. And yet it will have to consider the realities. They cannot be avoided.

As to our proposals, I repeat that they stem from the realities of the world of today, that they are prompted by the awareness of the lofty responsibility for the fate of humanity, not by weakness.

Such is the situation at the moment.

On the one hand, our moratorium is in effect. Our large-scale compromise proposals have been announced and placed on the negotiating table at various forums. The onslaught of the peace forces has increased considerably. Greater attention has been given to the problems of international security by political quarters, including official circles, concerned over the seriousness of the situation.

On the other hand, we are faced with the refusal to stop nuclear testing, with stubborn resistance to peace initiatives, ostentatious disregard for the demands of the public and for the opinion of many authoritative parties and organisations. They even ignore the concern of their own allies and their own people.

This is the state of affairs that faces us, the Soviet leaders, at the time of our moratorium's expiration.

What is to be done? What choice is to be made? What decision will be the most correct one, best suiting the situation? What decision will best promote positive processes, lower the threat of military confrontation?

Our people resolutely support the foreign policy of the CPSU, of the Soviet state, insistently demand that the foreign policy course of the 27th Party Congress be continued. At the same time, a troubled note justifiably sounds in the letters and comments of Soviet people: is it expedient to preserve the moratorium when nuclear explosions reverberate throughout the Nevada desert one after another? Is not the risk too great? Is not the security of our country lessening with time?

Indeed, the United States for 40 years has held the record for the number of explosions. It set off another 18 nuclear devices over the one-year period the Soviet moratorium was in effect. I repeat: 18, and three of them were not announced. Moreover, as a rule, this was done demonstratively. The explosions were timed to correspond with Soviet statements on extending the moratorium, or to some new Soviet initiative. And we were even invited to Nevada to watch it all happen. It should hence be added that the present US Administration is implementing the broadest of military programmes.

In a word, the Soviet Union has sufficient reasons for resuming its nuclear testing. And yet we are convinced even now that the ending of nuclear tests not only by the Soviet Union but also by the United States would be a real breakthrough in arresting the nuclear arms race, would speed up the elimination of nuclear arms. The logic here is simple: if there are no tests, the nuclear weapons which both sides have stockpiled in abundance will not be upgraded.

The same viewpoint is evident in the appeals to the United States and the Soviet Union by a considerable and authoritative part of the world community. It includes the Delhi Six, the permanently operating forum of leaders of countries in the four continents — Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. Recently in Ixtapa they adopted the Mexican Declaration which calls again for an end to all nuclear explosions. Such is also the demand of the majority of the countries participating in the non-aligned movement.

We have received messages from politicians and public figures, from individuals and organisations in many countries, including the United States and other NATO members. They, too, ask us not to resume nuclear testing, to give those who insist on nuclear explosions one more chance to see reason.

We are certainly aware, and I have spoken about that already, that the forces which have no wish to disarm are very active in the USA. Moreover, they are doing everything to involve us in ever new spirals of the arms race, to provoke us into slamming the door at the talks.

But we would like to hope that realism and the awareness of the necessity of joint search for ways to improve the international situation, to end the senseless arms race, to eliminate nuclear weapons will prevail in US assessments and actions.

At the same time, we know with whom we are dealing. Therefore the security of our country is sacred to us. This must be clear to all. This is a matter of principle.

We proceed from this, responding to any challenge from the United States, including the infamous SDI. In this, too, it would be wrong to hope to intimidate us or force us to make needless expenditures. If need be, we shall come up with a prompt response, and it will not be what the United States expects. But it will be an answer that will depreciate the Star War programme. I am saying that with one aim: let the US Administration again and again weigh the real value of the new military programmes and of the arms race as a whole from the viewpoint of the interests of the USA and its security. For, as a matter of fact, SDI does the most harm by undermining the prospects for talks, broadens the zone of mistrust. Herein lies the whole problem. It is

no less political than a military one. Therefore, we again call for advancing from a world filled to the brim with weapons to a world without weapons.

Thus, comrades, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the government of the Soviet Union have comprehensively and scrupulously weighed all the pros and cons, and, guided by responsibility for the fate of the world, have decided to **extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till January 1, 1987.**

In taking this step, we believe that people in all countries of the world, political quarters and the international community will correctly evaluate the long silence on the Soviet nuclear test ranges.

On behalf of the Soviet people, I am appealing to the wisdom and dignity of the Americans not to miss another historic chance on the path towards ending the arms race.

I am asking US President Ronald Reagan to evaluate once again without bias the situation which has taken shape, to discard everything extraneous, cast off delusions about the Soviet Union and its foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is confident that agreements on ending nuclear tests can be reached speedily and signed **this very year at the Soviet-American summit meeting.** That event would, undoubtedly, become **the main real outcome of the meeting,** a considerable step towards ending the arms race. It would be a kind of prologue to further progress at the talks on nuclear arms and on their elimination, to a radical improvement of the whole situation in the world.

Because it is an action and not just a proposal, the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear blasts proves indeed the seriousness and sincerity of our nuclear disarmament programme, of our calls for a new policy — that of realism, peace and cooperation.

More than half of 1986, which was declared the Year of Peace by the United Nations, is gone. By extending its unilateral moratorium, the Soviet Union is making another weighty contribution to the common striving to ensure that this year becomes worthy of its name.

This is the essence of the Soviet Union's new political initiative.

This is the message which our country is sending to the governments and peoples of all countries, above all to the government of the United States of America and the American people.

Thank you. Goodbye.

(*Pravda*, Aug. 19. In full.)

27TH CPSU CONGRESS ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY MAIN DIRECTIONS

Professor Shalva S A N A K O Y E V,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

The 27th CPSU Congress again conclusively demonstrated to the world's peoples the greatness of the Leninist peace-loving policy and the fact that it constantly aims at peaceful development and international cooperation. The significance of the Congress's historic decisions and documents, including those in the area of foreign policy, extends far beyond our country for the Congress made a comprehensive analysis of the key questions of international relations and world politics which affect the vital interests of all peoples.

The truly world-wide impact of the 27th Congress's foreign policy decisions is quite natural. The Soviet Union is a great socialist power that has enormous economic, military and political potential. Along with its socialist allies, it staunchly and consistently upholds peace and international security, and puts its entire might against international imperialist reaction, which is nurturing wild plans for dealing a "first nuclear strike", preparing for "star wars", etc. Hence the USSR's special role in preserving peace and life on Earth and ensuring humanity's progressive development in conditions of increasing danger of a thermo-nuclear war.

I

Foreign policy of existing socialism has very many aspects. It is based on numerous social, political, economic, ideological, and geographical factors, and on historical traditions, and takes account of each specific stage of world development. The Soviet Union has diplomatic ties with over 130 states, and is an active member of all the main international organisations. This country's foreign policy takes into consideration the sum total of these factors and tendencies, which makes it possible correctly to formulate not only the basic principles of our relations with other states or groups of states and the priorities in their development, but also to single out the principal issues of world politics, whose solution or nonsolution determines the state of international affairs and which by themselves largely determine the most important directions in the CPSU and the Soviet state's international activities.

"We are living in a world of realities," Mikhail Gorbachev said in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, "and are building our international policy in keeping with the

specific features of the present phase of international development. A creative analysis of this phase and vision of prospects have led us to a conclusion that is highly significant. Now, as never before, it is important to find ways for closer and more productive cooperation with governments, parties, and mass organisations and movements that are genuinely concerned about the destinies of peace on Earth, with all peoples in order to build an all-embracing system of international security."¹

The main direction in the foreign policy activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state has always been opposition to the nuclear danger and the arms race, and the maintenance and strengthening of universal peace. This ensues from the very nature of socialism, the Leninist peace-loving policy, and the desire to give the Soviet people the possibility to work in peace and freedom. In our nuclear age each state's security is inseparably linked with international security, which is why the Soviet Union and other socialist countries spare no efforts to ensure that relations between states with opposite social systems are built on the just and humane principles of peaceful coexistence.

From the very outset the Soviet Union has done everything in its power to realise this task of significance for all humanity. Today, socialism is the decisive force of peace and progress on our planet; it is no exaggeration to say that the pivot of world politics has long been the package of constructive and sweeping initiatives of the USSR and the other fraternal countries on the key questions of war and peace, curbing the arms race, and the creation of an all-embracing international security system. Foreign policy actions are naturally tested in the practice of international relations, and the fact that the peoples have been living in peace for over four decades is a testimony to the effectiveness of Soviet foreign policy.

It is also significant that the governments of Western states have virtually "handed over" completely to the socialist countries, and to their own peoples as well, the fight to preserve peace and prevent new world cataclysms. The ruling elite of the capitalist countries is concentrating its efforts and resources on preparing for a nuclear war and a runaway nuclear and conventional arms race. As a matter of fact, the foreign policy of the USA and other leading NATO countries pursues one and the same aim of changing the correlation of military and strategic forces in their favour so as to be able to dictate to other states and peoples and try to halt or slow down the course of historical development. It is obvious that this approach is illusory and futile.

"Capitalism," says the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, "regarded the birth of socialism as an 'error' of history which must be 'rectified'. It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and 'punishments', or rejection of all cooperation. But nothing could interfere with the consolidation of the new system and its historical right to live."²

Capitalism now has to deal with a world system of socialism, which has a determinant influence on the entire course of social development. History itself has entrusted socialism with the mission of saving humanity from a nuclear catastrophe. As a weighty contribution to this objective, the 27th Congress advanced specific constructive proposals for a reliable international security system and reconfirmed the defen-

¹ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

sive character of the Soviet military doctrine, which, the Congress Resolution points out, "stems from the fact that the USSR is a strong opponent of nuclear war in any of its variants."³

That is precisely why the Congress defined as the central direction of Soviet foreign policy the realisation of the programme to eliminate mass destruction weapons and avert the war danger advanced on 15 January 1986 by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "Fulfilment of this programme, which is epoch-making in its scope and significance," the Congress Resolution underscores, "would open for humanity a fundamentally new period of development, the possibility of concentrating on constructive work alone."⁴

II

Relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation with the world socialist community is a main, priority direction of Soviet foreign policy. The USSR and the other fraternal socialist states are united by a common socio-economic system, a single ideology—Marxism-Leninism, and a common goal—the building of socialism and communism.

"The countries belonging to the community—member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—are united by common fundamental interests and aims and by ties of extensive multifaceted cooperation and coordinate their actions in international affairs," says the CPSU Programme. "History does not know such a community of countries in which no one country has or can have special rights and privileges, in which international relations have really become relations between peoples, and in which fruitful ties at various levels have taken shape and are developing from the highest level of party and state leadership to work collectives. The community multiplies the strength of the fraternal states in the building of socialism and helps reliably to ensure their security."⁵

The relations between these countries have objectively become a factor which safeguards the peoples' revolutionary gains, strengthens the states' national independence and sovereignty, and levels up their economic development, all of which guarantees their actual equality and at the same time speeds up their all-round cooperation on a bilateral basis as well as within the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the CMEA.

The fraternal cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries and its development in every sphere of social life—economic, political, military, cultural, ideological—has made the world socialist community an indestructible outpost of peace and social progress. All attempts by imperialist reaction to fan nationalism, undermine the socialist system in individual countries, create and make mileage out of crises there, and range the fraternal states against the Soviet Union have invariably met with complete failure.

Nowadays even our class enemies are convinced that the unity and cohesion of the socialist community is indestructible; the West has been forced not only to accept the fact of the existence of a socialist system in Eastern and Central Europe, but also, though indirectly, to recognise that it is strong and able, together with the Soviet Union, to ensure steady advance towards the set goal. Western politicians and ideologues

³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁵ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, pp. 13-14.

are gradually realising the obvious truth that any action aimed to undermine or "erode" the political regime and restore old orders in any Warsaw Treaty country will fail. Furthermore, imperialism has less and less illusions on this score as regards those socialist states which are not a part of the socialist community because they differ with it on a number of political and ideological questions. The great strength of existing socialism and its powerful impact on international development have long gone beyond territorial borders and are a stabilising factor in both the world socialist system and the world as a whole.

Washington's ruling circles are vigilant in their efforts to ensure that no new seat of revolution emerges anywhere in the world, and use all means to prevent changes which the West finds objectionable. But it is also a fact that while claiming to defend and save the old order from revolutionary upheavals, the US monopolistic bourgeoisie is actually trying to implement the long-held idea of establishing its domination over the non-socialist world. That means, in fact, spreading the American variant of colonial domination not only to the developing countries but to the NATO allies as well.

As part and parcel of this insane idea, Washington is elaborating "new" foreign policy concepts meant to substantiate "scientifically" the imperial actions of the American monopolistic bourgeoisie. A good example is the concept of "neoglobalism", which goes hand in glove with anti-communism and the export of counter-revolution. *The New York Times* defines this concept in this way: "The United States should intervene in wars in third world countries whenever there is chance to fight Soviet or Marxist influence. It should do so all around the world, without regard to particular local conditions. Constraints on American power, too, must yield to the ideological imperative".⁶

The question arises as to what is new in this "new global approach" of American imperialism. Absolutely nothing! It is, as before, the striving of the US ruling quarters to block humanity's further progressive development at all costs under the pretext of combating the "threat" of world communism.

The US and NATO ruling elite has no objection to speaking about the social status quo and the need to "perpetuate" the present situation in the world. If one clears away the purely propaganda aspects of Western policy, the impression is that they have long given up hope of changing the alignment of class and political forces in their favour, of returning to the old order, of restoring imperialism's monopoly position internationally. In our time such crazy objectives and strivings entail the enormous risk of self-destruction, which is why these "new" approaches have appeared, which call for force of arms to be used to reinforce the social status quo, i. e. to "protect" the entire non-socialist world from the influence of the ideals of communism, to guard it against revolutionary upheavals, and to put brakes on its social progress. These approaches lose sight of a very important "detail": both capitalism and socialism are located on the same planet, not on different ones; they are an integral part of world civilisation, which develops according to the objective laws of historical development. And no one can change those laws.

Socialism is the high road for all humanity; its impact on world events is steadily growing. And that is now acknowledged by all who cherish peace, life and progress on Earth.

Existing socialism is equal to the tasks set for it by history. "The socialist community," says the CPSU Programme, "is the most authori-

⁶ See *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1985.

tative force of our time and without it no issue in world politics can be solved; it is a firm bulwark of peace on Earth, the most consistent champion of sound, peaceful, democratic principles in international relations, the main force opposing imperialist reaction."⁷

III

Our country's relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have always been a main direction of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state. These relations go back in time. At every stage of the national liberation movement the world's first socialist state always took the side of the peoples fighting against imperialist diktat and for their independence. The Soviet Union's moral and political support and the example of how it tackled the national question played a decisive role in awakening the peoples of the East to rise up in resolute struggle against the colonial yoke.

Following the break-up of the colonial system, the emergent states embarked on the road of sovereign development. This was the beginning of a new period in the history of the peoples of the East, a period of overcoming the consequences of imperialism's long colonial domination. This stage saw a step up in the young states' anti-imperialist struggle to consolidate their national independence and achieve social progress, a struggle which is part and parcel of the world revolutionary process. In these conditions the assistance and political support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were of particular significance for the liberated peoples.

It should be borne in mind that for all the similarity of their problems the young national states differ in levels of socio-economic development, culture, extent of national homogeneity, etc. Neither are their political regimes identical. Some states have taken the capitalist road, many have not yet made a final choice, and still others have chosen a non-capitalist path of development, a path of socialist orientation. As the CPSU Programme points out, the experience of this last-mentioned group "confirms that in present-day conditions, with the existing world alignment of forces, the formerly enslaved peoples have greater possibilities for rejecting capitalism and for building their future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of immense historic importance."⁸

Our relations with this group of countries naturally rest on a fundamentally new base, one of fraternal solidarity and all-round material and political support for their efforts to champion their national interests on the world scene and preserve their peoples' revolutionary gains. In their fight against imperialism they rely on the community of socialist states. The USSR has treaty based relations, including treaties of friendship and cooperation, with a number of countries of socialist orientation.

As to the countries that have chosen the capitalist road, our relations with them are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, the Soviet Union has always taken their side in their struggle to consolidate their sovereignty and independence and in their opposition to the imperialist policy of neocolonialism. Of tremendous importance in bolstering these countries' economic independence is the disinterested aid of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the

⁷ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

construction of modern enterprises in a number of economic sectors, and in the training of highly-qualified personnel.

This close link between the socialist and the developing states naturally worries the Western ruling circles, which understand very well that in the so-called Third World class stratification is taking place and the struggle continues between the forces of progress and reaction, and that these countries are torn apart by class and social contradictions which are being aggravated many times over by the general crisis of capitalism and are heightened by the stranglehold of the imperialist monopolies. The situation in many of these countries remains unstable and explosive, and at any moment outbursts and changes not to the liking of imperialism could occur, and indeed are occurring, there.

In this situation, international imperialism sees as the solution to hold on tenaciously to the essentially neocolonial system which it is imposing, and to a certain extent has already imposed, on many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a system which not only curbs the latter's socio-economic development but also takes them back to the colonial past.

By making effective use of the huge indebtedness of some emergent states, neocolonialism is able to prevent progressive transformation there and slow down the restructuring of world economic relations on an equal and fair basis, thereby making it more difficult to resolve the problems facing all the developing countries.

"The CPSU", our party Programme says, "supports the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for the restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new economic order, and for the deliverance from the burden of debt imposed by the imperialists... The interaction of those countries with socialist states is vastly important for strengthening the independence of the peoples, improving international relations and preserving peace."⁹

IV

From the very outset of the Soviet state, Lenin and our party attached paramount importance to normal business and political contacts with countries of the capitalist world, countering the hostility that often developed into open counter-revolutionary and interventionist actions by the enemies of the revolution at home and abroad with the only rational policy—that of peace and international cooperation, that of peaceful coexistence.

The history of post-October international relations has proved that the Leninist doctrine of peaceful coexistence is a correct and vital one. It was engendered by the international situation itself which had taken shape around the parallel existence of two different socio-economic systems—socialism and capitalism. That is why peaceful coexistence has become an effective factor in world politics which constantly operates in historical terms.

First, the policy of peaceful coexistence helped to "school" states of the two systems in business, political and cultural contacts, despite imperialist reaction's desperate opposition; second, though long not recognised by the West, peaceful coexistence played a truly historic role

in preventing the spread of fascism and its misanthropic ideology and policy throughout the capitalist world. The creation of the anti-Hitler coalition during the Second World War and the joint struggle of the USSR and the capitalist states allied to it led to victory over Nazism and thereby saved humanity from fascist slavery.

Our party has always attached great importance to scientific elaboration of the problems of peaceful coexistence, problems which are far from simple and whose solution demands rejection of all stereotypes and constant creative search. The entire history of peaceful coexistence is essentially a history of the efforts of the Soviet Union, and then of the other fraternal countries, to stabilise the international situation and develop normal relations between the socialist and capitalist states. The facts show that the West has always "manoeuvred" in relation to peaceful coexistence and that its stance has evolved substantially over the almost 70 years from resolute rejection of the principles of peaceful coexistence to recognition of them as the basis for relations with socialist countries and for the conclusion of relevant agreements.

The teaching on peaceful coexistence and its practical application in interstate relations developed as existing socialism gained in strength and as the international authority and economic and defence might of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community increased. When the Soviet state was being formed and strengthened, peaceful coexistence was mainly confined to the USSR's trade ties with some capitalist countries. At that time the West did not even want to hear about peaceful coexistence. For a long time imperialist reaction continued to plan to restore capitalism in Russia, to get rid of the "Bolshevik contagion".

The alliance of Western countries—Britain, the USA, France and others—with the Soviet state in the war against German fascism changed much in the West's approach to the world of socialism. Our class opponents could not brush aside the historical mission that had befallen this country and our armed forces. But at the same time in the post-war period the ruling quarters of the USA, Britain and other imperialist states tried to weaken and neutralise the USSR's growing impact on world events by opposing our policy of peaceful coexistence with a cold war policy, a policy of confrontation which poisoned the international climate for many years. It is clear to every rational person that such a foreign policy was unnatural for modern international relations and contradicted the objective process of historical development in the context of the growing scientific and technical revolution, which was having a direct impact on the entire course of world affairs.

That is why the failure of the cold war policy and the transition to detente, to peaceful coexistence in the early 1970s was a fresh triumph of the Leninist policy of peace and international cooperation, a victory of reason over the insanity of imperialist reaction, which is pushing the world to the abyss of a nuclear war. The West's recognition of peaceful coexistence is now enshrined in a number of bilateral and multilateral documents, including the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and Soviet-American and Soviet-French agreements.

However, it is one thing to recognise and it is another consistently to adhere to the letter and spirit of signed agreements. It needs to be borne in mind that there are political forces in the West that constantly attempt to distort the goals and meaning of peaceful coexistence. The US and NATO ruling circles want at all costs to apply peaceful coexistence to the sphere of the ideological struggle as well, and to make it serve their self-seeking objectives, interpreting it in such a way as would be tantamount to recognising the social status quo.

But peaceful coexistence only applies to interstate relations in a

world divided into two systems, and is not at all an ideological factor. Of course, that does not mean that the policy of peaceful coexistence is devoid of a class character. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that politics is the relations between classes. Peaceful coexistence is a graphic example of how the interests of the dominant classes of the states in the two social and political systems come into contact in politics but compromise is only possible in politics and diplomacy but not in the field of ideology.

That is why the attempts to "apply" the principles of peaceful coexistence to the ideological struggle on the world scene is nothing but a continuation of "ideologising" US and NATO policies, replacement of politics and diplomacy by an ideological and purely class approach to present-day international relations, including such key issues as curbing the arms race and prevention of a nuclear holocaust. This approach naturally does nothing to improve interstate relations; on the contrary, it blocks the peaceful resolution, through negotiations, of the pressing problems of the day.

V

The CPSU's 27th Congress paid great attention to the development of business and political cooperation with capitalist countries, emphasising that the historical dispute between the two opposite social systems can and must be decided peacefully. "Socialism," the CPSU Programme says, "proves its superiority not by force of arms, but by force of example in every area of the life of society—by the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture, by an improvement in the living standards of working people, and by a deepening of socialist democracy..."¹⁰

It is on the basis of this fundamental Marxist-Leninist proposition that our party determines its foreign policy. The USSR's relations with capitalist states rest on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The CPSU and the Soviet state are convinced that there is no rational alternative to peaceful coexistence, to the policy of detente, at the present stage of historical development.

The Congress documents develop the teaching on peaceful coexistence taking account of the situation in the world today, the political realities of our time, and the level of socio-economic and political development of human society. The CPSU Programme defines the policy of peaceful coexistence in this way: "...renunciation of war and the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputed issues, and the settlement of such issues through negotiations; non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the legitimate interests of each other; the right of the peoples independently to decide their destinies; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit; fulfilment in good faith of commitments arising from generally recognised principles and norms of international law and from international treaties concluded..."¹¹

As we see, this definition stresses what peaceful coexistence demands of relations between the states of the two systems, in effect summarising the norms of behaviour of each state in the world community.

At the same time one cannot speak of peaceful coexistence in general irrespective of the relations between some capitalist and socialist countries and without analysing the political course of this or that state and comparing it with the principles and norms of modern international law.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

As regards the Soviet Union, it builds its relations with each capitalist state in strict accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, and therefore with those of international law. But in relations with individual capitalist states we take into consideration the most varied factors, including territorial proximity, naturally paying special attention to strengthening friendly relations with neighbouring states. "Naturally, like any other country," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee stated, "we attach considerable importance to the security of our frontiers, on land and at sea. We have many neighbours, and they are different. We have no territorial claims on any of them. We threaten none of them."¹² Of course, we also take account of the historically established traditions between our country and individual Western states.

It is also quite natural that the USSR and other socialist states attach great importance to European affairs, to strengthening European security, and developing and improving business, scientific and technological, and cultural contacts, and good neighbourly relations between the states on our continent. Europe is our common home, and it should be filled with agreement and mutual understanding. There is good reason why our party's 27th Congress included relations with European states among the main directions of the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state.

It was in Europe that the process of detente began, an important role in that being played by Soviet-French relations and the agreements between the two countries, which rested on the principles of peaceful coexistence; the FRG's treaties with socialist countries, establishing the inviolability of the postwar borders, and by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which formalised the postwar territorial and political realities and reaffirmed the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with opposite systems.

There are many examples of West European countries with which the Soviet Union has good-neighbourly relations that are an embodiment of the principles and norms of peaceful coexistence. Such relations are equally beneficial for our Western partners in economic, scientific and technological, and cultural terms. What is more, it is no secret that the truly equal relations that many Western countries have with the Soviet Union and other socialist states are also an important political factor moderating the diktat of their US ally, which, in its zeal for world domination, disregards the state sovereignty, national independence and distinctive culture of West European states. In a word, peaceful coexistence has long taken root in European relations, and that has a substantial impact on world development as a whole.

Detente has struck deep roots in Europe. And American imperialism's attempt to undermine and reverse this process has encountered broad and powerful public opposition there. The huge movement against NATO's "additional armament" plans and against the insane "star wars" programme takes a definite anti-American direction.

The Soviet Union always seeks to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust and peaceful cooperation in Europe, a process begun on its initiative and in which it has taken an active part, develops, deepens, and spreads throughout the world. This country works tirelessly to get all interested states to pool their efforts to assure security in Asia and to make Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the Pacific and Indian oceans zones of peace and good-neighbourliness. "The Asian-Pacific direction of Soviet foreign policy," Mikhail Gorbachev underscored in his speech in Vladivostok, "is a component of the general platform of

¹² *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 88.

the CPSU's international activities, which was worked out by the April Plenary Meeting and the 27th Party Congress."

The Soviet Union has been developing equal and good-neighbourly relations with states of those regions, proceeding from the premise that business, political and cultural cooperation with states of another social system, be they small, medium-sized or large, makes an invaluable contribution to peace and universal security, and to improvement of the international climate.

The main obstacle to this is US imperialism, which, the CPSU Programme stresses, is the primary source of "the threat of war... Claiming world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents to be zones of its 'vital interests'. The US policy of hegemony, the imposition of its will and unequal relations on other states, support for repressive anti-popular regimes and discrimination against countries that do not suit the United States, disorganises inter-state economic and political relations and prevents their normal development."¹³

VI

The political climate in the world is largely determined by Soviet-American relations. The USSR and the USA are the most powerful states economically and militarily, and for that reason the possibility of removing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe depends to a considerable extent on them. Speaking on the role and place of the USSR and the USA in international relations, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The enormous role played by both the Soviet Union and the United States naturally means that their political leaders bear an enormous responsibility."¹⁴

However, when considering the international situation it is necessary to make an objective assessment of the position of the two great powers, of their relations and their role and place in the modern world. The simplistic approach characteristic of the ideologues of imperialism, especially American imperialism, is inadmissible here. As a rule, they look at all international problems through the prism of Soviet-American relations, and such an approach does not facilitate a correct and objective assessment either of the overall situation in world affairs or of the foreign policy of individual countries. This approach does not reflect the essence of the complex and many-sided interstate relations in today's world.

It is not difficult to understand why imperialist propaganda, and the US ruling circles as well, so zealously support the "two superpowers" concept and constantly speak of the "decisive role" which their relations play in present-day world politics. First, this concept suits the US ruling quarters, which aim at world domination and have taken it upon themselves to "save" capitalism from the "communist threat"; second, this concept is an attempt by US ideologues and politicians to impose on other countries and the world public the falsehood about the two great powers' equal responsibility for the deteriorated international situation and the arms race.

In all probability Washington hopes that by using these propaganda ploys it will keep the world's peoples in a state of unabating apprehension and fear, at the same time it artificially heightens and constantly maintains tension between the two great powers and—most important—

¹³ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ *Soviet-American Summit: Geneva, November 19-21, 1985. Documents and Materials*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p. 22 (in Russian).

ly—does everything to sabotage solutions to the vital problems, primarily that of curbing the arms race, preventing militarisation of outer space, etc.

"Our policy," said Mikhail Gorbachev at the PUWP's 10th Congress, "shall continue to be a responsible one that patiently lays the bases for the ironing out of Soviet-American relations. We are for dialogue, but it must be a dialogue in which both sides want to achieve real results. Talks must not be turned into a smoke-screen for the arms race. We are not partners of Washington in such deception of the world public."

This question has another important aspect: there are state and political leaders in non-socialist countries who are not above hiding their "neutral", to put it mildly, stand on the important problems of war and peace by claiming that everything depends on the USSR and the USA, on their agreements. Such an approach to international affairs naturally jeopardises the efforts to preserve peace, to avert the danger of a world war, not to mention that it means "voluntary" non-defence of the sovereign rights and national interests of the states and peoples concerned.

The Soviet Union has always advocated equal cooperation with countries of the capitalist world. It has never claimed any special rights in relation to other states, and works tirelessly to pool the efforts of all states and peoples to prevent a world war. And that has been clearly reiterated in the new edition of the party Programme adopted by the 27th Congress: "The USSR does not encroach on the security of any country, West or East. It threatens no one and does not seek confrontation with any state; it wishes to live in peace with all countries."¹⁵

US imperialist reaction has long embarked on a policy of violating universally accepted norms of international relations. It is bent on using brute force to impose its will on other states, openly and arbitrarily interfering in their internal affairs. Imperial politics—an integral part of the American way of life—is high-handed and ignores everything that does not fit into US imperialism's thinking and Washington's global policy interests. The main thing here is military force, sabre-rattling, and a desire to frighten everyone, even its closest allies, and not only prevent cooperation between other countries and peoples but also further poison the general international climate, avoiding business-like and constructive discussion and solution of the principal, key problems of world politics, above all disarmament and an end to the arms race.

A number of reasonable questions arise. Is there no limit to these actions by American imperialism, which contradict the norms of international law? Can it continue with impunity along its imperial course in relation to other countries and peoples?

The existing reality makes it possible to give a negative response to these and similar questions. Neither the "peace through strength" doctrine, nor Washington's practical actions, nor the unprincipled manoeuvring around the East-West dialogue, nor all the various threats against other states is evidence of firm US positions, and even less so of wisdom and responsibility on the part of Washington's ruling elite. There is every ground to assert that this is evidence of despair, heightened fear and insecurity about the morrow, which result from the worsening general crisis of capitalism.

And there is good reason why many sober-minded politicians in the USA itself are becoming alarmed. Speaking at a plenary session of the Senate Chamber of the US Congress on May 21, 1986 Democratic Senator Paul Simon said: "Today we find ourselves aboard an imbalanced ship of state, perilously close to capsizing economically, because of our

¹⁵ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 77.

excessive reliance on the military to carry out policy aims. We are losing precious cargo from that ship of state in a short-sighted quest with too heavy a military emphasis on superiority. Security can only come when we see the world as it is, not as we would like it to be."

Nowadays the correlation of political and class forces in the world is such that the US ruling circles have to take account of the will of the peace-loving states and peoples. If one puts aside the demagogic rhetoric and political bluff to which Washington often resorts, pressure at home and abroad has forced the present Administration to take actions which clearly are not in line with its general militarist course.

World socialism, a powerful bulwark of peace on Earth, the material basis of the struggle against imperialism and its policy of war and aggression; the approximate military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO as a solid roadblock to the nuclear warmongers; the strengthened workers' and revolutionary movement headed by its vanguard—the communist and workers' parties, which resolutely oppose imperialism, war, and oppression; the large group of newly free states, above all the non-aligned countries, which are active in the anti-imperialist struggle and have an increasing weight in world politics; the anti-war movement, which is of unprecedented scope in every country and on every continent and is involving ever broader and varied strata and groups, including the bourgeoisie; the heightened contradictions between the NATO states, many of which disapprove of and openly oppose the USA's militaristic course and the plans for a "first nuclear strike", "star wars", and further Pershing and cruise missile deployment in Western Europe—this is a far from complete list of the factors that now determine the correlation of class, political and military forces and testify to the stronger positions and broader front of the anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and states.

Today humanity has every possibility to curb militarism and reaction and secure a lasting peace on Earth, and good use must be made of that in effective joint actions of all anti-imperialist forces.

With respect to the Soviet Union, it has long proved in deeds that it firmly adheres to a policy of peace and peaceful cooperation, that it has a sincere desire radically to resolve all disputes peacefully, and that it is unswerving in its determination to do all in its power to curb the arms race and achieve disarmament. This Leninist course was reiterated by the historic 27th Congress. On the question of disarmament the party Programme says: **"The CPSU solemnly declares: there are no weapons that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis with effective verification."**¹⁶

The prolongation by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till January 1, 1987 is a convincing proof of that. As was stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev on the Soviet TV on August 18, 1986, this decision being "an action and not just a proposal, ...proves the seriousness and sincerity of our nuclear disarmament programme, of our calls for a new policy—that of realism, peace and cooperation." For the USSR there is no task more important than that of permanently removing the threat of thermo-nuclear war. Such is the essence of our foreign policy in every direction.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

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The 27th CPSU Congress underscored the increased significance today of the demand for radical democratisation of international life, for reshaping political and social consciousness in the spirit of genuine democratism, for building up the foundations of a comprehensive system of international security meeting the interests of all nations and peoples.

The CPSU programme documents explain the Leninist principle according to which the struggle for realising general democratic demands of an international nature should become an integral part of the international struggle for peace and social progress. Taking an active part in this struggle is Soviet diplomacy and the broad Soviet public, as well as the working people of other countries in alliance with everyone capable of concretely supporting the cause of peace, national independence, equitable and broad international cooperation.

The Leninist foreign policy programme of the world's first socialist state was based on the tenet that the USSR could and should immediately unleash a struggle against militarism and aggressive wars, for effectively organising "*democratic* relations between nations"¹. A democratic organisation of international relations—in the only true meaning of the concept as was explained by V. I. Lenin—meant first and foremost the involvement in international politics of the great masses of workers which capitalism had kept outside the realm of politics, had viewed as merely instruments, a means of attaining its self-serving interests. Since the victory of the Great October Revolution working people have become an active and effective force in the struggle for peace.

"Democracy is most clearly manifested in the fundamental question of war and peace",² Lenin pointed out. But imperialism, he emphasized, is the violation of democracy in general, of all democracy—in both foreign and home policy.³ That is why, noted the founder of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet state, when proclaiming the Decree on Peace: "Everywhere there are differences between the governments and the peoples, and we must therefore help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace".⁴

Following the October Revolution, for the first time in world history, mass protest against unjust, aggressive wars "has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme,... into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations".⁵ Those social strata which had

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 27.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 319.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 43.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 252.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 56.

previously stood on the political sidelines were drawn into active struggle. Lead by the progressive democratic force of the 20th century—by the working class, they demanded a radical reform of the very basis of international relations.

Thus, October 1917 marked the beginning of the end of the arbitrary usurping of "rights" held by the exploiters—the "right" to wage war, the "right" to kill, to rob, to oppress, to enslave, to trample on each and every individual and collective rights and freedom, to violate the democratic principles of equality and sovereignty among nations.

Calling the imperialist war for a redivision of the world "the greatest crime against humanity" the Leninist Decree on Peace tore apart the old notion imbedded for thousands of years in class-antagonistic societies that war and violent aggression are inevitable for settling international disputes. The legislative acts passed by the Soviet government, the resolutions passed by the Bolshevik Party and the statements made by its leaders all made it clear that aggressive wars are totally incompatible with democracy, annexations, with the people's freedom of expression.

Political realities demanded from the young socialist state that in the realm of international relations it skillfully use those diplomatic and legal forms which had been applied in previous times by bourgeois states. At the same time it had to make radical reforms in foreign policy, foreign trade and diplomacy to conform with the interests and ideals of the working classes. Soviet foreign policy had to "bring something new to contemporary international forms to prevent them from becoming the tools of imperialism", noted in 1922 People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, G. V. Chicherin, in developing, as instructed by the party, a draft of a concrete plan for foreign policy activity in accordance with the Lenin's proposal to seek "new ways of solving our international problems".⁶

These new ways logically issued from the very nature of the new social system, from its deep internal demands, from the new international balance of forces. As Chicherin wrote, "This new something is provided by our experience and our creative activity as well as by the creative action of life itself in the process of the growing ruin and break-up of the imperialist world".⁷

Lenin's programme for democratisation of international relations was built on the basic principles that the foreign policy of a state ruled by the proletariat must always and everywhere support universal peace, advocate arms reductions and lightening the burden of heavy taxes placed on the workers in capitalist countries due to arms spending, support the peaceful settlement of conflicts and disputes between states, the development of normal, friendly relations with all countries irrespective of their social system, universal development of broad international economic cooperation on the basis of voluntary choice, equality and mutual advantage.

Consistently striving to instill into modern international relations the principle of peaceful coexistence, the CPSU has always regarded this struggle as the natural and logical course of Soviet foreign policy, the main task of which is to provide the most favourable external condi-

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 302.

⁷ From Chicherin's letter to V. I. Lenin, V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 508-509.

tions for the peaceful construction of socialist society and defence of the Soviet people's vital political and economic interests.

In this regard the CPSU and the Soviet state are guided by the Leninist principle of unity of foreign and domestic policies. The organic unity of the two main areas of our socialist policy, which equally serve the interests of the working class and all people and are aimed at building a communist society, is determined by a common class basis. Because this society is led by the working class and its communist party, the interests of all classes and social strata are served by Soviet state policy. Both the domestic and foreign policies of the Marxist-Leninist party and socialist state are based on objective laws of social development.

The unity of the USSR's foreign and domestic policies has been formalised in the Soviet Constitution, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on October 7, 1977 following nation-wide debate. The Fundamental Law of the Soviet state contains the principles and norms designed to become the effective instruments for democratically reforming all international life. These include first and foremost the mutual pledge to refrain from the use or threat of force; sovereign equality; inviolability of state borders; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; noninterference in states' internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality of nations and the right of all peoples to decide their own destiny; cooperation among states; the conscientious fulfillment of obligations following from generally recognized norms of international law and international treaties.

The USSR's approach to foreign policy issues also takes full account of the fact that the country's internal development is closely connected with universal development, with the state of international relations. Any form of egoism is alien to Soviet foreign policy; being genuinely democratic and internationalist it aims in its every manifestation, in every act, at the high goals of strengthening universal peace, peaceful cooperation, security, freedom and independence for all peoples. The democratic gains made by the Soviet Union which it consolidates in the content and forms of modern international relations belong to the world community.

The 27th CPSU Congress underscored the creative continuity of the Leninist foreign policy activities, the dynamic international policy of the CPSU and Soviet state, which fully takes into account the realities of modern development. Having nothing in common with yesterday's formulas, especially when dealing with the international problems which have piled up, with the forms and methods of development of mutual relations among various states, this continuity is realized in the new, profoundly changed historical conditions. Proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the socio-economic, politico-ideological and military-strategic situation, the CPSU takes into account the full complexity, contradictory nature and the motley character of processes and phenomena taking place in the modern world.

The struggle by the CPSU and other fraternal parties for peace and the democratisation of international relations is not at all time-serving, of a temporary nature. Combining firmness in principle with flexibility in tactics, displaying readiness to enter into dialogue, to attain mutual understanding and mutually acceptable compromises, Soviet foreign policy firmly stands up for the USSR's vital interests, its social ideals and at the same time for the interests of all peoples of the Earth.

The foreign policy activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state are a constant, consistent, ever intensifying struggle for a fundamental rejuvenation and the development of international law. Soviet foreign policy introduces progressive, democratic, humanistic ideas and principles into the norms of international relations. Everything which has been

potentially progressive in institutions and norms of international law Soviet foreign policy develops and infuses with new content and transforms into effective tools for attaining peace, at the same time eliminating old, obsolete imperialist "norms".

The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution in building the democratic basis of the United Nations. Arising out of the victory of the anti-fascist forces and the liberation movements, with the Soviet Union taking an active part in its formation, the UN general concept issues from the democratic principle of peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation among states with different social systems. Actually, the UN Charter contains the basic legal principles of peaceful coexistence in as much as this document lists the provisions on equality and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights regardless of race, sex, language or religion, on the territorial inviolability and political independence of all UN members, on prohibiting interference in internal affairs of any state as well as the threat or use of force. The Charter also states the UN members' obligation to bring about a broad international cooperation in all spheres, to promote economic and social progress.

At the basis of the UN's activities lie two democratic principles of international law—respect for state sovereignty and securing peace—both of which are at odds with imperialism's aims. The practical observance of these principles ensures peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, prevents invasions, annexations, intervention and the export of counter-revolution. At the same time the Charter does not allow for the interference by international organs in the internal affairs and foreign policy activities of member states and the hindering of the execution of social, economic and cultural transformations in any country. The UN is obliged to intercede only in those disputes or situations which can or have posed a threat to peace or have violated the peace between peoples (chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter).

The interconnection between the principles of democratism and peaceful coexistence is clearly seen in such vital issues as the struggle against the unleashing of a destructive world war, for truly implementing equality, sovereignty and independence for all peoples, against imperialist diktat and arbitrariness in international relations—economic, political and ideological. Finally, this interconnection is seen in understanding the essence of peaceful coexistence as being a form of competition between the two social systems.

The democratism of Soviet foreign policy is evidenced by the USSR's persevering efforts aimed at promoting competition between the two world systems in the areas of economics, science, technology and culture. Soviet foreign policy is constantly inviting the capitalist states to expand the sphere of negotiations, reach agreements on good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial cooperation in areas of mutual or at least partially overlapping interests.

The crux of the matter lies above all in the organic connection between the attainment of peace and security and the development of international economic cooperation as the material basis for peaceful coexistence. The CPSU and Soviet government programme documents profoundly reveal the dialectics of peaceful competition and cooperation in the economic, political and cultural relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, the historical inevitability of expanding vast economic, scientific and technical ties in the world economy, taking advantage of the universal division of labour.

The democratism of Soviet foreign policy is also expressed by the unflagging support rendered to the struggle of former colonial and semi-colonial peoples for their freedom and independence, in the vigorous actions promoting the establishment of a complete set of norms in modern

international law which defend the political, social and economic rights and the gains of the young developing states.

They "are talking of *national* liberation... leaving out *economic* liberation. Yet in reality it is the latter that is the chief thing",⁸ underscored V. I. Lenin as early as at the time the October Socialist Revolution was being prepared. As to the present-day stage of the national liberation movement, the winning of economic independence and social progress have become the main components of the struggle waged by the peoples in the developing countries all over the world.

Genuine, socialist democratism in foreign policy is incompatible with bourgeois jingoism; it establishes complete and unlimited equality of the peoples, mutual relations on a voluntary basis, mutual respect and the conscious striving for cooperation and friendship. Broadening the idea of freedom, equality and brotherhood, socialist democratism sets itself the task of overcoming the merely formal recognition of these principles, which characterises bourgeois policy, aims at putting them into actual practice, carrying them into actual social relations, both economic and cultural, translating mere rhetoric on sovereignty and equality into real opportunities for all peoples to use them to the fullest extent in the interests of social progress.

Soviet foreign policy activities in the international arena implant into the world's sense of justice a genuinely democratic understanding of the struggle for national sovereignty as a struggle for *real* sovereignty—sovereignty not only in the political and legal realms, but in the economic area as well, that is, the material independence of a nation. Soviet diplomacy substantially enriches the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity by supporting the principle now being established of sovereignty over natural resources and national wealth. The struggle for equal economic cooperation first of all assumes the elimination of any form of international exploitation or discrimination.

Today the struggle against both national and social oppression is linked ever closer with international relations. The CPSU is consistently following the line of international defence of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the broad masses. The Soviet Union's stand at international forums has already exerted and continues to exert great influence in resolving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humane character.

At the initiative of the USSR and other progressive forces the UN was committed to promote higher living standards, full employment, economic and social progress. These commitments can be used by progressive forces in the struggle against attacks by monopolies and reactionary governments on workers' rights and interests, against monopoly capital's coordinated, anti-labour class, anti-social policy on a world-wide scale.

While ensuring genuine people's rule, the broadest participation of the masses in running the state and the economy, the socialist political system is also expanding their participation in international affairs. The popular character of the USSR's foreign policy serves as the greatest source of its strength. Consolidating their country's economic and defence might, its intellectual and moral potential, the moral-political unity of their society, the Soviet people profoundly influence the development of the entire system of international relations. The people of the USSR are ever more effectively participating in the development and realisation of foreign policy tasks being resolved by the CPSU and the Soviet government. The party and the Soviet state are systematically arming

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 398.

the broad public with the knowledge of the country's foreign policy line and perspectives for development of the world situation.

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress are aimed at encouraging the masses of Soviet people to become more politically active, including in the sphere of foreign policy. The congress's emphasis on encouraging all citizens to effectively participate in running society clearly reflects the active development of socialist democracy. The party, states the CPSU Programme, "regards as its duty constantly to consult working people on key issues of domestic and foreign policy, carefully take into account public opinion, and draw non-party people on an ever broader scale into the work of party organisations".⁹

The Soviet people's foreign policy activity takes the most diverse forms and directions. Workers, farmers, intellectuals, the youth, all strata of Soviet society are actively participating in the nationwide peace movement, in the movement's mass political actions. They maintain various forms of ties and contacts with foreign democratic social organisations and movements. Mass organisations such as trade unions and the Komsomol, the Soviet Union committees which are working for peace and European security and cooperation, societies for friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries, women's, veterans of war, youth committees and other public organisations are carrying out intensive international activity. Thus a vital link is forged between the constructive labour of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the struggle waged by the world progressive forces for peace and universal security.

There are many people in the West who are confused by imperialist propaganda, and who are not aware of the real sources of military danger. However at the same time there are many in the West who are not taken in by mercenary journalists. Every day brings ever more weighty evidence of the further weakening of the social basis of the forces opposing peace and social progress and at the same time of the broadening mass support and consolidation of the peace forces. The policy of imperialism, which suppresses any manifestation of democracy, is being actively opposed by everwidening ranks of the working people in the capitalist countries. Today the anti-war, anti-missile movements in these countries have become an important factor in hindering the dangerous schemes aimed at instigating a new war.

Side by side with the Communists the political, religious, professional, women's, youth and other democratic organisations are playing an ever-increasing role in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. Social-Democrats have been inclined to support the development of contacts with the socialist world, specific joint actions in the struggle for peace and in defence of democracy. Included among the active opponents of thermonuclear war are quite a few representatives of West European, Asian, African and Latin American bourgeois parties, national liberation movements, those unaffiliated with any political party and representatives of various churches and religious denominations.

"Nuclear disarmament should not be the exclusive domain of political leaders. The whole world is now pondering over this, for it is a question of life itself",¹⁰ notes the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. Indeed, the growth of the war danger evokes in the widest public circles of various countries an awareness of the urgent need for greater unity and interaction.

That is why the imperialist reactionary forces are striving to split

⁹ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 86

¹⁰ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 86.

the peace forces, isolate them from the socialist states and the communist movement. They are trying to distort the nature of the anti-war movement, deprive it of real content and meaning. The ruling classes in the USA and their NATO allies are using every means to crash the growing anti-imperialist protest, ruthlessly harrass the activists of the anti-war, anti-missile movement, pacifists and ecologists (the Greens), who expose the pernicious effects of the capitalist countries' militarisation.

The Soviet Communist Party highly praises the mass democratic movements reflecting peoples' aspirations to put an end to the threat of a military catastrophe and repulse attacks by the forces of international reaction. For the sake of these just causes, for the sake of consolidating the peace potential, reason and goodwill, the CPSU is developing the relations of solid unity and cohesion with the socialist countries, is strengthening solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social progress, is following the policy of close interaction with the socialism-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, with the non-aligned movement, with social-democratic, socialist and labour parties.

For the sake of all this the Soviet public is ready to continue developing ties with various non-communist trends, organisations and movements which come out against war and are concerned over the world's future, with all the people of goodwill. As the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress underscored, with our offers to check the arms race, to halt the material preparations for nuclear war "we have addressed... not only through the traditional diplomatic channels but also directly to world public opinion, to the peoples".¹¹

Halfway through the last century Frederick Engels wrote: "The bourgeois cannot protect his interests without direct, constant control of the central administration, foreign policy and legislation of his state".¹² Modern capitalism is even more anti-people, anti-democratic than the capitalism of the last and the beginning of this century. With the advent of its general crisis, it enters into conflict not only with the productive forces, with cultural and intellectual development, but with humankind's very existence. The further this conflict is carried, the sharper it becomes. Imperialism launches the offensive of political reaction in all areas, including in the sphere of international relations.

This is reflected with a particular clarity in the increasing influence exerted by the aggressive foreign policy and militarisation on all aspects of life in the capitalist countries, particularly in the USA and a few other NATO countries. It poisons the social atmosphere with hatred, fear, arbitrary rule and violence, feeds reaction and despotism, increases the danger of neo-fascism and neo-nazism, leads to the open trampling on bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms.

The sphere of international relations, including the vitally important issues of war and peace, is, in the capitalist countries, becoming the private sphere of the executive branch. Thus, with each passing year in the USA the presidential post becomes more omnipotent and less controlled. Back in the period of American aggression in Vietnam the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee was forced to admit that the presidential post was becoming more of an absolute power over the lives and deaths of all Americans, not to speak of the lives of millions of the

¹¹ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 80.

¹² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p. 80.

people in other countries, that practically all restrictions on the President's activities in the important area had been removed, that until they were restored the American people would live with the threat of tyranny or catastrophe.¹³

Today there is virtually nothing that needs to be added to this eloquent characterisation. In the United States the network of bureaucratic agencies is widening, and they have actually seized control over the entire domain of international relations and ties. The authority of the Pentagon, the CIA, the NSA and other organisations has particularly increased. In these militarised offices all of the most important decisions dealing with US foreign policy and national security are worked out and actually taken.

Taking advantage of their exclusive position the military department, the espionage and disinformation services by their uncontrolled actions aggravate the further decline of the American political system, and add to the aggressive, militaristic thrust of Washington's foreign policy. Under conditions of an accelerated arms race, with the use of the newest scientific and technological achievements, the decisions affecting most important problems of war and peace can be taken exclusively by technical specialists. In the USA, competent experts were warning back in the early 1970s that "in the United States the power to decide whether or not the doomsday has arrived (that is to decide to "push the button" or not—*L. M.*) is in the process of passing from statesmen and politicians to lower-level officials and technicians and, eventually, to machines".¹⁴

The possibility of such a dangerous development is directly pointed out in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress: "The situation in the world may assume such a character that it will no longer depend upon the intelligence or will of political leaders. It may become captive to technology, to technocratic military logic".¹⁵

The advocates of the American "neo-conservatism" conception openly state that "stable international order" can be only achieved *by stabilising the system of private ownership throughout the entire world*. Furthermore, they advocate reducing the whole world to a common social-political "denominator" on this basis. It is precisely this which forms the ideological core of the doctrines followed by the new Washington "crusaders" and of their military adventurist schemes against other countries and peoples. The American strategists' dreams about achieving diktat of the US military in the world arena correspond with the diktat of the American "money bags" within the USA and with regard to other capitalist countries, including NATO member nations.

A most dangerous manifestation of anti-democratism in the imperialist countries—the trampling of the lawful right of all peoples to know the truth about the development of modern international relations—is, undoubtedly, one of the main obstacles to realizing the democratic will of the masses in questions of war and peace. NATO propaganda deceives and misleads people as to the real sources and the extent of the war danger which threatens humankind's very existence. At the same time it uses every means to besmear the profoundly democratic Leninist course followed by the Soviet state and the other socialist countries in interna-

¹³ See W. Goldsmith, *The Growth of Presidential Power. A Documented History*, Vol. III, New York, 1974.

¹⁴ P. Ehrlich, R. Harriman, *How to be a Survivor. A Plan to Save Spaceship Earth*, London, 1971, p. 117.

¹⁵ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 83.

tional affairs, and to distort the meaning of their constructive peace initiatives.

Reactionary bourgeois propaganda tries in every way to impede the understanding of peoples in the Western countries as to the real threat presented by nuclear weapons, and creates dangerous illusions about the possibility of delivering a first nuclear strike with impunity, and about the notorious SDI plan—Washington's pseudoconcept of "absolute defence". As the prominent ideologist of the SDPG, E. Eppler, expressed it, in this way they want to get those individuals in the West who are well-educated, well-read and fond of talking about social humanism accustomed to the monstrous idea of the admissibility of a first strike using nuclear missiles and to the absurd "star wars" strategy.¹⁶

Acting in accordance with the needs of the forces of militarism and political reaction, the bourgeois means of mass information (more accurately—disinformation) fan the flames of distrust and hostility, especially towards the Soviet people, towards the peoples of the developing countries, implanting in their minds chauvinism and spymania. The anti-working class, anti-social budget and economic measures, the further curtailment of democracy by the US government are justified by using false information about a "growing threat from without". Washington's flagrant violations of international law, its unscrupulous intrigues running counter to the interest of peoples of other nations and of the American people themselves aimed at inciting anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria, are justified by the "prime" motives of US foreign policy.

That's why in today's sharply aggravated international situation especially relevant is Lenin's proposition on the high priority of the task of exposing "all the sophistries that are being advanced in justification of war".¹⁷ Those sophistries which the bourgeois press uses in order to deceive the public. Lenin's famous appeal to the Socialists of all countries to reveal the "secrecy" in which war was prepared was adopted by the Bolsheviks as an ideological and political directive, which was unflinchingly observed by the Leninist party that has always exposed imperialism as the source of war danger, the initiator of wars. The 27th CPSU Congress again convincingly uncovered the unbreakable link between the growing war danger and the obvious fact that capitalism's foreign policy is showing its parasitic and anti-democratic nature.

"The democratic character of any country's foreign policy", underscored the USSR Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, at the 27th CPSU Congress, "is proved by how much its actions in the world arena correspond with criteria and norms established by the overwhelming majority of the members of the world community, with the adherence to international law".¹⁸ Washington is carrying Wild West and lynch law tactics into the international arena—brigandage against unarmed Grenada, terrorist raids on Tripoli and Benghazi and other flagrant violations of international law and order and crimes committed by the US ruling circles. These acts tear apart all and sundry covers of "democracy" which American imperialism uses to try and camouflage its aggressive, rabidly anti-people foreign policy course.

Developing and carrying out its foreign policy, Lenin taught, Communists proceed from the fact that "politics involves the actual fate of millions of people".¹⁹ This noble, humanistic idea has attained special

¹⁶ See E. Eppler, *Die tödliche Utopie der Sicherheit*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1983.

¹⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1966, p. 448.

¹⁸ *Pravda*, March 2, 1986.

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 354.

meaning in our day when preventing war is commensurate with mankind's survival, when it has become clear that the only alternative left is to reject methods of force in solving international problems, settling them through political means.

However, to attain this end it is not enough to have finely-worded declarations on democracy in international affairs such as were often put out by 20th century bourgeois politicians like Woodrow Wilson, Aristide Briand and others, and which are in abundance today in the West. To reach this goal it is essential that every political chance be made use of, that the coefficient of useful activity of Soviet foreign policy be raised, that every step taken by Soviet diplomacy be profoundly, scientifically substantiated, that its actions be enhanced and improved by making use of past experience and political craftsmanship.

The basic features of the CPSU's foreign policy are defined by these tasks. As noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, this "is essentially an alloy of the philosophy of shaping a safe world in the nuclear-space age with a platform of concrete actions".²⁰ At the centre of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy is the integral programme for totally eliminating mass destruction weapons by the year 2000, because the complexity and acuteness of the present moment in history make "it increasingly vital to outlaw nuclear weapons, destroy them and other weapons of mass annihilation completely, and improve international relations".²¹

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation made by the 27th CPSU Congress distinctly reveals the internal springs which push imperialism to ever-growing militarisation and direct military adventures, to the suppression of all democracy; it exposes imperialism's socio-economic essence and social nature which continuously generate its aggressive, adventuristic policy.

As a result of imperialism's growing aggressiveness and its blatant encroachment on the most basic human right of all—the right to live, the colossal material resources and scientific and technological efforts are wasted today on preparations for a new war, the capitalist economy is turning into a permanent military economy. The further spiralling of the arms race, which is yielding fabulous profits for the monopolies, puts a heavy burden of excessively inflated military spending onto the shoulders of the working people.

As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his speech in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986: "All this makes it imperative and urgent to radically change many habitual approaches to foreign policy, to do away with the traditional political thinking and attitudes to the problems of war and peace, to defence, to the security of individual states and international security. In this connection it is understandable that our radical and in the total sense global proposals, such as the programme of eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, on the total prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, on the prohibition of chemical weapons, on cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space and a number of other proposals are of interest to the entire world and all countries."

Under these difficult conditions, the Soviet Union is showing great restraint and firmly and consistently stand for the translation of the democratic norms of peaceful coexistence into the highest universal principle of interstate relations. The 27th Congress decisions, which evoked wide international response, ever more fully reveal the close connec-

²⁰ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

tion between the fate of the world and social progress and the dynamic economic and political development of the USSR and all of the world socialism. Ever more clearly seen is the greatness of the cause of the CPSU which is persistently carrying out the Leninist principle of the unity of domestic and foreign policies in its constructive programme for accelerating the USSR's socio-economic development and consolidating peace on Earth.

In today's world, in as much as world socialism and the communist and workers' movement are strengthened and with the growth of national liberation and mass democratic movement, so are consolidated the foundations of the peoples' universal security—political, economic, legal, humanistic and moral, the foundations for an international order which meets the interests of all nations and peoples, one which is governed not by a policy "from a position of strength", but by goodwill and cooperation.

A REALISTIC WAY TOWARDS LIQUIDATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Boris P E T R O V

The Soviet Union made another firm step towards ending nuclear arms race and towards disarmament. In a statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev on August 18 on Soviet TV, it was announced that the USSR had decided to prolong the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till January 1, 1987. Thus, on the whole, our country suspends all nuclear explosions for the period of seventeen months. The Soviet moratorium, and this should be stressed, could continue, provided the United States for its part, abstains from nuclear testing. The Soviet Union again called upon the United States to follow its good example.

No problem of world politics is more urgent today than that of putting an end to nuclear weapon tests. To a large degree it seals the fate of nuclear weapons: new types of these weapons can be neither developed nor upgraded without testing. Of late, moreover, a new, extremely dangerous aspect of nuclear tests has surfaced: the United States is developing nuclear-pumped lasers intended for "star wars". Hence nuclear explosions at the Nevada testing range.

Nuclear tests are whipping up the arms race, generating new, more destructive, types of nuclear weapons and expanding the possibility of their use in military operations. Continuation of tests is fraught with an uninterrupted upgrading of nuclear weapons and a growing threat of destruction of all life on the Earth. Squandering huge scientific and material resources on this venture is against elementary common sense. *Hence the need to stop nuclear tests, and this is, in fact, a key point in materially, physically limiting the production of new types of nuclear bombs and warheads, since without tests the nuclear arms race would soon become unpracticable.*

Cessation of tests, moreover, is a sure way of destroying the existing nuclear weapons stockpiles. If tests, and consequently, modernisation of the existing nuclear weapons were outlawed, the latter would gradually grow less and less effective and increasingly obsolete. This would bring about their quantitative reduction and, in the future, their total elimination.

It is also vital to stop the ongoing tests because they devastate nature and deform the face of the Earth, and the consequences of the damage they cause are hard to predict. Apart from this, ending the tests is a powerful lever for setting nuclear disarmament in motion towards a real removal of the nuclear war threat. In short, renunciation of nuclear tests should be the starting point on the road towards a genuine elimination of nuclear arms, and the USSR is determined to achieve this goal before the end of the century. This was clearly stated in the programme announced on January 15, 1986.

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Having carefully thought out these circumstances and thoroughly weighed all the pros and cons, the Soviet Union adopted, in the summer of 1985, a fundamental decision to unilaterally stop all nuclear

explosions, both military and peaceful. Since then the USSR has prolonged its moratorium on four occasions so as to urge the United States, and in the future all the other nuclear powers, to join in. This is material evidence of how the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress are being implemented, and a visible example of the new way of thinking in the nuclear and space age, which dictates that priority be given above all to the values common to humanity as a whole.

Having suspended its nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union is following up in good faith the spirit and letter of the accords reached at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva last November. This point should be especially stressed because the Geneva summit has given hope for a better political climate to millions of people throughout the world. In Geneva, both sides have made positive statements, but a statement remains a dead letter if not bolstered by practical moves.

World public opinion has heartily welcomed the USSR's moratorium precisely because it is a real step towards a nuclear-free world.

This is evidenced by the stance adopted by six countries from four continents, namely, Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. In their Mexican Declaration adopted early last August, the leaders of these countries again resolutely came out in favour of an immediate cessation of all nuclear tests and the conclusion of an appropriate international treaty. They declared their readiness to assist in verifying the compliance with the joint moratorium and the ban on testing. The USSR did so. And what about the USA?

Without mincing words, it behaved selfishly and irresponsibly. The ongoing nuclear explosions at the Nevada testing range permit no other conclusion.

The US leadership once again has not matched its statements with practical moves: while paying lip service to the need to destroy nuclear weapons, jointly with the USSR, and saying that nuclear war should never be unleashed because it is unwinnable, the USA wants to preserve nuclear weapons at all costs. No secret is made of the fact that new types of nuclear arms intended primarily for "star wars" have been tested out in the United States. In other words, the current US Administration is using a double standard: it calls on the USSR to display restraint while responding to its moves with overt militaristic ventures designed to secure military superiority.

Here is the gist of the US position on ending nuclear weapons tests, as laid down by a White House spokesman who said that "an all-embracing test ban is, however, a long-term US objective in the setting of far-reaching and verifiable arms reduction, increased control opportunities, extended confidence-building measures and balanced out levels of conventional arms, provided the nuclear deterrent ceases to be the basic element of ensuring international security and stability which it is now." In this way, the issue of test bans, which can be settled independently and relatively easily already now, is tied into the tight knot of intricate international problems.

For some time, the United States, unwilling to stop the tests, pushed forward the problem of control, saying the USSR was against it. However, the Soviet Union has stated: it is ready for the most radical forms of control as well.

The most authoritative experts believe that there are national technical means that leave practically no loophole for circumventing nuclear test ban accords. The USSR has also proposed international procedures, including on-site inspections. Moreover, it is ready to enlist assistance offered by the above six countries in tackling the problems of control.

Last May, the US Natural Resources Defense Council and the USSR Academy of Sciences reached understanding on joint work in improving

seismic methods to verify compliance with a future test ban agreement. For this purpose, three seismic stations will be set up near the Semipalatinsk testing range in the USSR and another three stations near the testing range in the State of Nevada, USA. The six stations will be manned by joint Soviet-American teams. In mid-July, US experts arrived at the Semipalatinsk area, installed equipment on the site and, together with their Soviet colleagues, immediately got down to work.

Professor T. Cochran of the USA said that they worked together to disprove the opinion prevalent among the US politicians and public that it would be impossible to reliably spot all the Soviet nuclear explosions. He added that they wanted to show that the United States must also stop its tests without any delay and start working for an agreement on a total nuclear test ban.

The Soviet government supported the Soviet-US agreement on joint research with the use of special equipment designed to verify cessations of nuclear tests, and declared its readiness to promote its implementation.

In this context, it is necessary to stress the fundamental Soviet position: *the USSR firmly believes that what should be verified is the cessation and non-conduct of nuclear tests, rather than their continuation and the upgrading of nuclear weapons.*

In other words, those who spurn humanity's aspirations, serve the interests of the military-industrial complex and work to bring superprofits to the Pentagon's arms manufacturers, can no longer use the issue of control as a smokescreen for their designs.

Unwilling to end nuclear weapons tests, some people in the United States even tried to sell the absurd idea that the USSR stopped its tests so as to gain an edge over the USA in nuclear arms. Washington, moreover, says nothing about the fact that in nuclear weapon tests the USA has outdone the USSR by a third and all the nuclear powers taken together by almost 50 per cent. According to SIPRI statistics, by early 1986 the USA carried out 805 explosions; France—134; and Britain—39. In all, the NATO nuclear states carried out 978 tests, while the USSR made 562 explosions. In addition, of no small importance is the fact that since the Soviet Union announced its unilateral moratorium in August, 1985 the USA has carried out 20 explosions, 4 of which were not declared.

But the main point is not these statistics but the fact that the current US Administration has stubbornly pursued its course towards whipping up the arms race, building up and upgrading its nuclear arsenal, and makes no secret of it. Last December, a White House spokesman openly admitted that in the foreseeable future nuclear arms would be a key component of the deterrent potential and that in this situation nuclear tests were a must.

It is obvious, however, that the USSR will not indefinitely extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. In view of US war preparations, the Soviet Union cannot jeopardise its security and that of its allies and friends.

The USSR was forced by circumstances to carry out nuclear tests, but its people have never advocated competition in nuclear weapons. The USSR has created a good opportunity for stopping nuclear tests, and everything must be done to prevent this chance from slipping by.

A joint Soviet-American moratorium would be a major political step in this direction and a signal for the other nuclear powers to follow suit. It would create a new, more favourable situation for promoting the process, begun by the Soviet-American summit in Geneva last November, towards taking effective steps to check the arms race.

The United States is flouting the world community by openly continuing its nuclear explosions. At the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly the overwhelming majority of nations on four occasions voted for banning nuclear tests. The USA and its nuclear partners were the only ones that voted against.

The US allies should make their position clear. The time has come for the NATO governments to say in so many words whether they are for or against nuclear explosions, whether they are going to reckon with public sentiment in their own countries in view of the mounting campaign against nuclear weapon tests and for completely eliminating nuclear weapons on the Earth.

There are no objective barriers to the nations' renouncing nuclear tests. The time is ripe for this move to be taken without lengthy preparations and debates, and outside the tight knot of problems separating the countries in other areas. Moreover, all the necessary prerequisites for this are at hand.

The nuclear test ban problem has been solved by 75 per cent—today no nuclear explosions are carried out in the atmosphere, underwater and in outer space. The persistent Soviet effort was crowned with the conclusion of the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Underwater. The Treaty has visibly narrowed down the possibility for developing new, more powerful types of nuclear weapons, and to a large extent cut off a dangerous source of radioactive contamination of the environment. Today, 113 states are parties to the Treaty which is a most authoritative international instrument.

Nevertheless, the conclusion of the 1963 Moscow Treaty has not removed the problem of securing a complete and universal nuclear test ban from the order of the day. There are two reasons for this: first, underground nuclear tests have not been outlawed, thus providing a loophole for upgrading and building up nuclear arms, and second, two nuclear powers—France and China—have not yet signed the Moscow Treaty.

In 1977, the USSR initiated talks with the United States and Britain aimed at concluding a treaty on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. To clear the way towards the treaty, the USSR took a number of major constructive steps in areas marked by the greatest difficulties.

It seemed that nuclear explosions would soon stop, and this channel of the arms race would be dependably sealed off. But the USA and some other NATO countries made an about face to intensified war preparations and unilaterally broke the talks off which were in their concluding stage. In July 1982, Washington officially declared it was not going to resume them.

The international community has accumulated vast experience in discussing the nuclear test ban problem at multilateral forums, namely, in the United Nations and the Geneva Conference on Disarmament (until 1984—the Committee on Disarmament). India raised in the UN the question of stopping experimental nuclear explosions as far back as 1954. Since then the question has been on the agenda of this major international forum.

It is noteworthy that the operative arms limitation treaties oblige their signatories to work for a complete nuclear test ban. The states party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (including the USA) have pledged to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race". A nuclear test ban is one of such measures. As a party to the Moscow Treaty, the United States should abide by the Treaty's provision which says that the states party to the Treaty should work to secure an end to all experimental explosions of nuclear weapons and continue negotiations on this

score. The United States is, in fact, breaking its treaty obligation by continuing nuclear weapon tests.

Practically all nations demand a nuclear test ban. A broad public movement for ending the dangerous experiments with nuclear weapons has been gaining momentum in many countries. It involves more and more public organisations, parliaments, political figures, prominent scientists, etc. Significant in this respect was the International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests, which was held in Moscow in July 1986.

It was sponsored by an action committee consisting of prominent scientists and experts from 14 countries. Among the 200 forum participants from 32 countries were about 60 Soviet scientists and such prominent experts as the Nobel Prize winner D. Hodgkin (Britain), A. Ballevisky (Bulgaria), P. Hagenmüller (France), P. Starlinger (FRG), K. Fusimi (Japan), F. von Hippel (USA), O. Nathan (Denmark), G. Marini-Bettolo (Italy), W. Kalweit (GDR), and T. Atajev (Turkey) et al.

During their informal meeting in Moscow, the scientists from various countries and representing various fields of knowledge discussed today's pressing problems related to the ongoing arms race and the upgrading of new types of nuclear weapons, which lower international stability.

The forum participants stressed the simple but merciless reality facing the world: human civilisation will not survive a nuclear war. The most refined technological systems may unexpectedly fail causing disastrous consequences, e. g., the Challenger and Chernobyl tragedies.

The scientists emphasised that effective measures to lower the risk of nuclear war must include, as a first step, a verifiable and complete prohibition of nuclear tests. As these tests are intended for the development of new weapon systems, their prohibition would be a brake on the nuclear arms race. In the future, complete and verifiable prohibition would serve as a first step towards the destruction of all nuclear arsenals, and a radical turn to mutual confidence and triumph of reason.

The forum participants noted the need for a new mode of thinking to achieving this goal, and, in their opinion, the USSR's unilateral moratorium was tangible evidence of this thinking as it opened unique opportunities for a comprehensive nuclear test ban. A declaration adopted by the forum expressed hope that the US Administration would join the moratorium. The forum participants called on all the nuclear powers to join the Soviet moratorium and other initiatives aimed at lowering the risk of nuclear war.

As for the verification aspects of the complete nuclear test ban, they were unanimous that the latest advances in seismology, coupled with the strictly observed international procedures, including on-site inspection, would reliably guarantee cessation of nuclear tests. Broader international scientific cooperation would make this guarantee even more reliable.

The forum welcomed the agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the US Natural Resources Defense Council under which Soviet and American scientists installed seismic equipment near the Soviet testing range in the area of Semipalatinsk. This is a clear indication that joint control of a complete prohibition of nuclear explosions is possible.

The participants in the Moscow forum called on the leaders of the nuclear powers, the Soviet and American leaders above all, to reach agreement on banning all nuclear tests. They also appealed to the UN Secretary-General Pérez de Cuellar to use his high authority to bring about an early solution of this problem, which, they believe, is exceedingly important for all nations.


The scientists who met in Moscow emphasised that a complete nuclear test ban would strengthen both international security and that of the USSR and the USA. They also expressed their hope that in the future a complete and verifiable nuclear test ban would bring about the destruction of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

On July 14, 1986, a delegation of forum participants was received by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They gave him the text of the declaration the forum adopted.

Mikhail Gorbachev has said that the initiative which was realised at the forum of scientists is extremely important, as indeed is everything else that is being done today to stop the arms race and launch a real disarmament process. We have all come up to a line, he went on to say, beyond which unpredictable processes can begin. Everybody must act today—politicians, scientists and nations. We have entered a stage in the scientific and technological revolution when new discoveries can whip up the arms race even further and create a situation whereby it will be far more difficult even to start negotiations.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the forum adopted a responsible document consonant with the interests of all nations, irrespective of their political systems, and those of all people, regardless of their political affiliations. Another important aspect is that the document was drafted and unanimously adopted by experts.

The outcome of the Moscow forum is evidence that prerequisites are ripe for a new mode of thinking and fresh approaches to tackling the cardinal issues—those of curbing the nuclear arms race and starting disarmament. A nuclear test ban must be a first step. You raise the question of lessening the risk of nuclear war, of the need for vigorous action, Mikhail Gorbachev said. The Soviet leadership agrees with your opinion that the ending of nuclear tests should be the first step in this direction.



There is an opinion that the problem of nuclear tests cannot be reduced to a moratorium alone. The USSR says, the moratorium is not an end in itself. What is needed to completely solve this problem is a treaty which would ban nuclear tests completely and everywhere under international law. And the Soviet Union is for such a treaty.

The mechanism of negotiations must be set in motion. The USSR is ready to accept everything that is acceptable to its partners—be it bilateral Soviet-American talks, trilateral talks between the USSR, the USA and Britain, multilateral talks within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Conference or a conference of the states signatory to the 1963 Moscow Treaty, with the aim of extending the Treaty's operation to the underground explosions. The main thing is to clear the obstacles and take bold steps on the long-charted way towards universal security via disarmament.

The USSR certainly lays no claim to monopoly in determining the ways and means of completely solving the nuclear test ban problem. On the contrary, it is prepared to consider attentively and seriously the views and ideas on this score expressed by other countries, large and small.

On July 25, the USSR initiated the Geneva talks of Soviet and American experts on the entire range of problems involved in stopping and banning nuclear tests and defining the ways and terms of renouncing nuclear tests and verifying the compliance with the ban.

The current US Administration is unwilling to stop all the nuclear tests, although this move would effectively curb the arms race. Until

recently it has declined to enter into any negotiations on this issue. However, the firm and consistent policy of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving nations, and the pressure of world public opinion, and that in the USA itself, have borne fruit—Washington was compelled to change its stance. Particularly important in this respect was also the unilateral Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. It was heartily welcomed by world public opinion and placed the USA in a difficult situation. In other words, that the USA has been forced to sit down at the negotiating table is an achievement of Soviet diplomacy and all the peace forces.

Today it is hard to say yet how the negotiations will develop and how the USA will behave at the talks. The main thing is to do everything possible to keep from slipping by the favourable opportunities created by the Soviet Union for ending nuclear tests. Today the solution of the question of whether or not nuclear tests will continue depends on the United States.

"The Soviet Union is confident," says the Statement of August 18, 1986 "that agreements on ending nuclear tests can be reached speedily *this very year at the Soviet-American summit meeting*. That event would, undoubtedly become *the main real outcome of the meeting*, a considerable step towards ending the arms race. It would be a kind of prologue to further progress at the talks on nuclear arms and on their elimination, to a radical improvement of the whole situation in the world."

Today humanity is faced with the following dilemma: whether to submit to the danger of nuclear weapons hanging over it like the sword of Damocles and jeopardising human civilisation or muster enough strength and courage to throw nuclear weapons to the scrap heap of history. And cessation of nuclear tests is a sure way to this. All nations and governments, and all people of goodwill must opt for the triumph of the reason and do what they can to turn a nuclear test ban into an international political reality. This is an imperative of our time. This concerns one and all. There is no place for indifference here.

THE LESSONS OF BERN— WHO IS AGAINST CONTACTS

Yuri K A S H L E V,

Head of the Soviet delegation at the Bern conference

In April-May 1986, in Bern, capital of Switzerland, a European Conference of experts on people-to-people contacts was held, with the participation of representatives from 33 European countries, the USA and Canada. The decision to convene it was taken back in 1983 at the Madrid meeting of the participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Within the framework of the Helsinki process, going on for more than a decade, it was the first forum specially devoted to the problems of expanding and promoting contacts and exchanges between institutions and organisations of the participating countries and between individuals on the basis of family ties, including reunification of families, marriages between citizens of different countries, etc.

The USSR's position at the Bern conference stemmed first, from the overall attitude of the USSR to the Helsinki process and, second, from the new, active Soviet approach to the problem of international humanitarian cooperation.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme approved by the 27th CPSU Congress states that the Party "will make consistent efforts to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust and peaceful cooperation in Europe, which was launched on the initiative and with the active participation of the Soviet Union, develops and deepens".

Co-operation in the humanitarian realm is considered by the Soviet Union not only possible, but necessary. It is designed to promote interaction based on mutual respect and truly civilised norms. One should only rid the given sphere of time-serving elements, hypocrisy and speculation and pinpoint the realistic criteria and forms of relations between countries.

In the period that has elapsed since the signing of the Final Act, the Soviet Union has taken a variety of legislative and administrative measures aimed at achieving the goals declared in that document.

The new USSR Constitution, adopted in 1977, embodied all ten principles agreed upon by the CSCE participants for guidance in their mutual relations. This action taken by the Soviet Union has met with recognition and approval in many countries. By virtue of the new provisions in the USSR Constitution, legislation related to the sphere of human contacts has been substantially innovated.

This new legislation includes the Soviet Law on Citizenship of December 1, 1979; the law on the legal status of foreign nationals in the USSR of July 24, 1981; the law on the state borders of the USSR of November 24, 1982; the residency rules for foreign nationals in the USSR, and the rules for transit of foreign nationals across the territory of the USSR as laid down by the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers of May 10, 1984. A number of substantial changes, some

relating to the USSR's international obligations, have been introduced into the fundamentals of the USSR civil, and marriage and family legislation and into the relevant Republican codes.

Of particular significance for the facilitation and development of human contacts in the light of provisions in the Helsinki Final Act is the law on the legal status of Foreign Nationals in the USSR, 1981. According to the law, foreign nationals permanently residing in the USSR are practically made equal with USSR citizens in the sphere of labour activity, rest and recreation, health protection, social security, housing and education. Most of these rights also apply to foreign nationals staying temporarily in the USSR.

In accordance with the provisions of the Final Act, a number of measures have been taken in the USSR aimed at simplifying procedures for issuing entrance and exit visas. Specifically, the time for processing applications for entrance to and exit from the USSR has been reduced twofold. Entrance visas to foreign nationals are issued within 7-10 days' time from the moment of submitting documents to Soviet consulates, and foreign passports for Soviet citizens going abroad are processed within 15 to 30 days. The state fee for issuing documents required for personal travel abroad has been reduced by 50 per cent. Local financial bodies have been given the right to exempt fully or in part citizens on the basis of their income level from paying the state fee. Persons under 16 are fully exempted from paying such a fee. The period of time an applicant must wait before his rejected application can be reconsidered has been cut in half. At present, the applicant's request for exit from the country may be reconsidered within six months, with state fee annulled in case of a renewed application. The very procedure for issuing exit permits from the USSR has been simplified: the number of required documents has been reduced, customs formalities connected with taking abroad effects and household things, including durables, have been simplified.

All these actions unilaterally undertaken by the Soviet Union, substantially facilitate contacts on the basis of family ties and trips on personal or professional grounds. This is also facilitated by the administrative decision that annuls visas for persons making voyages on Soviet and foreign ships in cases of going ashore at ports of call, as well as for foreign air passengers in direct transit.

Actions by the Soviet state aimed at facilitating and developing contacts go beyond measures of a unilateral nature. An important contribution to the development of contacts are intergovernmental agreements concluded by the USSR with a number of socialist countries participating in the CSCE on simplifying the procedure for crossing the state borders by citizens who reside in frontier areas. These agreements make it possible for Soviet and foreign citizens to effect contacts on the basis of family ties, private trips for betrothal purposes, marriages, participation in various festive occasions, receiving medical aid and on other personal grounds.

With a number of countries participating in CSCE, agreements have been concluded on mutual visa-free trips, on the further reduction of time for visa issuing, on multiple entry visas, on transit and consular issues. Among these countries are: France, Italy, Belgium, Canada, and some other states.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the point that in our time various contacts and exchanges among people and individuals are a natural process. Millions of Soviet citizens take part in such contacts and exchanges every year.

The reference is, naturally, to mutual, bilateral contacts and trips, not to emigration. In the Soviet Union, understandably, there are no social or national causes of emigration. There is no unemployment in the USSR;

the Soviet Constitution gives equal social, political and cultural rights to all citizens, regardless of nationality (of which there are more than a hundred). It should be mentioned that the USSR legislation prohibits the propagation of racial and national hatred or supremacy.

Exit of citizens from the USSR for permanent residency in other countries is mainly connected with reunification of families and marriages with foreign nationals. Not infrequently, attempts are made to present the whole large and multifaceted area of human contacts as merely the problem of reunification of families and marriages with foreigners. Actually, the number of such cases in the overall volume of contacts between persons is rather small, though we recognise their importance for those individuals who wish to reunite with their relatives or to marry a citizen from another country. As regards marriages with foreign nationals, in recent years more than 30,000 Soviet citizens have entered into such marriages, and approximately half of these (about 15,000) have without hindrance left with their spouses for other countries for permanent residency.

The problem of reunification of families in the USSR concerns mainly those few nationalities in which for historical reasons, particularly as a result of the Second World War, close relatives have been separated and have found themselves scattered in different countries. In order for families to reunite, some people emigrated from the USSR most of whom were Jews, Germans, Spaniards, Greeks and representatives of a number of other nationalities. On the other hand, for the same reason many Armenians, Ukrainians and people of other nationalities have immigrated to the Soviet Union. Overall, in recent decades more than 300,000 people have moved to the USSR for good and have become Soviet citizens, and about the same number of persons have left the USSR for permanent residency in foreign countries. Understandably, the volume of such arrivals and exits has gradually reduced—the majority of the separated families have reunited. So, at present, the extent of this problem is far smaller than in the first postwar decades.

The USSR comes out in favour of resolving in a humanistic and positive spirit concrete issues of developing human contacts, reunification of families, contracting marriages between citizens of different countries, etc. However, all this should be done while unconditionally respecting in international practice the rights of each nation to sovereignly choose ways and forms for its development in strict conformity with the aims and principles of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

Proceeding from the principled attitude of the Soviet Union to the Helsinki process and taking into account the importance of the Bern conference, the Soviet delegation was, during all of its work, consistently coming out in favour of a detailed, businesslike and balanced discussion, in a constructive, non-confrontational spirit, of all aspects of the question of the development of contacts between individuals, institutions and organisations, as set forth in the Final Act and in the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting. Our delegation stated from the outset that it sought concrete results, not a propaganda contest. And the delegation was following this line not only in the course of the general discussion, but also in debating the concrete proposals put forward, as well as in the process of the hard work of preparing the text of the conference's Concluding Document.

This highly humanistic and principled approach on the part of the USSR made it possible for the Soviet delegation to come out at Bern with a whole set of concrete proposals aimed at expanding and promoting

human contacts. The Soviet Union put forward a total of 14 proposals, including those made jointly with other delegations from the Warsaw Treaty member states, that is, more than any other delegation. All together the number of proposals authored by the Warsaw Treaty countries amounted to 24 (out of the 49 registered at the conference). The very number of the proposals testifies to the sincere interest on the part of the socialist countries in expanding human contacts. These proposals embrace practically the whole gamut of mass contacts between millions of people, institutions and organisations, without simply being reduced to the questions of family ties among citizens of the participating countries.

Of particular importance, a matter of principle, was the Soviet delegation's recommendation to the effect that all participating countries take concrete measures on perfecting administrative procedures and practices on questions of exit and entrance on family grounds, taking account of the international norms and understandings formalised in the Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. While putting forward this proposal, the Soviet delegation stated that such work was already under way in the USSR and that its results would be promulgated.

Of great importance for the development of contacts between individuals, institutions and organisations are intergovernmental and inter-departmental agreements, protocols and programmes on exchanges in various fields, concluded on a bilateral basis. As experience shows, the creation of a network of such agreements, protocols and programmes, ensures a reliable treaty base for cooperation and makes it possible to develop cooperation regardless of all kinds of fluctuations and considerations of a transitory nature. Taking this into account, the delegations of the USSR and Bulgaria advanced a proposal stressing the importance of such agreements, protocols and exchanges and concentrating on the need for the sides to fulfil the commitments assumed. In this connection it is also important to secure favourable conditions for receiving in participating countries cultural, scientific and educational workers, athletes and representatives of relevant institutions and organisations, as was proposed by the delegations from the PRB, the GDR and the USSR.

An exceedingly important role in the development of contacts is played by the ties between the participating countries' trade unions, which are the broadest mass organisations. They help draw together peoples in the countries with different socio-political systems. This was precisely the aim of the proposal advanced by the Soviet delegation jointly with the PRB and CSSR delegations.

Playing an important role in the development of ties within the framework of the all-European process are contacts between youth and student organisations, ties between universities and other higher education establishments in the participating countries. With this in mind, the USSR delegation put forward and seconded proposals aimed at promoting and expanding such contacts on the part of the participating countries.

Contacts between individuals are a way for peoples to get to know each other better, to get acquainted with the achievements and way of life of other countries. A substantial role belongs here to tourist trips with the participation of the widest strata of the population. It was with this aim in view that the Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations advanced a proposal on creating favourable conditions for tourism for low-income people, as well as on expanding opportunities for tourists to meet with people of their own professions and trades employed at similar enterprises. Considering that some of the participating states had solved problems related to issuing visas, the delegations of the PRB and the USSR put forward a proposal for taking steps to reduce the time required for granting tourist visas in those countries where the process is unduly long.

A necessary condition for the development of human contacts is the

smooth functioning of transport facilities. With a view to tackling the problems in this realm, the delegations from the USSR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia advanced a proposal aimed at simplifying the visa issuing process for workers of railway, aviation, bus and shipping companies that organise tourist and other passenger traffic between participating countries.

Doubtless, contacts between persons, institutions and organisations cannot normally develop, unless the participating countries' governments take requisite measures with the aim of securing personal safety of citizens and representatives from other countries staying on their territory. That is why the delegations of the PRB and the USSR advanced an appropriate proposal on this score.

The above-mentioned and some other proposals on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were accompanied by their practical actions to realise the provisions of the Helsinki Act and Madrid Document with regard to contacts between persons, institutions and organisations. Suffice it to say that merely over the period of time the conference was in session about 20,000 Soviet citizens left the USSR for the CSCE participating countries on family grounds—some of them for permanent residency abroad.

Having become convinced that the approach taken by the USSR and other socialist countries to the issues advanced for consideration at the Bern conference was serious and constructive, the delegations of the overwhelming majority of the Western countries arrived at the conclusion that there were all requisite conditions for working out a meaningful Concluding Document developing important aspects of humanitarian cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki. A generally acceptable compromise draft Concluding Document was prepared, based on a draft proposed by the delegations of the neutral countries. On the eve of the conference's closure, this draft was approved in a preliminary way by the delegations of all the 35 countries, including the US delegation.*

But then, just a few hours before the official closing ceremony of the conference, the US delegation stated that instructions had been issued by Washington to come out against the adoption of the Concluding Document. With the specific of all-European forums where consensus is needed, it meant that the USA vetoed the Concluding Document.

What is then behind such a challenging action on the part of Washington?

Firstly, the USA had from the outset planned a failure of the Bern conference. Precisely such an outcome was in conformity with the USA's strategic line of undermining the all-European process, of abandoning the basic provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and of hindering or even disrupting dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe. Generally speaking, it was a reflection of a course that triumphed overseas, a course for aggravating international tensions, for dictat and foisting one's will on other nations, for breaking the established and generally accepted norms of international relations and cooperation.

Secondly, and most important, on many of the issues discussed in Bern the USA exposed itself. The conference substantially demonstrated that it was namely this country which had been grossly violating understandings of Helsinki and Madrid with regard to human contacts.

US immigration legislation contains provisions prohibiting entry into the USA of 33 categories of foreigners, including relatives of US citi-

* The draft of the Concluding Document is published in the present issue of our journal (pp. 156-159).

zens. Within the non grata category are persons adhering to "economic, international and state-legal doctrines of international communism".

The USA violates agreements and programmes concluded between states on these issues; it bars entry into its territory of representatives of mass public organisations from other countries. Basing themselves on the McCarran-Walter Act passed way back in the days of McCarthyism and on an internal security act, the US authorities deny entry into the USA to the progressive figures and representatives of democratic organisations in various countries. Specifically, entry visas are systematically denied to delegations of Soviet trade unions, even if officially invited by US trade unions.

The USA is introducing unwarranted limitations on exchanges in the field of science and education. It even refuses to ensure safety for performers and athletes. This is why the adoption in Bern of any constructive documents aimed at developing truly wide contacts between persons would require that the USA itself review its legislation and practices—and this would run counter to the present-day political line of the US ruling circles.

The ideological centres of the West, following the USA's line, were working to turn the conference into an arena of confrontation and propaganda skirmishes. These ideological centres resolved from the very outset to "create the right atmosphere" at and around the conference. The first two weeks alone of the experts' work in Bern saw scores of gatherings of organisations, such as the International of Resistance, and the Interparliamentary Conference in Defence of Soviet Jews, which are at work against the socialist countries. Some of these even opened branches in Bern, for example, a National Strategic Information Centre (this being an American organisation acting under the aegis of the CIA); the International Human Rights Association (based in the FRG, one of its leaders being a war criminal, I. Arguzov). Taking part in the gatherings were professional anti-Sovietiers and anti-communists: Bukovsky, Plyushch, Yves Montand, etc. In those days in Bern a "counterconference" took place which received a special message from the US President—no small surprise for the participants in the official all-Europe conference (for they themselves did not receive any message from the US leader).

When the USA vetoed the fruits of the hard collective work on the part of all participants in the all-Europe conference the world public saw that Washington completely disregards the interests of Europe and the needs and goals of millions of people; this veto graphically demonstrated that talk about human rights and contacts is for it a mere smoke screen instrumental in staging anti-communist campaigns and psychological warfare.

To sum up: a collision of two diametrically opposite types of political thinking took place in Bern. One of these constitutes a comprehensive, constructive and open approach to the solution of crucial problems of humanity, to creating a nuclear-free world and to the most extensive development of interaction, cooperation and contacts between people. This approach rejects the use of force in international relations and the foisting of one's will on others.

The other approach, which manifested itself clearly enough in Bern as well, is the mentality of a world policeman who is not willing to respect the will and the interests of other peoples. Having disrupted understandings at Bern, the USA placed itself in opposition to all of Europe and the whole world.

Nonetheless, those who have been seeking by any means to preserve the inertia of the cold war will have to introduce changes in their policy. For the very fact that at Bern a substantial document on such a complicated issue as human contacts was elaborated and agreed upon is a

sign of the new times, of the new approach; and this cannot but inject optimism as far as the Helsinki process is concerned, a process which continues to exist and develop. The negative stance taken in Bern cannot annual this tendency.

"The Soviet Union has unilaterally started working on those proposals which we laid on the table at Bern. Moreover, the USSR is ready in practice to be guided by the Bern draft, even though it has not been formally adopted, in bilateral relations with those countries which will wish to come to terms with us about this," stressed Mikhail Gorbachev on July 7, 1986, during the visit of François Mitterrand, President of the French Republic, to Moscow.

The USSR has, thus, taken one more step in the development of the all-Europe process. Further progress along this road will depend a lot on the response from the West.

SOVIET-SPANISH COOPERATION AND DETENTE IN EUROPE

(Continued from page 89)

their readiness to further develop mutually advantageous, equitable relations. The Soviet Union is ready to do its part. There is substantial evidence to show that Madrid is equally ready to do the same. This provides the necessary groundwork for the consistent development of Soviet-Spanish cooperation.

SOVIET-AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION IN THE 1980s

Pyotr K O S H E L E V

The development of equitable and friendly relations with newly-free states constitutes one of the major objectives and an important trend of the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet Union. The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union noted that the course of social progress is closely linked with anti-colonial revolutions and the national liberation movement. The newly independent states have been waging a severe struggle aimed at overcoming economic backwardness and, at times, dire poverty since they gained political independence. In the past, these countries were deprived of all rights and were the target of imperialist policies. The gaining of political independence opened up a new period of historical development of these countries.

The so-called African factor plays an increasingly important role in consolidating the position of newly-free countries. The African young states account for a half of all developing nations and the non-aligned countries and for one-third of the UN membership. It is not by chance that the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries took place in Africa, in Zimbabwe in 1986.

The recent fora of the Organisation of African Unity indicate that the young states of Africa have not only preserved but substantially enhanced their role in the international arena. Their collective stance on pressing African and international issues is anti-imperialist in its orientation. Moreover, they tend to assess the causes of their economic difficulties from anti-imperialist positions. The OAU documents and statements of many African leaders clearly indicate that the difficulties faced by African nations are the direct result of colonialism, neo-colonialism and the unjust international economic order. They also point out that these difficulties were caused by the detrimental effect on Africa of crises and inflationary processes in the world capitalist economy, by the plundering of the continent's natural wealth by transnational corporations, and by the catastrophic growth of the external debt burden. In addition, they take note of the fact that the difficult economic situation of African nations and other developing countries is simply ignored by the imperialist powers.

In these conditions the Soviet Union supports the just struggle of African countries against imperialism and the domination of transnational corporations, for the assertion of their sovereign right to their natural resources, for the restructuring of international relations on a just and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order, for the elimination of the external debt burden which was imposed by the imperialist countries in pursuance of their militaristic policy.

This stand of the Soviet Union has been embodied in its comprehen-

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sive mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation with developing countries.

The Soviet Union cooperates with African countries in many spheres. Particularly important is the Soviet Union's diversified economic and technical assistance in the development of independent national economies and industrialisation, in setting up new industries and branches of the economy, and the reconstruction and expansion of the existing capacities.

The Soviet Union's economic and technical assistance to African countries is not aimed at establishing economic control over their natural resources and economy. Nor does the Soviet Union abuse its economic power. The cooperation is based on the long-standing time-tested principles of a new type of international relations created by socialism, i. e., the complete and actual equality of the parties concerned, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

The main objective of the Soviet Union's economic and technical cooperation with independent African states and other developing nations is to contribute towards their economic independence through the development of national economies.

Independent African states seek to solve their problems by establishing diversified national economies and restructuring their patterns. In solving this task, however, they face gigantic difficulties which are caused, inter alia, by opposition put up by internal reactionary forces, imperialist states and foreign monopolies. Therefore, it is only natural that African countries turn to the Soviet Union for assistance, particularly those states which proclaim socialist orientation as the main objective of their social development. In the Soviet Union they see a reliable partner, a friend and an ally which is ready to help them in economic development.

At the same time, it should be stressed that the Soviet Union promotes economic relations with those African countries which are interested in this cooperation; it gives them economic and technical assistance, irrespective of their state system and orientation of social development.

The number of African partners with whom the Soviet Union cooperates on the basis of inter-governmental agreements is growing steadily. In 1960 it had such agreements with four countries; in 1970 the number of partners reached 20, and in 1975, the Soviet Union had inter-governmental agreements on economic and technical cooperation with 28 African nations. Today, the Soviet Union has signed inter-governmental agreements with 37 developing countries of Africa.

Likewise, the scope and dimensions of the Soviet Union's economic assistance to African nations are rapidly expanding. Thus, the Soviet Union's cooperation with African countries has increased six times over since 1970. More than 300 projects have been built in Africa with Soviet assistance, some 300 projects are currently under construction or have been scheduled for construction.

The successful development of economic relations between the Soviet Union and African states in the 1980s is largely due to the existence of long-term programmes of economic cooperation and of inter-governmental joint commissions whose activities put the Soviet Union's economic and technical assistance on a planned basis. Long-term programmes of economic cooperation have been signed with Algeria, Angola, Ethiopia, Libya and Mozambique.

Inter-governmental joint commissions on economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation have been set up with Algeria, Angola, the Congo, Ethiopia, Libya, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique and Tunisia. There are prerequisites for setting up similar commissions with Guinea, Nigeria and other countries. The Soviet Union's cooperation with African coun-

ries, therefore, is characterised by a stable division of labour that makes it possible to plan the utilisation of natural resources for the attainment of long-term socio-economic objectives, on the one hand, and to oppose and counteract the international system of economic expansion of Western states, on the other.

The economic and technical cooperation of young African countries with the Soviet Union is marked by a high degree of reliability, since the Soviet Union has never unilaterally terminated its project agreements. This reliability, therefore, enhances the stability of national economic programmes and creates the conditions for a more rational and efficient utilisation of domestic and external resources and for the attainment of long-term objectives of socio-economic development.

An important feature of the Soviet Union's economic cooperation with the developing countries of Africa lies in the fact that the constructed projects belong primarily to the state sector and provide a solid basis for its development. Here a comprehensive approach to project implementation is ensured, beginning with the designing and construction to personnel training and plant operation. The governments of young African states, therefore, can mobilise the necessary funds and channel them for the solution of the most important, priority tasks of socio-economic development of their countries.

Western countries, however, seek to oppose and hinder the growth and expansion of the public sector, reduce to a minimum or eliminate the system of state regulation of economic development. They try to block the development of economic ties of newly free states with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community by promoting, inter alia, the erroneous idea about the exclusive superiority of Western technology and equipment.

It should be noted in this connection that this erroneous concept has been proved invalid by the results of economic and technical cooperation of the Soviet Union with many developing nations. There are numerous convincing examples showing that Soviet technology in such fields as power generation, including hydro-power plants, geology and drilling, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and other economic sectors is not inferior but superior in many cases to the technology, technical and economic characteristics of the equipment supplied by developed capitalist countries.

For instance, the aluminium plant in Nag Hammadi (Egypt), which was designed by Soviet experts and equipped with Soviet machinery, has rapidly reached the installed capacity. It is one of the most efficient of the country's enterprises: not only does it meet domestic demands but exports aluminium earning some \$120-130 million in foreign currency yearly. The plant's major economic and technical specifications are better than those of similar plants, built with the aid from the West.

The efficiency of cooperation with the Soviet Union is also visible in comprehensive economic ties between this country and Nigeria.

The Soviet Union provided technical assistance in prospecting and exploring natural resources for metallurgy, i. e., iron-ore fields, deposits of partially coking coals, etc. Nigeria was found to be rich in non-ore raw materials. It became possible, therefore, to extend cooperation aimed at constructing a metallurgical plant in Ajaokute (Nigeria). The project will be the largest in Tropical Africa. When completed, this plant with a full production cycle will produce 1.3 million tons of steel annually, and the prospected iron-ore resources will ensure its operation for 25 to 30 years.

The project will cover much of the country's demand for ferrous metals. In 1990, when the plant reaches its installed capacity, 34 per cent of the country's demand for ferrous metals will be met, as compared with

13 per cent in 1984. In the year 2000, should the plant expand its output to five million tons per annum, the country will become completely self-sufficient in terms of ferrous metals.

As far as the social issues are concerned, the construction of the plant and related enterprises will create additional jobs and promote the training of local personnel. When the three units of the plant become operational, they will provide jobs for some 15,000 people, and the number of the workers employed by the related enterprises will increase to 140,000. More than 10,000 Nigerian workers participate in the construction of the plant in Ajaokute today.

The Soviet Union plays an important role in the training programmes for national personnel to be employed at the plant. For instance, Soviet enterprises will provide on-the-job training for more than 1,500 Nigerian workers. To train workers for the construction of the plant and for the assembly of equipment there, a special training workshop was set up. Some 2,000 skilled Nigerian workers in 27 trades are trained there annually.

Personnel for the Nigerian iron-and-steel industry will also be trained at the complex to be built with the participation of the Soviet Union. The complex will comprise a polytechnical school for 680 students and a training centre for 1,400 people.

Soviet organisations usually assist African countries on the basis of credits. The Soviet Union's credit relations with the developing countries, as its foreign economic relations in general, offer an example of international relations which are based on equality and mutual benefit.

Unlike the imperialist powers, the Soviet Union grants the newly-free countries long-term state and commercial credits without any political or other strings attached. Nor does it attempt to infringe upon their sovereignty and national dignity.

The Soviet Union's credit relations, as those of other socialist states, with the developing countries differ radically from the credits granted by the neocolonialists of the West both in the terms of their socio-economic essence and specific forms, the terms of payment, goals and results. By granting credits, the Soviet Union does not seek any privileges, concessions, control over the natural resources of other countries or superprofits. On the contrary, the Soviet Union assists the developing countries, including African states, in their independent economic development, modernisation of their economies and in promoting their socio-economic development.

Taking into account the objective difficulties facing the developing countries and regarding credit assistance as an efficient instrument for the promotion of equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation, the Soviet Union has recently expanded the scale of its crediting operations with the developing countries.

From 1983 to 1985, when the tensions in monetary and financial relations of these countries had reached an unprecedented level, the annual volume of the credits granted by the Soviet Union increased about 100 per cent. To compare, suffice it to say that the credits approved by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development during the same period increased by only two per cent. Moreover, in some cases the Soviet Union meets the requests of the developing countries and grants grace periods: from 1981 to 1985 such grace periods were granted to almost 20 countries which found it hard to repay the credits.

The credit assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries does not result in the accumulation of such external debts that would constitute a serious burden for the recipient

countries. Moreover, it cannot and does not lead to the accumulation of the developing countries' external debts beyond the repayable limits.

It is not by chance, therefore, that the socialist countries account for only three per cent of the external debt of all developing countries. At the same time, the African countries alone owe more than \$170,000 million to Western states and banks. The socialist countries bear no responsibility for the crisis situation that has emerged with Africa's external indebtedness. This responsibility rests entirely with the developed capitalist countries. The external debt crisis was engendered by the imperialist policy aimed at keeping the African countries in the orbit of capitalism, at preserving and maintaining their role of a dependent and exploited link in the world capitalist economic chain.

The Soviet Union's credits are granted, as a rule, on more preferential and advantageous terms than those provided to the African countries by official Western creditors.

As is known, the conditions and terms of crediting are best characterised by the following indices: the interest rate, the payment period and the grace period. To assess the aggregate impact of all three elements, the international practice applies the so-called grant element aimed at uniformly evaluating the terms of credits and loans. The grant element takes into account the share of the potential profits that the creditor voluntarily hands over to the debtor, i. e., subsidises the latter, as it were. In other words, 100 per cent of the grant element means a grant.

The terms on which Western financial aid is given to African countries have become considerably less preferential since the beginning of the 1980s. The average weighed grant element index for the state-provided Western credits, which is calculated on the basis of the *World Debt Tables* published by the IBRD, declined from 41.7 per cent in 1980 to 29.1 per cent in 1983. (These figures are given only for the developing countries of Africa, with South Africa excluded.)

The likewise calculated grant element for the state-provided credits of the Soviet Union to African countries generally amounts to 38.6 per cent or 35.9 per cent if commercial credits are taken into account. These figures convincingly show that Soviet credits are granted on more preferential terms than those from the West.

Since the debt crisis of African countries exceeds the scope and dimensions of temporary payment difficulties and constitutes a long-term structural phenomenon, the principal solution to the debt problem is directly and inseparably linked with the general objectives of restructuring international economic relations on a just, equitable and democratic basis, the stabilisation of exchange rates, renunciation of trade protectionism, restructuring of the international monetary-financial system in the interests of all states. This was emphatically expressed in a Memorandum of the Soviet Government issued in 1986 and entitled *International Economic Security of States as an Important Condition of Improving International Economic Relations*. All these measures provide for the elimination of the unequal position of African countries in the world capitalist economy which they inherited from colonialism.

Taking into account the monetary difficulties of the developing countries, the Soviet Union is ready to accept as payment these countries' staple exports as well as goods produced by enterprises which were set up with Soviet assistance. Soviet credits are sometimes repaid in national currencies which are eventually also used to buy local products.

Mutual benefit is ensured most when projects are built on a compensatory basis. In other words, both parties have an interest in the products to be manufactured. In this case, Soviet credits are repaid by the products manufactured by the enterprises built on the funds ~~thus~~ acquired or

through services provided by the African side (e. g., maintenance and repair of Soviet fishing vessels).

Compensatory agreements have been concluded with the Congo, Guinea, Ethiopia, Mali, Morocco and Mozambique. There exist plans calling for the conclusion of similar agreements with Tanzania, Angola and other African countries.

The practices pursued by the Soviet Union in the field of compensatory cooperation with the developing countries graphically confirm that the developing countries can both attract financial and material resources from abroad to develop their national economies and make timely payments for the rendered assistance without spending the foreign currency they badly need. Besides, when credits are repaid by the supplies of local products, not only the terms of payment are made easier, it also stimulates the exports of the newly free countries.

Compensatory cooperation grows in scope and dimension. In the Soviet imports from all developing countries the share of the products supplied by jointly built projects amounts to some 20 per cent of the total. Twenty-eight projects have already been built and some forty-five are under construction.

Another graphic example of successful cooperation with African countries is offered by a bauxite dressing plant that was built with Soviet assistance in Guinea in 1974. Built on the compensatory basis, it is capable of annually producing 3,000,000 tons of bauxites. The plant became very profitable two years after it was commissioned. It exceeds the installed capacity, and the unit cost of production amounts to 35—40 per cent of the selling price. All in all, the plant has produced more than 27,000,000 tons of bauxites. Since the very moment the project became operational, the Soviet organisations steadfastly fulfilled their commitments and continue to buy bauxites, with 50 per cent of the receipts going for repaying the credits.

There are also other methods of commodity reimbursement of credits. For instance, meeting the request of Algeria, the Soviet Union concluded a large credit agreement with it in 1985 under which 50 per cent of the sum will be repaid by the supplies of Algerian goods. A similar long-term agreement was signed with Madagascar. It covers the period from 1986 to 1990.

Although the Soviet Union is not responsible for the hard legacy of colonialism left to the African countries, it has provided and will provide assistance to those African countries that need it. The Soviet Union also provides gratis aid in giving assistance to African countries in combating droughts, floods and other natural calamities, and helping to promote their public health and education facilities. For example, in 1984-1985 assistance was given to Ethiopia to combat the consequences of the catastrophic drought. To evacuate the victims and to supply foodstuffs, medicines and basic necessities to remote regions, the Soviet Union provided free of charge 12 aircraft, 24 helicopters with crews, 340 lorries including cranes, fuel lorries, movable workshops and so on. In addition, a mobile hospital was set up in the town of Asosa.

The Soviet Union provides virtually gratis large-scale assistance in the training of national personnel for African countries. This assistance includes the construction of institutions of higher learning, polytechnical schools and training centres, the assignment of Soviet teaching staff, on-the-job training during the construction and operation of the projects, and education of Africans in the USSR.

More than 450,000 specialists and skilled workers have been trained by the Soviet Union for African countries; some 250,000 of them have been trained at different institutions and training centres set up in African countries with Soviet assistance, another 150,000 have acquired their skills

in the course of construction and operation of projects, and more than 30,000 have been educated and today 22,000 students receive training at Soviet establishments of higher learning and secondary technical schools.

About 100 various educational establishments have been set up and equipped in African countries with Soviet assistance. Every year over 1,500 Soviet teachers are working in African states.

The orientation of the Soviet Union's economic and technical assistance by various sectors of the economy fully takes into account the requests of the governments concerned, their concepts of socio-political and economic development.

Another specific feature of the Soviet Union's assistance lies in its industrial orientation and comprehensive nature. This approach makes it possible to gradually shape territorial and industrial complexes in the economies of newly free countries, for instance, the Aswan High Dam and the power generating complex in Egypt, the iron-and-steel works in Nigeria, and the bauxite plant in Guinea.

Industry and power production account for some 75 per cent of the overall assistance. This high share of the industry attests to the role it plays in the total volume of production in the developing countries, in laying the material and technical foundation for technical reconstruction, structural changes and eliminating the disproportions in economic development by one's own efforts.

The construction of key economic projects with Soviet assistance has yet another important economic and social aspect, i. e., it boosts employment thereby helping to resolve the urgent unemployment problem, typical of many African countries.

In its assistance to the industrial development of African countries the Soviet Union lays specific emphasis on the construction of heavy industry, primarily in the field of power production, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, mining and engineering, i. e., top priority is accorded to the projects that create the material and technical base for overcoming the economic backwardness and promoting other economic sectors.

The creation of projects with Soviet assistance in the basic industrial sectors of newly-free African states compels the capitalist countries to construct heavy industry there although this aid runs counter to their strategic objectives to preserve the former colonies as the source of raw materials and the market for manufactures from capitalist countries. Hence the important side effect of the Soviet Union's cooperation with the developing countries and of its emphasis on the industrial sphere.

By the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union has completed the construction or is engaged in the implementation of key projects in the foremost economic sectors controlled by the state, i. e., ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and infrastructure in Algeria; ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, enginee-

Aggregate Capacity of Industrial Enterprises Built or Being Constructed with Soviet Assistance (as of January 1, 1986)

Sector	Unit of measurement	Production capacity
Installed capacity of electric power stations	mln. kW	4.6
Pig-iron	mln. tons	4.1
Steel	mln. tons	4.5
Cement	mln. tons	2.5
Aluminium	thous. tons	170
Oil products	mln. tons	3.0
Bauxites	mln. tons	3.0
Lead and zinc concentrate	thous. tons	100
Metal-cutting tools	pieces	1,620
Tractors	pieces	1,000

ring and metal working, power production, oil refining and other industries in Egypt; irrigation projects in Tunisia; oil-refining, engineering, and power production in Ethiopia; mining in Guinea, the Congo and Mali; ferrous metallurgy in Nigeria; ship-repairing in Mozambique.

The economic and technical assistance provided by the Soviet Union will play in the near future an important role in the promotion of the following industries in African countries: power production—Algeria, Angola, Morocco, Tunisia, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Guinea Bissau; ferrous metallurgy—Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, and Zimbabwe; mining—Mozambique, Morocco, the Congo, Mali, Ghana and Madagascar; oil and gas production—Algeria, Libya and Ethiopia; and building materials industry—Angola, Algeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, the Seychelles and other countries.

At the same time, an important role in economic development will be played by the construction of infrastructure in Algeria, Libya, Mozambique, the Congo, Madagascar, Cabo Verde and other African countries.

In the 1980s due to the sharp aggravation in the food situation on the African continent, the Soviet Union has been laying specific emphasis on the economic and technical assistance in developing agriculture and eliminating the consequences of the food crisis in Africa. This assistance is given to 16 African countries and covers 155 projects, more than 60 of which have been commissioned.

Unlike the so-called food aid, which is provided by Western states and often leads to greater dependence of the recipient countries, the Soviet Union's assistance is aimed at promoting the long-term interests of the developing countries.

The Soviet Union firmly believes that assistance should be aimed at combatting not the consequences of backwardness but its causes, that real progress in solving the food problem of developing countries can be achieved only on the basis of an expanded agricultural production in the countries concerned. Soviet assistance contributes to the consolidation of the national production capacities in African countries, particularly of those related to agriculture. Thus, the Soviet Union helps solve the food problem in African countries.

The plans for 1986-1990 are calling for further expansion of cooperation, particularly with the countries of Tropical Africa, in the field of agriculture and related agro-businesses, including fishery and fish product industry.

The share of the Soviet Union's technical assistance in this field will increase to 20 per cent of the entire assistance of this country to its partners in the region concerned as against 6 to 7 per cent in the early 1980s.

This figure graphically confirms that the Soviet Union entirely supports the African Priority Programme of Economic Rehabilitation for 1986-1990 which was approved at the meeting of heads of state and government of the OAU member countries in July 1985. The Programme provides, inter alia, for special efforts aimed at rehabilitating and developing agriculture so as to raise the share of capital inputs to this section by 1990 to the level of 20-25 per cent of the entire volume of national budgetary investments.

The major directions of Soviet assistance to African countries in the development of agro-businesses are as follows:

(a) development of new farm lands and comprehensive use of water resources in Algeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Guinea, Madagascar, Tanzania and some other countries;

(b) mechanisation of agriculture and introduction of maintenance

and repair centres for agricultural machinery and equipment in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Guinea, Madagascar and other countries;

(c) construction of storage and processing capacities for agricultural produce and promotion of sea fishing in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania and other countries;

(d) assistance in personnel training for the agricultural sector of many African countries through the provision of seats at Soviet educational establishments or training at local agricultural centres in Mali, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda, Cameroon and Madagascar.

The Soviet Union provides economic and technical assistance to African countries either in the form of cooperation in building projects on the terms of technical assistance or through the provision of subcontracting services.

When the project is constructed on the terms of technical assistance, the management and organisational aspects of the work rest with the recipient country, and Soviet organisations perform feasibility studies, supply the equipment, materials and spare parts, second specialists to assemble the equipment and give technical assistance in the process of construction. Besides, further assistance can be subsequently provided in the operation of the project.

This form of assistance is advantageous from the point of view that it contributes to the establishment of a ramified network of industrial facilities and housing projects, personnel training both for the needs of construction and further operation of project. It promotes the development of local building firms and reduces the recipient's expenditures in foreign currency.

Soviet organisations have accumulated vast experience of technical assistance to African countries in the construction of industrial, power production, irrigation and other facilities, such as the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, the Tractor Works and the Melka-Wakana Hydro-Power Station in Ethiopia, a ship repair plant in Mozambique, ore-dressing plants in the Congo and Mali, and other projects.

In the case of subcontracting, Soviet organisations bear full responsibility, including managerial and organisational, for ensuring the supply of necessary equipment and materials, project documentation and labour. Besides, they supervise the construction process, bear responsibility for the quality of work, on-time commissioning, and smooth operation of the technological equipment and installations during the warranty period.

Despite certain difficulties encountered in promoting this type of cooperation, the Soviet side has built or is building on subcontracts projects such as a bauxite plant in Guinea, oil pipelines and a metallurgical plant in Nigeria, a nuclear research centre and a gas pipeline in Libya, a thermal electric power station, Jigele, (630 MW) and a gas pipeline in Algeria. There are also plans for the construction of many projects on the subcontracting basis in Angola.

Along with tested forms of cooperation, the CMEA countries expand their multilateral cooperation in providing technical assistance to African countries. Thus, Soviet organisations closely cooperate with foreign trade organisations of the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in the construction of the iron-and-steel works in Nigeria and with their Czechoslovak partners in the construction of the Melka-Wakana Hydro-Power Station in Ethiopia.

There are plans calling for cooperative efforts of the CMEA member countries in the exploitation of coking coal mines and the reconstruction of the Beira-Moatize railroad in Mozambique. A joint CMEA-Mozambique commission has been set up and it is planned to establish similar commissions with Angola and Ethiopia.

In general, the prospects for the promotion of economic and technical cooperation of the Soviet Union with African countries in the 1980s and 1990s look favourable. The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, which were adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, contain the following provision: "To deepen cooperation with developing countries. To render them assistance in the construction of industrial projects, the development of transport, agricultural mechanisation and land irrigation, geological prospecting for mineral and fuel reserves, personnel training and in other fields, while promoting the broader industrial use of natural wealth and an increase of commodity resources in these countries, the formation and development of their national economies and their advancement along the road of independence and progress. To continue the consistent implementation of long-term, coordinated programmes of trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with these countries."

The Soviet Union's relations with African countries are not aimed against any state or people. They pursue specific vital objectives, i. e., consolidation of peace, elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, establishment of equitable international economic relations, and acceleration of economic development aimed at overcoming the economic backwardness of newly-free states.

The major outcome of the Soviet Union's economic and technical cooperation with developing African countries is the development of productive forces of these countries and their economic independence.

Available estimates indicate that in order to raise their industrial production, to increase the agrotechnical level of agriculture to combat droughts, to develop transport and communications for the period up to 2000, the newly-free states of Africa will require not less than \$150,000 million. These funds can be obtained if and when the wasting of material and intellectual resources for military purposes discontinues both in Africa and the entire world. Thus, by linking the contemporary economic problems with the issues of international security, the cessation of the arms race and prevention of nuclear war, the Soviet Union speaks of the necessity to consolidate the struggle including that of the developing countries for peace on the Earth, for disarmament, and for the solution on this basis of many tasks of economic development so as to replace the old principle "arms instead of development" with a new one—"disarmament for the sake of development".

TODAY'S REALITIES AND THE "NUCLEAR DETERRENCE" DOCTRINE

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The 27th CPSU Congress stated that the main aim of the foreign policy strategy of the CPSU is to provide the Soviet people with the possibility of working under conditions of lasting peace and freedom. This is why the struggle for maintaining and strengthening international peace, against the danger of nuclear war and the arms race remains the main strategy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government. There is no reasonable alternative to such policies because the nature of arms stock-piled in huge quantities today leaves no hope for anyone to defend himself by military political means. Even the most dependable defences which could sustain a direct nuclear attack will not be able to save humankind from the deadly after-effect of an atomic war. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress emphasised: "In the context of the relations between the USSR and the USA, security can only be mutual, and if we take international relations as a whole it can only be universal." Such security can only be ensured by political means, through disarmament and reducing the extremely dangerous military confrontation to a minimal level. What is needed to take this road is primarily political will.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have such will, as is indicated by their unrelentless efforts to relax international tensions and their numerous initiatives contributing to the cause of maintaining peace on Earth. The most important initiatives are the Soviet Statement of January 15, 1986 containing a concrete programme for eliminating nuclear and all other types of mass destruction weapons by the beginning of the third millennium, and the June Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty member-states to the NATO countries, to all European states, containing detailed proposals on considerable reductions of armed forces and conventional weapons on the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals.

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In his reply to the Soviet January Statement, the US President agreed that the elimination of nuclear arms is a goal to be pursued by all nuclear powers. In that same message, however, the head of the US Administration actually blocked the shortest way to ridding humankind of the threat of self-annihilation by refusing to stop nuclear tests. This refusal is backed up by the allegation that nuclear arms are a "detering" factor. In other words, Washington continues to persistently cling to its "nuclear deterrence" doctrine.

Semantically, the English word "deterrence" has the same Latin root as the word "terror" in most European languages. The dictionary defines "deterrence" as an act, behaviour or factors of influence based on instilling fear, terror, etc. in the counteragent for the purpose of restraining him from undesirable actions by demonstrating a superior force and intending to use it as punishment. There is no Russian equivalent word for

the English "deterrence". In some cases the adherents of this concept resort to the French word "disuasion", a "milder" term in which the "terror" element is not so explicit. But this word juggling does not alter the essence of the concept based in both cases on force or, to be more precise force of arms as a means of containment by fear.

This linguistic explanation seems to be necessary for understanding the meaning and essence of the key Western conception under review here.

The "nuclear deterrence" doctrine emerged and developed in US political and academic circles in the early 1950s, i. e., when the cold war was in full swing. Its emergence was caused by the need somehow to explain and justify the stepped-up stockpiling and improvement of nuclear arms and their delivery vehicles underway in the United States at that time. The US military establishment needed it badly because it wanted to have a well-grounded nuclear strategy staking on victory in a potential large-scale war through the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

Rapid scientific and technical progress was opening up broad prospects for using atomic weapons in combat, but there was no nuclear strategy as such. The emergence in the mid-1950s of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) capable of speedily delivering nuclear charges to targets on enemy territory and inflicting unrepairable damage was a powerful boost for evolving such a strategy. In the opinion of Western experts, nuclear missiles made it possible to achieve desirable objectives by threatening to deal a destructive blow, without engaging in open hostilities with enemy armed forces. This qualitatively new situation posed a series of complex problems to military and political strategists. Their solution was offered by the sponsors of the "nuclear deterrence" doctrine.

Initially, many problems that had arisen in this connection were hypothetical, for which reason the very process of their analysis and search for adequate solutions was on the level of abstractions or ideas divorced, as a rule, from reality. Gradually the central idea of the "deterrence" conception (the development of a nuclear force powerful enough to deter a potential enemy) began to be supplemented with increasingly ramifying theories and doctrines with their own schools, trends and groups. The political scientists who had sponsored this conception were joined by mathematicians, physicists, economists, and also specialists from related sciences. They raised the development of the "deterrence" doctrine to a higher level of abstraction with the use of mathematical computations, physical formulas and numerical indicators, which lent it an increasingly pseudo-scientific "respectable" form and therefore made it increasingly "convincing, invulnerable and irrefutable".

In this situation a rather logical solution suggested itself: foreign policy should be geared to "scientific discoveries" in the field of strategy. As a result, politics took on the seeming orderliness and trustworthiness of an exact science and with time became, especially for most laymen, the only right policy that required no alternative or even excluded it. This is how the military-political strategy of the United States and then NATO developed in the nuclear age. It is exactly this kind of strategy that its sponsors and adherents want to have. It is in this light that this idea was presented to the people of Western and many other countries for many decades.

Given a closer look, however, "nuclear deterrence", despite its seeming orderliness, logic and consistency, turns out to be not only untenable, but also fraught with dangerous consequences. According to this doctrine, the United States must possess a big enough nuclear arsenal which would deter a potential aggressor from an armed attack against the United States or its allies. The potential aggressor allegedly threatening Western security was and remains the Soviet Union, of course. The former British naval officer M. McCwire from the Brookings Institution wrote that "the

'Soviet threat' was a given. The Soviet Union was assumed to have a relentless drive for territorial conquest... The governing concept of deterrence assumed a Soviet urge above all to seize Europe; and it was this assumption that provided the basis for most strategic theorizing."¹ Many reasonable politicians understood full well that any "threat" on the part of the Soviet Union was out of the question, especially in the period when this conception was emerging and for many subsequent years when the United States had a considerable economic and military edge over the Soviet Union compelled to rehabilitate its war-ruined economy.

It is small wonder, to be sure that as is well known the myth of the "Soviet threat" or the "threat from the East" was invented by capitalist leaders as far back as the early years of the existence and development of the world's first socialist state to justify their own attempts to nip socialism in the bud, including by force of arms. Such attempts were also undertaken subsequently. Forty-five years ago, fascist Germany perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union under the banner of struggle against the "threat of Bolshevism", having unleashed the bloodiest war in human history.

The ruling circles of the imperialist powers grossly distorted the Soviet Union's foreign policy aims and the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the historical inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by a more progressive system, socialism, and strove to identify this change of socio-economic formations with a constant physical threat of the armed Soviet occupation of new territories in order to "spread communism". As time went on, socialism did extend beyond the frontiers of the USSR and established itself not only in Eastern Europe, but also on other continents. But this was not at all due to "aggressive actions by Moscow"; it was the result of the objective inner requirements of social development in a particular country. Lenin resolutely condemned the then fashionable theories of exporting socialism to other countries. Back in 1918, he noted that Marxism "has always been opposed to 'pushing' revolutions, which develop with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions."² The 27th CPSU Congress also said clearly and unequivocally: "Today, too, we are firmly convinced that promoting revolutions from outside, and even more so by military means, is futile and inadmissible."

And yet the myth of a Soviet or communist "threat" is still alive. It is advantageous and convenient for the capitalist West for a number of reasons. Specifically, the alleged outside threat is conducive to the internal ideological mobilisation of capitalism and justifies ever increasing military preparations in the developed countries of Western Europe and North America. Besides, the "threat" legend is regularly used to explain social and economic problems in the capitalist world: money, it is claimed, is more needed for defence.

The myth of a "Soviet threat" was and continues to be spread so persistently, consistently and massively that a sizeable part of the population in Western countries, including political scientists, have come to believe it. The myth began growing into a conviction which is bound to affect people's world outlook and behaviour. It is this artificially instilled belief and the image of the Soviet Union formed on its basis that underlie "nuclear deterrence".

Its fallacy was evident from the very beginning. Growing mutual mistrust, suspicion and tension are negative consequences of this conception, whose authors want humankind to live in an atmosphere of constant

¹ M. McGwire, "Deterrence: The Problem—Not the Solution", *SAIS Review*, Summer-Fall, 1985, No. 2, p. 106.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 27, p. 71.

fear. The US lawyer E. F. Snyder noted that American military policy as regards security rests on the belief that the survival of the United States and even the world's future are now dependent on the spontaneous fear of retaliation.³ This fear is steadily growing stronger because "nuclear deterrence" has turned to be an ideal stimulus for the arms race. To be sure, guided by this "theory" and trying to make deterrence even more "convincing"⁴, US military commanders and political leaders proceed from American nuclear superiority, rather than parity. It is this superiority that has underlain NATO's entire strategy since 1949.⁵

Suppose, the attainment and maintenance of such superiority is indeed viewed exclusively as a means of defence. But the opposite side, officially considered a potential enemy, justifiably views such superiority as a threat to its own security and possibly as preparations for intended aggression. It takes counter-measures to ensure its own security and defences, which provide the other side with fresh "reasons" to refer to the increased "threat of an attack" by its opposite number and raise its armaments to an even higher level. This process can go on and on, as has been proved by experience. No sooner do the Warsaw Treaty member-states restore strategic military parity, then the NATO countries, in keeping with their "nuclear deterrence" doctrine, again seek to break away by building up their arsenals. To put it differently, "nuclear deterrence" presupposes leadership in the arms race for those who adhere to this doctrine and carry it through.

This is how the arms race is spiralling. Given today's rates of scientific and technical progress, it may escape political control. If, however, the above-mentioned stimulus for arms stockpiling, which is intrinsic in the conception of "deterrence", is augmented with other stimuli that have emerged as a result of incorporating such factors as ensuring "invulnerability", "first", "retaliatory", "first and second" strikes demanding continuous qualitative increase and quantitative improvement of destruction means and their protection, the scale of the arms race, if not limited (which is in fact the aim of the US Administration which declared on May 27, 1986 that it would no longer abide by the SALT-2 Treaty), could transcend all acceptable limits.

The consistent adherence of the NATO countries to "nuclear deterrence" has already resulted in the huge pile-up of lethal weapons which have become both economically onerous and extremely dangerous and fraught with a global explosion. The ever increasing strata of the population and sober-minded politicians in the West, including in the United States, are growingly worried by the actual and possible consequences of "deterrence". The American *Boston Globe* wrote that many people realise that as long as nuclear arms exist, deterrence is the fact, rather than policy. In other words, deterrence as a policy is unwise in today's world. The cause of peace and security suffers too much for the risk of continuing going the same way.

The 27th CPSU Congress emphasised that "the situation in the world may assume such a character that it will no longer depend upon the intelligence or will of political leaders. It may become captive to technology, to technocratic military logic." Any calculation error, accident, break-down or damage may trigger off a universal nuclear catastrophe. This is why genuine security in our age can only be ensured by the lowest possible,

³ See E. Snyder, "Deterrence: From Fear to Interdependence", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 1985, p. 40.

⁴ See C. Weinberger, "Assessing Current NATO Strategy", *NATO's Sixteen Nations*, November-December 1984, p. 39; McGwire, *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁵ See "Europe's Star Wars Worries", *U. S. News & World Report*, Jan. 20, 1986, p. 27.

rather than highest, level of the strategic balance which can only be reached by way of reducing armaments.

However, disarmament is hindered by the notorious "nuclear deterrence", the doctrine which makes it imperative to build up and improve the "deterrents" to make them more "convincing". This explains to a considerable degree protracted deadlocks at relevant negotiations often used by the United States and its partners as a smoke-screen to cover up the arms race. Indeed, is it possible to engage in serious negotiations about reducing military potentials when one side is guided in its official policy by a conception based on the preservation, stockpiling and even possible use of nuclear arms?

The United States did not abandon this course even after the Soviet Union undertook in 1982 a solemn obligation not to be the first to use nuclear arms. This exceptionally important step dispelled to a certain degree the myth of the "Soviet threat" underlying the entire "nuclear deterrence" construction.

But its architects are continuously improving it. They produced categories, such as "controlled nuclear war" (nuclear conflict), "limited nuclear war", and "protracted nuclear war". It should be admitted, however, that for all the abundance of written material and studies of these and related postulates of the strategy of "containment" and "deterrence", their heralds have not as yet been able to produce even one, the least plausible scenario of "controlling", "limiting" or terminating a nuclear conflict. This gap in the theory is not due to lack of imagination, but rather to the indisputable fact that nuclear war by its very nature is uncontrollable. Is it possible to imagine a gentlemenly exchange of single nuclear strikes following which the parties would sit down at a negotiating table and settle all their disputes? This is, of course, sheer utopia. And yet, strange as it may seem, some Western political scientists have put it into circulation.⁶

Even in a purely hypothetical case when the adversaries do declare their will to put an end to the conflict, will they have enough time? It takes a few minutes today to exchange devastating nuclear strikes. Moreover, there is no guarantee that at such a critical moment one side would indeed believe in the sincere intentions of the other side and would not interpret it as an attempt to win time. In our opinion, it would be closer to the truth to suppose that a nuclear war, "limited" or "protracted", could not have a rational end. Therefore, any challenge to a "nuclear dual by rules" is irrational. The United States, however, continues to impose on humankind a "code of behaviour" in a nuclear war, instead of accepting the USSR-sponsored programme of a nuclear-free world guaranteed against any disastrous accident.

Advocates of the "deterrence" doctrine often assert that the liquidation of nuclear arms would secure the superiority of the Warsaw Treaty countries in conventional armaments, which, in the absence of a "nuclear fuse", would be used by the socialist countries who could then easily overwhelm the West.⁷ The absurdity of such reasoning is exposed by the facts. The West is well aware that it is NATO which has an edge in conventional weapons over the Warsaw Treaty. Besides, NATO has a developed offensive infrastructure and offensive military doctrines, including the Rogers doctrine of "Airland Battle". An expert opinion can be added to what has been said. The American General Glenn Otis, who is in charge of the US troop command in any pos-

⁶ See E. Lübckemeier, "Extended Deterrence. Implications for Arms Limitation and Reduction", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, 1985, No. 3, p. 249.

⁷ See R. Betts, *Conventional Deterrence: Predictive Uncertainty and Policy Confidence*. *World Politics*, January 1984, p. 153.

sible battle in Europe, believes that the West possesses a non-nuclear capability powerful enough to contain the enemy.

It is only pertinent now to recall once again the June initiative of the Warsaw Treaty member states drastically to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Speaking at the Kremlin dinner in honour of the visiting French President, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that the West reduce correspondingly the type of arms that it has in excess, and the Soviet Union would unhesitatingly liquidate the types that it has in "surplus". There is hardly a person who would say that such proposals are aimed at securing any superiority of the socialist countries.

The chief argument usually advanced by the advocates of the "nuclear deterrence" theory to back it up is the assertion that thanks to "deterrence" it became possible to preserve peace practically during the entire post-war period.⁸ In other words, this concept has allegedly been borne out. True, there has been no world war, either nuclear or conventional, over the past 40-odd years. But this was not at all thanks to the US "detering" nuclear forces. Above all, this was due to the very existence of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, their economic and defence potential, realistic, weighed peaceful policies, the unprecedented activation and numerical growth of the national and international antiwar organisations and movements. It should also be noted that Western leaders showed enough reason, although some of them pursued adventurist policies which sometimes brought the world to the brink of a nuclear abyss.

Also untenable is another allegation often uttered by the apologists of "nuclear deterrence". This conception, they assert, has a stabilising effect on East-West relations and the international situation as a whole.⁹ It should be recalled, however, that "nuclear deterrence" is based on fear, or, to be more precise, on the balance of fear between the two armed sides. But fear, as is known gives rise to mistrust and suspicion and leads to unpredictable responses.

If one dots the "i's" and crosses the "t's", however, it should be admitted that "deterrence" is, in fact, called upon to intentionally instil uncertainty in the adversary as regards his own behaviour and even make him believe that his decisions may not always be rational. This "twisted" approach is meant to confuse the opposite side as to one's own intentions and, by using the factor of uncertainty and even irrationality (as, for example, in the matter of using nuclear arms), to amplify the "deterrence" effect by raising the level of fear. This, of course, can only undermine the stability of relations between the USA and the USSR, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

As has been noted above, the "deterrence" theory involves a continuous build-up of nuclear armaments. To facilitate the practical realisation of such a course, its proponents needed a relevant public opinion as regards the potential enemy. For this reason the "deterrence" strategy has not only accepted, but also consolidated as its basis the long-standing US foreign policy attitude according to which the Soviet Union is declared the "empire of evil". The fanning of hostility and hatred for the other side viewed as opportune territory for writing off one's own difficulties, problems and setbacks, can not, of course, result in that other side's understanding, liking or friendly feelings. The reverse reaction is more likely. And this, naturally, can not help but erode the foundation of mutual relations.

⁸ See H. Bull, "The Prospects for Deterrence", *Toward Nuclear Disarmament and Global Security*, Boulder, 1984, pp. 209-214.

⁹ See H. Bull, *Op. cit.*, p. 253

The far-reaching goals which imperialism hopes to attain by the arms race undermine mutual trust. These are to wear down the Soviet Union economically, to impede the CPSU course towards raising the living standards of the people, to slow down the fulfillment of the social programme. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his speech in Vladivostok "this undertaking was doomed to failure from the outset, as it is hopeless today. The time has come to reckon with realities, rather than to base one's policy on illusions and misconceptions... Our time requires a new understanding of the present stage in the development of civilisation, international relations, the world."

The continuous build-up of nuclear arsenals, necessitated by "nuclear deterrence", has resulted in a situation when our planet has become a powder keg. One accidental spark (say, a technical error) is enough to set the whole world on fire. In this sense "deterrence" can be called a time-bomb humankind sits on. Moreover, even its inventors do not know the exact time it can go off. This is a highly probable tragic consequence of the US "security" concept.

To eliminate the possibility of this prospect, the Soviet Union has made a proposal to liquidate all the nuclear arms on Earth by the year 2000. The United States seems to favour ridding humankind of the nuclear burden by proposing a defence system which would allegedly render nuclear arms ineffective and therefore useless. What is meant here is the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or the "star wars" programme, whose realisation is now in full swing in the United States.

US politicians and military men try to convince the world that SDI is intended for defence purposes alone. However, can one trust such assertions? Why should the opposite side disregard the possibility of using space weapons for offensive purposes as long as such a possibility technically exists? Why could not the Soviet Union assume that the United States, having protected itself by a "star shield" and defended its "detering" offensive weapons (this, in fact, being one of the purposes of "star wars")¹⁰, would secure a chance to deal nuclear strikes to the enemy with impunity?

Essentially, "star wars" is nothing else but another component of "nuclear deterrence". The programme of militarising outer space is based on the same need to counter the "Soviet threat", the same desire to achieve strategic military superiority. The former French Defence Minister Charles Hernu characterised the "strategic defense initiative" in the following way: "Back in March 1983, President Reagan linked SDI to a prospect which surprised the Europeans. He declared that the development of defence systems could make nuclear means, I quote, 'obsolete and useless'. Is there any political leader who would not speak against nuclear weapons? But I simply don't know whether it will ever be possible to attain the goal set by President Reagan. The Americans acknowledge themselves that they cannot guarantee this. If so, what are they doing? They vigorously continue to modernise their nuclear means, such as the MX missiles, B-1 bombers, Trident submarine-launched missiles. This is a programme for the period up to 2010."

Hernu's sarcasm conceals the simple truth: all that Washington proposes and does leads inevitably to a new spiral of the arms race, to its spread to outer space and to new tests and trials for the cause of peace. However, how long is it possible to pursue the policy of nuclear brinkmanship? Humankind has no moral right to doom this and coming generations to a pseudo-security promised by the "strategic defense initiative" and the principle of "nuclear deterrence" underlying it.

¹⁰ See K. B. Payne, "The Deterrence Requirement for Defence", *The Washington Quarterly*, No. 1, Winter 1986, Vol. 9, p. 140.

The "nuclear deterrence" doctrine and the policies pursued on its basis by the United States and its allies give to the world ever new mountains of arms, including nuclear, and pose a threat of self-destruction to humankind. Falling back on the "deterrence" conception, the West was exclusively concerned with its own security and ignored the security of others. Some 40 years ago this position could at least be understood, if not justified. Today, however, it is utterly unacceptable. In our age security has become a universal cause. Peace can only be preserved through the efforts of all countries and peoples. Everyone in the West should understand: any launch of a missile with nuclear weapons is in fact an act of not only murder, but also suicide.

The United States and its close allies continue to stake on "nuclear deterrence", unwilling, it seems, to agree that in our nuclear and space age it is inadmissible to play with fire and keep the world in fear of a universal holocaust. "The 'balance of terror' is ceasing to be a deterring factor," said Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement of August 18, 1986. "This is not only because fear and reason do not go together and because fear could bring about actions with unpredictable consequences. This fear is a direct collaborator in the arms race: by enhancing mistrust and suspicion, it creates a vicious circle of heightened tension." The Soviet Union firmly believes that now that it is a matter of life and death for humankind, genuine and equitable security cannot be ensured by the ill-fated doctrine of "nuclear deterrence". It can only be ensured by establishing relations of trust, by developing all-round mutually advantageous cooperation, including in finding solutions to major global problems.

The American doctrine of "nuclear deterrence" was and remains the concentrated reflection of the aggressive thrust of both foreign and military policies of the United States and NATO. It was and continues to be based on utterly untenable military and political propositions refuted by the course of modern developments. And yet Washington is not at all inclined to abandon this truly lethal concept. People in Washington seem to be guided by the principle: if the realities of today's world refute the basic postulates of this theory, if the facts disprove it, so much the worse for the realities and the facts. Renunciation of "nuclear deterrence" as a major component of Washington's military and political strategy would indeed be tantamount to recognition of the fiasco of the long-anachronistic "position of strength" policy, a policy which costs so dearly for the whole of humankind.

The course of history inevitably exposes the fallacy and (what is most important) fatal danger of such doctrines to the cause of peace. The fact that US leading political and military circles do not renounce them shows only one thing: they do not wish to shelve their notorious "position of strength" policy and continue to abide by it in their practical activities. Renunciation of such doctrines would be genuine, rather than "publicity" realism in the approach to the most pressing problems of the nuclear age. Otherwise it is difficult indeed to believe in Washington's bombastic assurances of peaceful intentions when this and similarly adventurist conceptions remain in its arsenal.

THE CREEPING AGGRESSION AGAINST AFGHANISTAN

Vsevolod S E M Y O N O V

The national democratic revolution in Afghanistan which began in April, 1978 was not an isolated development, but a logical and natural result of an involved process and the culminating point of the Afghan people's protracted struggle for a better future. The present stage of the Revolution does not directly aim to bring about socialist transformations. The leading and guiding force of the Revolution--the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), uniting the most advanced sections of Afghan society, is seeking to realise some general democratic objectives, those of overcoming the onerous legacy of the feudal regimes of bygone times, putting the nation on the track of progressive and democratic development, resolving the urgent social, economic and political problems, speeding up economic and cultural advance, upgrading the people's standard of living, establishing the true equality of all nationalities and tribes, and conducting an independent foreign policy. The aims proclaimed by the Revolution and the gradual implementation of transformations responding to the basic interests and the age-old aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Afghans offer a great example of positive value to other developing nations.

However, such a course of events in Afghanistan in no way suits either the local reactionary forces in some countries of the region or the US-led international imperialist circles. For a short time after the victorious uprising in Kabul, they waited in the hope that the revolutionary government of the DRA would not stay in power for long and that the home-grown reactionary forces would succeed in toppling the national democratic system. However, that did not happen. The people everywhere, in the capital and in remote areas, welcomed the change in the making. In that context, US imperialism set about preparing the scene for armed intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

It is necessary to note that Afghanistan's commitment to non-alignment, its normal friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government's flat refusal to join the aggressive CENTO pact in the 1950s and 1960s had annoyed the USA long before the April Revolution. As American political journalist Phillip Bonosky wrote in his book *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan*, the CIA had begun to exert pressure on the Afghan government as early as 1973 with the aim of getting it to take anti-Soviet positions. In the same year there was an antiroyalist coup and, with US support, such ringleaders of the present counter-revolutionary groups, as Burhanuddin Rabbani, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and S. Mojaddedi, launched their subversive activities. However, just a few years later, the US subversion and espionage department, displeased with "slow progress", decided to open up a second "secret front" against Afghanistan. In 1977, Robert Lessard, who had a hand at one time in creating the SAVAK secret police for the Shah of Iran, and other CIA agents stepped up anti-Afghan activities in Pakistan and set about recruiting as many agents as they could among the Afghans present there. About 6,000 commandos were trained at secret camps in Pakistan, in the space of just a few years, 1973-1977, to be smuggled into Afghanistan. Anti-Afghan actions were plotted under the auspices of the US drug enforcement office. Consequently, Phillip Bonosky concluded, by the time of the 1978 April Revolution, the USA had a wide

ring in operation in Afghanistan to carry out subversive operations and intervention.

It was in May 1978, that is, soon after the establishment of the DRA, that the CIA set up its first terrorist-training centre in Pakistan. A CIA man, Louis Dupree, arrived in Kabul for directly contacting counter-revolutionary elements inside that country. In November 1978, he was expelled from Afghanistan and went to Pakistan where he put himself in charge of a group that comprised the above-mentioned Robert Lessard, Louis Robinson, Wagan David, Rojers Brook, and other CIA officials. The group became a kind of headquarters of Afghan counter-revolutionary organisations. Americans promised unlimited help to the reactionaries who fled Afghanistan with arms, ammunition, and money on the understanding that they would be conducting full-scale subversive and terrorist actions against the DRA government.

Ringleaders of counter-revolution began to be invited to the USA. A delegation of the so-called Front of National Liberation, headed by S. Mojaddedi, was there in May 1979. The Relief Association for Afghan Refugees, headed by the former US Ambassador in Kabul, T. Eliote, and the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan, led by the Zekria brothers, were created with CIA financing. The uninformed could well be puzzled by all those activities, for the US Administration officially recognised the DRA six days after the formation of the revolutionary republic. But not even the Western press entertained any illusions regarding the true US intentions. "There is no ground for believing," the French *Le Figaro* said, "that the USA, having come to grief in Iran, would refrain from action in this region... The USA would like to use the events around Afghanistan as a lever to win over states and parties to the camp hostile to the Soviet Union. That is their aim. To achieve it, the USA is certainly providing all possible assistance to this rebellion (training, equipping, and smuggling of armed detachments into the territory of Afghanistan—V. S.). To that end it was necessary to come to terms with Pakistan. Conditions for that are favourable." That is how Pakistan had been brought into the forefront in the anti-Afghan plans of US imperialism.

On February 14, 1979 CIA-backed extremists killed the US Ambassador in Kabul, Adolf Dubs, as an act of provocation. The US government seized upon it to launch an openly hostile policy against the DRA. It denounced the "communist regime" and applied economic sanctions against Afghanistan. According to the well-informed Washington bulletin, *Congressional Quarterly*, the USA began financing the Afghan counter-revolutionaries at least in the middle of 1979.

US secret services set about putting together sabotage and terrorist bands of mercenaries, recruited from among the Afghans who had found themselves outside their native land for some reason or other, and smuggling them into Afghanistan. Some 40,000 armed bandits had thus been smuggled into the DRA from Pakistan and Iran by the end of 1979. They committed acts of violence not only in the borderland areas, but in many areas of the hinterland. Some of the bands smuggled in from Pakistan were commanded by Pakistani officers. The former Deputy Police Inspector General of the North-West Frontier Province Kanzade Khan, commanded a band of cutthroats that operated in the Kama district of the Nangarhar Province. Pakistan, according to an eyewitness account, a correspondent of the *Afrique-Asie* magazine, was in a state of war jitters. Military units were transferred in the Afghan direction. A large-scale armed venture was in the making. The gains of the Afghan Revolution and the very existence of Afghanistan as a sovereign and independent nation were in jeopardy.

Under the circumstances, the DRA Government, in full conformity with the UN Charter which stipulates that nothing in it "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs

against a Member of the United Nations..." (Article 51) and with Article 4 of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation of December 5, 1978, turned to the Soviet Union for help. The latter kept its commitment and a limited Soviet contingent was moved into the DRA.

Imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been going on for over eight years. A number of NATO countries as well as Japan, Pakistan and Iran have been involved, in one way or another, in this hostile action against the DRA, a member of the United Nations, and the non-alignment movement. Yet it is the US ruling establishment that is primarily responsible for turning Afghanistan into a bleeding wound. It has been admitted by members of the US Congress and the press that the subversive actions against the DRA have become the largest US combat operation since the end of the war in Vietnam, with a total of over \$1,500 million having been spent on it thus far. The CIA's investment in the war against the DRA makes up more than 80 per cent of its annual expenditure for "covert operations". There are over a hundred US-funded camps and bases working for it on the territory of Pakistan. Their annual "output" is between 30,000 and 40,000 recruited or forcibly conscripted counter-revolutionary agents—the Afghans thus converted into saboteurs or terrorists to be smuggled into the DRA. One in every four dushmans has been trained in those camps. Instructors directly involved in training the mercenaries come from the USA, Britain, France, Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, and other countries. Their total number comes up to around 1,500.

There is a ramified system to provide the counter-revolutionary bands with the most up-to-date arms: automatic rifles, large-calibre machine-guns, mortars, light artillery pieces and recoilless guns, anti-aircraft guns, multiple rocket launchers, shells and all kinds of mines, and communication facilities. The USA has been providing the dushmans with an ever growing supply of Red Eye portable anti-aircraft rocket sets. Last May the US Senate approved the White House decision to supply them with Stinger ground-to-air missiles. Americans have been providing the bandits with the means of individual terrorism (silent pistols and special ammunition in the shape of ball-point pens, transistors, and trinkets).

Along with the armed intervention, the USA has launched full-scale "psychological warfare" against the DRA. While before the April Revolution of 1978, Western radio stations, including the Voice of America, had practically no special broadcasts for Afghanistan, in the last five years they have increased their broadcasting time for that country by 30 times, bringing it up to a total of over 110 hours a day. The government of Pakistan has given permission for relay stations of the CIA-backed Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe as well as the ambitiously named Radio Free Kabul to be installed in Peshawar.

High-ranking representatives of the Administration, military personalities, and Congressmen often visiting Pakistan, have been doing their "own bit" towards stoking up the war against the Afghan people and fanning enmity and hatred against the DRA and the Soviet Union. Among those visitors have been Vice-President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Attorney General Meese, Navy Secretary Lehman, Under Secretary of State Armacost, Assistant Secretary of State Murphy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Vessy, the US Ambassador to the UN Walters, to mention just a few. Under the cover of CIA-sponsored seminars, conferences, symposia and ordinary meetings, American representatives have been trying to boost the "morale" of the battered bandits, assuring them of invariable US support, and urging

them to escalate the undeclared war. There is a host of anti-Afghan organisations, like the "Freedom House" or "Freedom Research Foundation", to name but two, established and functioning in the USA under CIA auspices.

While in the period immediately preceding the April Revolution and in the first few years after it, the US Administration would deny its involvement in the subversive activities against Afghanistan, it has since thrown away all disguises. Last March, the US President, in a message on the occasion of so-called "Afghanistan Day", declared his intention to widen the scale of the undeclared war against the DRA, and Assistant Secretary of State Adams even called bandit activity "our struggle, too". Dushman chiefs are welcome guests of official Washington. For example, last June, the US President received a group of ringleaders of Afghan counter-revolutionary organisations led by Rabbani and promised not to let down the "freedom fighters". A State Department spokesman, specifying the promise, said that the USA had provided and would provide all support for the dushmans.

For six years, the USA and its satellites have been trying to use the UN General Assembly, sessions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and other international forums to whip up anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet feelings in an attempt to exert political pressure on the Soviet Union and the DRA. To ensure that the right kind of speeches are made and that the right kind of resolutions are adopted, American officials have been widely using lavish promises of economic and financial aid and outright pressure and blackmail in their contacts with representatives of United Nations member-states. US secret services have been organising foreign tours by the ringleaders of counter-revolutionary groups Burhanuddin Rabbani, Culbuddin Hekmatyar, Sayed Ahmad Gilani, Rasul, Modjaddedi, Sayaf and their emissaries--band commanders. All that fuss has been stagemanaged in order to give the Afghan counter-revolution a semblance of political status. Washington has been "studying" the possibility of a diplomatic recognition of the so-called "Afghan government in exile" which the counter-revolutionary leaders have recently been trying to put together.

The objectives of the policy of US imperialism towards Afghanistan are perfectly clear—to wipe out the social and political gains of the April Revolution. Senator Tsongas, elaborating in the US Senate in November, 1982 on the possibility of getting the revolutionary system in the DRA toppled, naturally, with American cooperation, said: "It may be naive to expect a pro-American government to take power in a free Afghanistan, but the freedom fighters will not forget who provided assistance when they so desperately needed it." And the Senator concluded: "So, for a small investment now, we stand to reap just rewards in the future." Late in 1984, the Congress voted for a resolution, moved by Tsongas, which boiled down essentially to outright intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, full support for those whom Washington wanted to use in order to suppress the national democratic revolution in that country.

Yet it is not only the anti-Afghan and regional objectives that US imperialism has been pursuing in its aggression against the DRA. The undeclared wars the USA is waging against the nations which have opted for a progressive and democratic way of development betray Washington's intention to "revise" the upshot and the progress of the historical development of the modern world, to take revenge for numerous setbacks and reverses in the past, and to safeguard, cost what it may, imperialist class interests, consisting, above all, in carrying on and stepping up the merciless economic plunder of the developing nations and bringing them under its political diktat.

It is these objectives of Washington that begot the notorious doctrine of "neoglobalism" which essentially means that the US, having trampled

upon all rules and standards of international relations, has arrogated to itself the right to meddle in the internal affairs of countries and peoples.

According to foreign press reports, the CIA carries out hundreds of covert operations in various parts of the world every year. In the last forty years, these operations have claimed close to three million lives. The Indian *Patriot* newspaper has emphasised that in spite of the difference between the social systems of India and Afghanistan, the inevitable conclusion is that both have become the targets of an offensive by US imperialism. The newspaper wrote that the catchword was to make the Afghans fight Afghans in Afghanistan and the Indians fight Indians in India, and that it was precisely from this angle that one must look at the Punjab problem.

Indeed, it would not be enough to say that Pakistan's military potential, being created mainly with assistance from the USA which has granted \$3,200 million to Islamabad in 1981-1986, is being used only in the undeclared war against the DRA. The Pakistani authorities are not only supplying Stinger sets they have received from the USA to the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands, but they have sited such sets close to Indian borders in the vicinity of the Siachen Glacier, and one such missile has already been used against an Indian helicopter. The unending acts of provocation by Pakistani militarists on the Indian border and Islamabad's attempts at exerting pressure on New Delhi show that this policy has the American military and economic backing designed to achieve the far-reaching global ambitions of US imperialism. By reinforcing the Pakistani military establishment and by keeping Islamabad directly involved in the undeclared war against the Afghan Revolution and in aiding and abetting the Indian separatists, the USA has converted Pakistan into a base of support in its imperial strategy and, along with Israel and South Africa, into yet another "strategic ally" and, by the same token, a serious destabilising factor on the South-Asian subcontinent.

Finally, while harbouring the unrealistic dream of social revenge in respect to the world system of socialism, US imperialism is pursuing anti-Soviet aims in the undeclared war against Afghanistan, that is, seeking to achieve global military-political superiority over the USSR. Speaking on the so-called "Afghan question", the grandiloquent anti-Sovietisers of all stripes have been talking about the need to "contain" and "roll back" the Soviet Union, "bleed it white" and "bring pressure to bear on it". Professor A. Bromke said in *The Toronto Star*, that the United States was using the Afghanistan problem simply as a pretext for action against the USSR, and that Washington was, evidently, trying to oppose Moscow to the last Afghan.

Ever since the USA first intervened in Afghanistan's internal affairs, Pakistan has been cast in the role of its principal accomplice. The US secret services have set up a ramified mechanism of aggression and armed intervention on the territory of that country with the cooperation of its authorities. It incorporates not only a system of centres, camps and bases, to select, train, and arm terrorists and saboteurs, but numerous Afghan counter-revolutionary organisations and groups, seven of which were united in the so-called "Alliance of Seven" in April, 1985, on American orders. The Islamabad authorities have been directly involved in distributing arms and ammunition reaching Pakistan's air bases and ports from the USA and other countries among the dushman bands. To keep the situation strained, Pakistan has been systematically shelling borderland Afghan localities and violating DRA air space. Pakistani army men have personally participated in the combat operations of bands on the territory of Afghanistan. It has been incontrovertibly proved in the course of legal proceedings in Kabul

that Pakistan's CID secret service is conducting full-scale intelligence activities on the territory of the DRA.

Apart from Pakistan, the accomplices in the undeclared war against the DRA are Britain, West Germany, France, and some other NATO countries, Japan and Iran, which spend, between them, a total of up to \$100 million a year for aid to the Afghan dushmans. At the same time, all kinds of "civilian" elements clandestinely cross over into Afghan territory either as correspondents cooking up slander stories and films about the "Soviet occupation of Afghanistan" presenting the dushmans, the hired assassins and thugs, as "freedom fighters", or just as common spies, wreckers and bandit instructors.

It may well be recalled that British colonialists had in their day forced three wars on the Afghan people, trying to rob them of their freedom and independence. So the present undeclared war is the fourth war in which the British ruling establishment is involved. In 1984, London granted £18 million to the dushmans. Last March one of the ringleaders of the Afghan terrorists, Abdul Haque, was received in Britain by Prime-Minister Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Lady Young, who all pledged "full support" for the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Bonn has offered over DM350 million to the dushmans. West German leaders, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl, invariably make a point of demonstrating their solidarity with bandit chiefs visiting that country, expressing their consent with the anti-Afghan actions of reactionary elements, while the Bundestag holds regular provocative hearings on the so-called "Afghan question". West Germany has organised "preparatory courses for propaganda" against the DRA. West German citizens illegally penetrate into Afghanistan together with mercenary bands to conduct subversive activities against its popular government.

The "International Medical Aid" organisation has been recruiting mercenaries in a number of countries of Western Europe to collect intelligence data for Western secret services and carry out other subversive acts. The religious-political leadership of Iran is also sharing in the undeclared war against the DRA by giving military, financial and other aid to the dushmans. There are 30-odd centres on the territory of that country engaged, just as those at work in Pakistan, in training some 25,000-30,000 Afghan counter-revolutionaries in a wide range of military skills every year. The Afghans, finding themselves in Iran, are quite often called upon by the local authorities to make their choice between going to fight in the Gulf War or going to a camp for anti-Afghan band training. There are six Afghan counter-revolutionary pro-Iranian organisations active in opposing the DRA from Iran: "The Party of the Allah", "Victory", "The Corps of the Guards of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan", "The United Front of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan", and "The Council of Islamic Salvation". Last June the Iranian authorities organised the so-called "Second Assembly of the International Liberation Islamic Movement" which was attended by the leaders of Afghan counter-revolutionaries, representatives of the Iranian government and Parliament. The bandit chiefs were free to speak on behalf of the Afghan people and to discuss its destiny. So they have found themselves in one camp with the enemy of the freedom and independence of the Muslim countries and peoples—US imperialism—in their counter-revolutionary activities against the DRA.

American hawks, ringleaders of all kinds of anti-Soviet and anti-communist organisations of the West and Islamic reactionaries, all enemies of the Afghan revolution, are only too eager to call in question the validity of the very concept of the undeclared war against the DRA and to deny,

without a shred of evidence to prove them right, the facts of armed intervention in the internal affairs of the republic ever since the opening months of its existence. However, such facts are undeniable, and are recognised by all who are able and willing to make an unbiased assessment of the events taking place in the world, including MPs from capitalist countries and representatives of the Western news media who have been visiting the DRA to form unbiased opinion on what is going on in that country and around it.

Official quarters in the West, in Pakistan and in Iran would like to make it appear that the situation in and around Afghanistan has been due, first and foremost, to the presence of a limited Soviet military contingent in that country. But it is well known that the very reason why Soviet forces have been moved in at all was the intervention from without which threatened and still threatens the national sovereignty and independence of the Afghanistan as well as the security of the southern borders of the Soviet Union. The key issue in the negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan going on within the framework of political settlement of the situation involving Afghanistan is by no means that of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, but the guaranteed ending of the armed and other intervention in the internal affairs of the DRA from without and provision of safeguards against its resumption.

It is likewise quite obvious that while deliberately playing up the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and in every way obscuring the problem of ending the aggression against the DRA and intervention in its internal affairs, Islamabad and Teheran, and imperialism and reactionaries of the region that stand behind them would like to leave Afghanistan all alone face to face with the creeping aggression which is expanding rather than diminishing. The attempts at selling the idea of the so-called "granting of the right of self-determination to the Afghan people" betray the well-founded disbelief that counter-revolution inside Afghanistan would be able to hold out for a more or less considerable length of time in the event of aid and support from without being cut off. This is what accounts for Pakistan's inconsistent and obstructionist negotiating position and Iran's refusal to take part in political settlement at all. Evidently, they are still counting on a military solution of the so-called "Afghan question".

The US governing quarters are the chief moving spirits and financial donors of the undeclared wars against the forces of national and social liberation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The undeclared war against Afghanistan also bears the indelible brand of "Made in USA". This war is, first and foremost, a product of US imperialism which has been waging the same kind of wars or just about the same kind of wars against Angola and Mozambique, Nicaragua and Libya, and against many other emergent nations that do not wish to submit to Washington's bidding.

Following its consistent and constructive course towards a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its readiness, upon accord with the government of Afghanistan, to withdraw the limited contingent of its troops from the DRA territory, provided the imperialists discontinue their interference in the internal affairs of the country. That position was stated from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Having comprehensively appraised the present situation and upon consultations with the DRA government, the Soviet leadership has taken the decision to withdraw six regiments from Afghanistan before the expiration of 1986. This contingent includes one tank, two armoured and three anti-aircraft regiments with their regular supplies and armaments. These units will return to their permanent stationing areas in the Soviet Union and, therefore, all the parties concerned will be able to check whether that has

been done. Mikhail Gorbachev stated in his speech in Vladivostok on July 28 this year the following: "Taking this serious step, of which we have informed preliminarily all interested states, including Pakistan, the Soviet Union is striving to expedite a political settlement and impart to this process a new impetus. It proceeds from the fact that those who stage and carry out the armed intervention against Afghanistan will correctly understand and duly appreciate our move. The response should be the curtailment of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Democratic Afghanistan."

The Soviet people have been and remain true to international solidarity with the Afghan people. That is why those who encourage and finance the creeping aggression against Afghanistan and from whose territory it is carried out should know that if the intervention in Afghanistan continues the Soviet Union will not leave its neighbour in need.

WHO IS DISRUPTING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFLICT?

(Continued from page 143)

The Hague verdict, which has been seconded, for that matter, by many judges from Western allies of the USA, is yet another, this time juridical, confirmation of the growing condemnation by the world public at large of the policy of adventurism pursued by the USA.

Under these conditions, the final answer which will be given by Latin Americans, the countries of Central America, to the concrete proposals of the Contadora Group, will show the scale and strength of the political will of these countries in seeking a settlement of the crisis in Central America

Ruben MONTEDONICO

Mexico,
August 1986

THE PHILIPPINES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

Yuri A N D R E Y E V

Of late the situation in the Philippines has become a frequent topic in the world press. The interest in that country is quite natural bearing in mind its present highly complicated stage of development.

The Philippines attained independence in July 1946 at the time of the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system precipitated by the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War. The new independent state came into the postwar world as an independent subject of international relations eager to pursue an active foreign policy proceeding from its national interests, for the achievement of sovereignty in foreign relations was the result of the Philipinians' long anti-colonial struggle.

Historical practice has shown, however, that in the case of a country incorporated in the world capitalist economy and highly dependent in economic and military terms on imperialism, political independence alone cannot ensure its national leadership absolute freedom of action in foreign policy matters. This contradiction (particularly characteristic of developing countries) continues to affect the Philippines' foreign policy. And it is chiefly for this reason that the history of the Philippines, dramatic as it is, has been noted for sudden and acute turnabouts and tense struggle on the part of different social forces and trends in deciding major foreign policy issues.

It is indicative that following the country's independence and up to the late 1960s its foreign policy was influenced by its close military-political ties with the USA, and according to Philippine historians was patently pro-American and anti-communist. It must be said in all fairness that several foreign policy measures undertaken at one time or another by different Philippine Presidents were of a nationalistic nature and only to some extent deviated from the orthodox pro-American political course. At the same time these steps, timid as they were, were in the main confined to mere rhetoric and well wishing. As concerns Manila's international policy at the time, especially at the UN, it actually toed Washington's imperialist course.

In the 1970s a new line took shape in the country's foreign policy. In the new world situation (a turn from the cold war to detente) and, no less important, in the domestic climate (the progressive forces' demand for radical changes in the country's foreign and domestic policies) it acquired several qualitatively new features. While gradually departing from its one-sided orientation on Washington, the Philippines were able to break through the ideological and chiefly psychological barriers set up in the first years of independence in the way of developing relations with socialist countries, and draw nearer to the developing countries, which are in favour of tackling major international problems from anti-imperialist positions. At that time the term "foreign policy evolution" became in-

corporated into the country's political vocabulary. This was a turn from Manila's "special relationship" with the USA to greater independence in foreign policy affairs.

The early 1980s, however, brought a certain slump into the Philippines' foreign policy activity which the local and foreign press attributed to the intensification of domestic contradictions.

Undoubtedly at the crux of the country's many domestic problems is the economic situation. The state of national economy is the best gauge for verifying the correctness of the national development strategy and its conformity (or non-conformity) with historical practice.

Facts show that the course taken some 15 years ago by the Marcos government for the rapid modernisation of the country along capitalist lines with the view of building a "new society" fell short of expectations. The initial economic upsurge linked chiefly with the favourable foreign trade situation prevailing at the time was short-lived: the country failed to maintain its high rates of development, thus dashing the hopes of its technocratic economic leadership for solving complex socio-economic problems through capitalist transformations.

Lacking a wide base of accumulation the country's economy developed chiefly by attracting capital from abroad. This in its turn led to a heavy influx of foreign capital and TNCs into the Philippines. The acute economic crisis that broke out in the 1980s brought out even more sharply the irreconcilable contradictions of dependent capitalist development.

It is no secret that of late the country's economic development has been held in check by its imposing foreign debt of nearly \$30,000 million; a half of its export revenue goes to cover its annual interest payments. Moreover, the foreign loans and credits ultimately proved to be attached to the so-called programme of economic stabilisation foisted upon the Philippines by Western loan-givers, chiefly the capitalist world's biggest credit institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). In this connection the government was compelled to take austerity measures and devalue its national currency, bringing the Philippine peso down by more than half its dollar denomination.

However, the heaviest blow from the IMF diktat was the curtailing of the government industrialisation programme, the removal of prohibitive tariffs and the termination of crediting local corporations. Naturally this form of "stabilisation" did not fail to affect reproduction. According to the country's Economic Planning Department last year its GNP fell by 4 per cent and the value of industrial output went down by 10.7 per cent as against 1984.

Economic disorder naturally aggravated social tensions as well. According to statistics by 1986 the country's GNP (in per capita terms) did not exceed the 1972 level, unemployment embraced close to 40 per cent of the able-bodied population. Arduous living conditions prompted the broad masses to social protest. The number of strikes was on the rise.

The intensification of social contradictions has stepped up the struggle of the anti-Marcos opposition which in about two years preceding change of government extended its ranks considerably. The left-wing trade unions, students and the urban poor, the more active spokesmen of social discontent, were not the only opponents of Ferdinand Marcos and his clique. They were supported by representatives of the "middle class", politically passive by tradition, the Catholic Church and even the big bourgeoisie.

There is no denying that the results of the economic crisis and sharp destabilisation of the political atmosphere inside the country...

the assassination of Benigno Aquino,¹ a leader of the bourgeois opposition to Ferdinand Marcos, in the summer of 1983, had a grave impact on the interests of the national bourgeoisie which only a while ago had been regarded as the mainstay of the authoritarian regime. The big bourgeoisie gave every type of support to the legal bourgeois opposition parties whose actions were aimed at removing Marcos and his adherents from the government. The active interference of the conservative-minded and highly influential Catholic Church in the country's public life on the side of the opposition was an indicative fact and one that did much to consolidate the anti-government camp.

In an atmosphere of complete isolation of the ruling clique from the broad masses, the continuing polarisation of political forces and the growth of the ranks of the opposition, early presidential elections were held on February 7, 1986. Corazon Aquino (widow of Benigno Aquino) was backed by the opposition bloc of political parties as Marcos' contender for the presidential post. Winning considerable support in the election campaign through her husband's popularity and his elevation to national martyrdom, she succeeded in pooling the disunited anti-Marcos forces into a single bloc.

An indicative feature of the post-election atmosphere were the radical changes in the alignment of forces in favour of the opposition. And here a significant if not major role in bringing down the Marcos government belonged to the support given to Corazon Aquino by part of the armed forces under National Defence Minister Juan Enrile and Deputy Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos. The active support from the opposition and the army forced Fernando Marcos and his entourage to flee the country.

On February 25, 1986 Corazon Aquino was proclaimed president and formed a new government. The post of Vice-President went to Salvador Laurel, a prominent leader of the bourgeois opposition who ran on the same ballot; he was also appointed Foreign Minister. The supreme military posts went to Juan Enrile and Fidel Ramos. The new President announced her intends to concentrate the efforts of her government on solving urgent domestic problems. This is particularly important because the opponents of the new regime have not given up their struggle, which is confirmed, for instance, by the attempt made by the supporters of Ferdinand Marcos in July this year to force the government of Corazon Aquino to resign and to create a provisional government. Although this attempt was a miserable failure, mainly because the armed forces remained loyal to the government of Aquino, the plot itself indicates that the political opponents of the new government persist in their struggle against it.

During its rather short term in power the new Administration has carried out several important diplomatic acts. Salvador Laurel has paid official visits to Japan and the People's Republic of China, to some West European countries (Spain, Belgium and the FRG).

The country's foreign policy course under the new government is noted for close relations with the West and especially Washington, on the one hand, and for its integration into the ranks of the developing countries whose efforts on the international scene are spearheaded against imperialism's arbitrary rule, for achieving their national goals, on the

¹ Benigno Aquino was assassinated at Manila Airport on the day of his return to the Philippines after three years in exile in the USA. The circumstances of this political murder have not yet been established.

other. It is with this group of states that the Philippines has common problems stemming from similar socio-economic and political interests.

The broadest sections of the Philippine public are growing ever more aware of the threat to the very existence of mankind posed by a possible nuclear war. The whipping up of military hysteria by US imperialism and its policy of using force to tackle complex international issues give the Philippines much cause for fear of being drawn into Washington's aggressive military ventures.

And there is ample reason for this alarm bearing in mind that two of the biggest US military bases in Southeast Asia are located in the archipelago under an agreement that expires only in 1991. In this connection President Aquino said that the future of the bases would be negotiated at a countrywide referendum.

Another cause for serious alarm is the possibility of deploying nuclear weapons on these bases. This question was the subject of discussion at the World Conference for Peace and Security in Eastern Asia and the Pacific held in Manila in December 1984 on the initiative of the Council for Peace and Solidarity of the Philippines. Speaking at this conference, the Philippine representative declared his country's adherence to the principles of peace and its "vital interest in strengthening peace". As noted by Antonio Paris, the National Secretary of the Council for Peace and Solidarity of the Philippines, the movement against "frenzied militaristic plans is acquiring a countrywide scope". The peace champions' movement in the archipelago embraces public organisations of the most diverse political trends comprising trade unions, activists, representatives of youth, women's and other organisation, and the Catholic Church. Philippine peace champions demand the curbing of the arms race, and immediate ban on nuclear tests in Micronesia and the dismantlement of US military bases in the archipelago. The fact that many of the country's influential statesmen come out against the deployment of nuclear weapons in its territory testifies to the movement's growing might and influence.

The Philippine public welcomed the Soviet commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, assessing this as a highly important step towards reducing the danger of a possible nuclear conflict, along with the Soviet decision to declare a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. The Philippine people also approved the new constructive Soviet proposals on disarmament contained in the Statement of January 15, 1986 and confirmed by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

At the same time one cannot bypass the fact that the Philippines' approach to concrete disarmament issues is affected by its socio-political orientation and the system of alliances in which it is involved. Hence the contradictions and inconsistency in the country's stand. A number of Philippine government leaders, while refusing to link up with the US policy of confrontation towards the socialist countries with whom the Philippines have established normal interstate relations, share the views of Western political analysts who groundlessly place equal responsibility for the present aggravation of world tensions with the West and the East, the Soviet Union and the USA.

Such a dual approach is directly linked with the nature of Philippine-American relations. The close political, economic and military ties binding the two countries constantly generate contradictions and anti-American sentiments among the public at large. The reason for this is the gross interference of the USA in the country's domestic affairs which became especially obvious during the recent political crisis. The influx of emissaries and observers from Washington into the Philippines along with the transfer of US troops to military bases in its territory can be assessed only as direct influence on the development of political events in the country.

In this connection one naturally asks: what are the motives behind US superactivity in the archipelago? The answer can be obtained from the commentary to the report of the US State Department given in one of the issues of the Hong Kong *Far Eastern Economic Review* which dwells on Washington's policy in the Philippines in the near future. It consists, first and foremost, of foisting models upon the country for its domestic policy in the form of a programme whose aims and tasks smack of the notorious Marshall Plan. In actual fact it intends to use the country's present economic hardships to its own advantage and by extending a "helping hand" force the Philippine leadership to make worthwhile economic, political and military concessions to the White House.

Nevertheless the Washington jugglers are bent above all on achieving political stabilisation in the Philippines by uniting the entire ruling class, chiefly through the integration of the two rival bourgeois groups into the existing political system. Here the accent is made on putting a brake on the radicalisation of the Philippine society which gained momentum in the 1980s by isolating the left-wing opposition supported by the masses and mobilising against it the efforts of the entire ruling class. This has been confirmed in the recent statement by the Pentagon representative Robert Sims, who underlined that with the change of government in the Philippines its armed forces would be able to concentrate on fighting the insurgents.

Washington's policy in the Philippines continues to pursue two major aims: to maintain at any cost the US military presence in the archipelago, and to see that the positions of US monopoly capital in that country remain intact. What concerns the US military bases, their strategic significance for the USA was recently made clear by the US President. Speaking at a press conference in Washington he said: "One cannot minimise the importance of those bases, not only to us but to the Western world... I don't know of any that's more important than the bases on the Philippines."

Neither does US imperialism underestimate its economic positions on the Philippines where according to *The Financial Times* the USA has direct private investments to the sum of \$3,000 million. According to the *Manila Bulletin Today*, 64 of the 100 biggest Philippine companies are in US hands.

Japan too does not lag behind and employs its "economic diplomacy" to intensify the Philippines' ties with the world capitalist economy on the neo-colonialist basis. The infiltration of Japanese capital into the Philippine national economy has been termed in local circles as the "second invasion" (after the Japanese occupation of the archipelago during the Second World War). Japan invariably remains the country's second trade partner after the USA and is favourably competing with its US rivals.

At present Tokyo is out to bolster its economic positions on the Philippines by expanding political cooperation with the country. It is noteworthy that from the mid-1970s each Japanese Premier made a point of officially visiting the Philippines. Through the prism of these visits gleams the chief aim of Japan's policy: besides harnessing the Philippines, along with other ASEAN countries, to its economic chariot, to involve them, by acting jointly with the USA, in the Western military-political structure in the Asian Pacific area under the aegis of the much-vaunted "Pacific community".

While extending their ties with Tokyo the Philippine ruling circles cannot fail to see Japan's true aims with regard to their country—hence their cautious approach to the militaristic ambitions of their northern neighbour.

Against the background of Philippine-American and Philippine-Japa-

nese contradictions Manila's contacts with another country whose interests extend to Southeast Asia seem more balanced. Last year the People's Republic of China and the Philippines marked the first decade of their diplomatic relations. It is indicative that within this time their relations had shown dynamic development in every direction. This was especially obvious in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation: while before the Philippines and the PRC established diplomatic relations the volume of bilateral trade did not exceed \$72 million, in subsequent years it grew 30 per cent annually on the average. The stable nature of Philippine-Chinese relations was confirmed during the official visit of Philippine Vice-President Salvador Laurel to Peking last June where he was received by Deng Xiaoping and other PRC leaders.

It would be much too premature to assess the foreign policy programme introduced by the Aquino government, though there are grounds to believe that it will have many distinctions from its antecedent. One has every reason to surmise that several basic principles underlying the present Philippine policy are there to stay. They owe their stability and viability to the historical experience they incorporate and the consideration they give to national interests and present-day international realities. This has become reflected in part in the pronouncements of the new government leaders. In one of his recent statements Salvador Laurel said that "the need to pursue an independent foreign policy stems not only from the mounting nationalistic sentiments among the Philippines but also from the necessity to preserve international peace and security". And it was precisely reliance on general democratic principles of international intercourse that enabled the country to chart its own way for developing relations with socialist countries.

The country's ties with socialist countries hold an important place in its foreign policy. And here particular attention is allotted to relations with the Soviet Union. Philippine political leaders and statesmen have repeatedly spoken in favour of their development.

June 2, 1986 marked the decade of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. A long and thorny path had to be covered before this could be achieved, for out of the 40 years of the Philippines' independent development 30 had been years of isolation between the two countries.

The first contacts were made in the late 1960s when several Philippine political figures visited the Soviet Union, among them the prominent Liberal Party leader Senator Benigno Aquino who came to the USSR in 1969. The foundations of Soviet-Philippine relations were laid in the mid-1970s with the signing of several major intergovernmental agreements.

There is no denying that contacts with the world's biggest socialist country had been largely made necessary by the atmosphere of detente that was making good progress in the world of the 1970s, and by economic needs making it necessary to find new markets for the country's traditional exports. Many prominent Philippine economists regard the USSR not only as a vast and profitable market for their country's industrial output and agricultural produce. They also attach great importance to relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as a means of loosening their country from the strangle-hold of world imperialism. And here an essential role in developing bilateral relations belonged to the following political factor: the endeavour of the Philippine ruling quarters to pursue a foreign policy that would take into account national interests along the lines of "political pluralism", and enable to extend relations with all countries.

Taking a retrospective view of the decade-long relations between the

Soviet Union and the Philippines one can say that they have been making steady progress

The two countries entered the second half of the 1980s with rich experience in diverse mutually beneficial cooperation. Stability, mutual benefit and the endeavour to improve contacts are distinctive features of this relationship. Although much has been achieved in the economic, political and cultural spheres there is still room for improvement, so that there is every reason to use the existing reserves and possibilities for intensifying their bilateral relations.

Great importance in these relations is attached to political contacts, and the holding of political consultations between the countries' foreign ministries has become a regular event. Parliamentary contacts have also been established. In 1982-1983 the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Philippines National Assembly exchanged official parliamentary delegations.

Soviet-Philippine relations have in many respects withstood the test of time. Despite the present aggravation of the world situation and the attempts from without to hamstring their further progress they have retained in the main their positive character. Evidence of this was the visit of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa to Manila at the invitation of the Philippine government last April and his meeting with President Corazon Aquino. Both parties expressed endeavour to develop mutually beneficial friendly ties between the two countries.

The recent speech by Mikhail Gorbachev made in Vladivostok evoked great interest throughout the world. He stressed, in particular, that, following the principled line charted by the 27th CPSU Congress, the USSR will strive to add vigour to its bilateral relations with all countries of the Asian-Pacific region without exception. The Soviet Union's stand set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech and his new proposals for strengthening peace and security, and developing of multilateral cooperation in this vast region of the world are of great significance to the ASEAN countries, including the Philippines. The Soviet peaceful moves are in accord with positive proposals emanating from the ASEAN leaders such as the proposal to establish a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia. The Asian and the Pacific countries are also attracted to the idea of holding a conference to discuss regional and international problems of interest to the nations in that region.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that further development and intensification of the diverse bilateral cooperation binding the Soviet Union and the Philippines along the lines of the internationally recognised democratic principles of equality, respect for one's sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit meet the national interests of both states and peoples, serving as they do the cause of world peace and security.

NEW PRIORITIES OF THE "OLD CONTINENT".

Nikolai B U I N O V

François Mitterrand's visit to the USSR early July, 1986, coincided with the 20th anniversary of de Gaulle's visit to the USSR which not only turned a new page in Soviet-French relations but prefigured positive change in the overall process of European affairs. Dialogue and bilateral links between France and the USSR have since been an essential factor at work in promoting stability and detente in Europe and beyond its confines.

This dialogue has never been simple or easy, but it has always been aimed at finding common ground with regard to the key problems of the security of both countries, peace and detente in Europe and the world. At the same time, Soviet-French relations can be seen as a sensitive barometer of the international climate, especially in Europe. This was demonstrated afresh during the French President's recent visit to the Soviet Union. As was stated by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee on July 11, 1986, "at this turning point in European and world development, Soviet-French political dialogue at top level is assuming added significance as a factor at work for improving the international situation, building confidence among states, promoting the European process and creating a system of international security".

Indeed, Soviet-French summits have invariably been the landmarks not only in the development of traditional bilateral links between the USSR and France, but also in the evolution of international affairs and East-West relations. The official visit by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, to Paris in October, 1985, which became a major event in the diplomatic history of Europe, was of tremendous importance in this sense.

The discussions then held and the public pronouncements, above all in the French Parliament, were used as an occasion to announce major Soviet initiatives with regard to strategic nuclear arms reductions coupled with a ban on space nuclear arms as well as the elimination of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe. Those initiatives, combined with the other Soviet proposals and unilateral acts, including the sustained moratorium on all nuclear explosions, outlined the Soviet Union's novel approach to urgent international problems. They formed part and parcel of the concept behind the proposals of unprecedented magnitude, set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986, regarding the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons all over the world by the end of this century and the programme, advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress, for an all-embracing system of international security.

In pursuance of the Congress line and in an effort to end the stalemate in the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments, the USSR put forward further proposals to facilitate the search for mutually

acceptable accords. Upon a Soviet initiative, it was agreed to hold a Soviet-American meeting of experts on matters relating to a nuclear test ban. At the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Budapest, the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries put forward a detailed programme for the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals, including a system of dependable and effective control, comprising international procedures, up to and including on-site inspections. At the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Soviet Union produced new proposals indicating a practicable way to an agreement to outlaw and eliminate chemical weapons at the earliest opportunity—perhaps, before this year is out.

Thus, by mid-1986 the socialist countries had put forward the major proposals. Most important, they were realistic and honest, concerning the entire range of disarmament issues. These proposals fetched a most widespread positive response in the world, especially in Europe. Even US leaders had to publicly acknowledge their serious and constructive character. However, in practical terms, there has been no adequate US response so far to any of these proposals. Moreover, the USA is still refusing to stop nuclear testing and prohibit militarising outer space. To cap it all, Washington has committed itself to breaking the existing accords on strategic arms limitation.

One point that stands out as never before in this context is what role can Europe play today when the question at issue is which way the world will go—one that leads to dialogue and wider mutual understanding, or one that means heightening tension and leaping ahead in the uncontrolled arms race all along the line, and will Europe be able to keep up whatever positive trends have been emerging?

True, some people have been wondering in the West occasionally: why Europe? Isn't that approach due to an attempt at absolving the USSR and the USA from their responsibility for nuclear disarmament, for the prevention of the militarisation of outer space and for the resumption of constructive dialogue? Isn't it due to a desire to cut the West European NATO countries off from their trans-Atlantic allies? For Europe, they are reasoning, is just a geographic concept, while politically it is divided by a boundary line between the opposing alliances and the European countries belonging to the different social systems. And even if it could speak with one voice, will it be heard, is Europe's weight enough for it to be heard?

The July talks which the Soviet leaders had with President François Mitterrand of France, the discussions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, in London with the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and other statesmen and political leaders of Britain, the visit to the USSR by the Deputy Federal Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the FRG, Hans-Dietrich Genscher have given much food for thought over these problems, the processes now going on in Europe and the possible prospect ahead for them.

The subject that dominated all of those discussions was Europe, its role and responsibility regarding disarmament, improvement of the international situation and the promotion of detente. That must have reflected the natural imperatives of present-day world development as well as the alignment of forces as it is shaping up. Speaking at a reception in the Kremlin, the French President said that the views of France and the USSR in this respect coincided "even though from the Atlantic coast our continent does not look the way it does from the summits of the Urals". "It is necessary", he emphasised; "that Europe indeed once more become the principal protagonist of its own history, and that it play its full part as a factor of equilibrium and stability in international

relations". That means that the idea about the importance of Europe's role is shared not only in the Soviet Union, but it accords with the desire of European nations to express and uphold their own interests.

In the Soviet Union, the situation in Europe is seen realistically, in all of its diversity. Obviously, the community of the class interests of the West European countries and the USA outweighs whatever difference of opinion they may have. But it is just as clear that whenever it comes to accords on matters relating to arms limitation and reduction, we mean that such accords have to be acceptable to the socialist countries as well as to the USA and to Western Europe. It would be just as unrealistic to imagine there could be any accords between European states contrary to US interests as it would be to expect any Soviet-American agreements to fail to take into account the interests of Europe. All that points to the intricacy of resolving the problem of creating a comprehensive security system, that is, to the fact that it will take some time to bring it about but by no means that it is unattainable in principle. For the realities of the closing decades of the 20th century want the Europeans to answer the question about the Europe's place in the third millennium. And that answer has to be given jointly, by the continent as a whole.

There are all indications today that Europe is tired of confrontation and the build-up of tensions. When one takes into account that 20 times more weaponry is concentrated on the continent than the average in the rest of the world then one begins to understand why Europeans are especially interested in disarmament issues, why the anti-war and anti-missile movements which have unfolded on our continent have become active. In the meantime Europe, which has experienced two world wars is now regarded in the NATO military doctrines as the most probable "theatre of war". However it's obvious to all that with the concentration today of weapons and the existence in Europe of dozens of atomic energy plants and chemical factories, the use of even conventional weapons here could lead to a major catastrophe.

In recent times, West European leaders have been more and more often professing their desire to contribute towards developing East-West dialogue and have been more and more vocal in urging progress at the Soviet-American and other arms limitation talks. But there has to be some clarification on that point. What is there, in plain terms, behind the peace declarations of a number of West European national leaders? Whom do they actually address their appeals to? There is no black-and-white answer to these questions so far. The US commitment to an unlimited arms build-up and to breaking the SALT-2 and the ABM agreements are seen with growing disapproval in Western Europe, where there is an enforced recognition of the constructive and compromise-seeking character of the wide-ranging Soviet proposals which nobody can any longer pass off as 'sheer propaganda'. At the same time, some do find it too hard, indeed, to give up what has become their habit of thinking in terms of power politics and military superiority. Does not the tacit support of some countries for the US plans for militarising outer space stem from an old design to have the West gain such superiority over the Soviet Union or, at least, force it into further huge military spending at the expense of its social and economic development?

One problem of particular significance for the European continent is that of medium-range missiles. How often until quite recently one could hear references to the threat the Soviet SS-20s were supposedly posing to the security of West European countries! But, now that the USSR has proposed a perfectly acceptable way of resolving this problem by having the Soviet and American medium-range missiles in the European zone scrapped, it turns out that the whole trouble was not because of the "danger" of the Soviet missiles for Western Europe, but because the

American ones have to be kept where they are (to threaten the Soviet Union).

One must admit in all fairness that not all of the West European leaders hold that kind of view. There is the growing number of those who realise that the "hour of truth" is nearing, when Europe will have to do something real, not just go on uttering generalities, that is, to produce a constructive answer rather than trickery.

The proposals advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries do make it possible to halt the arms race, carry out radical, not token, cuts of nuclear weapons and conventional armaments, ban and scrap chemical weapons. Seen against this background, the present position of the US Administration looks still more unconstructive. One can well see the awkward predicament of those in Western Europe who put their loyalty to "Atlantic solidarity" ahead of everything else. It must be quite an uneasy thing in these circumstances to make a case for their sensible ideas and rational proposals, let alone criticise the course of their trans-Atlantic ally, even though it is increasingly unpopular. And yet the main thing is that unless the arms race is checked, there will be less, not more, security—for all, including the West European states and the NATO countries in their totality.

The comments President F. Mitterrand made after his discussions with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev show that there is growing realisation in Paris that it is impossible for France, which has quite a sizable nuclear potential, to keep out of all debate about the problem of nuclear disarmament and to stick to positions that could hamper possible accords at the Soviet-American talks. At his press conference in Moscow, the French President declared that France would join the process of reduction and destruction of the arsenals of all the nuclear powers, and went on record for supporting continued face-to-face dialogue with the Soviet Union on the entire range of problems involved.

The advancement of the European process is the area in which the European nations can apply their direct constructive efforts. The nearest prospect is that of concluding the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament with tangible positive results. That Conference has made notable headway due to the mutual understanding achieved in the course of the Soviet-French negotiations. The USSR and France, which presided over the opening of the Stockholm Conference, have, as a matter of fact, called upon all of its participants to work harder and to be more flexible if they are to make it succeed in line with the principles of equality and equal security. If Stockholm strikes a reasonable balance of interests of the nations concerned, Europe could be considered to have passed a serious test and taken quite a stride towards a new understanding of its present-day realities. All the more so since what lies ahead is a formidable, historic task—that of not only ridding the continent of nuclear weapons, but of radically reducing armed forces and conventional arms as well.

The proposals to this effect put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries have been received with great interest throughout the world, especially in Europe. The NATO Council session in Halifax late last May published a special declaration on the establishment of a "high-level working group" to thrash out their positions on the problems of conventional arms. True, subsequent pronouncements laid down what amounted to further preconditions, reservations, etc. This is, beyond all dispute, a very tricky, wide-ranging and, evidently, labour-consuming business. However, the task to look for an arms balance at a lower level is quite practicable and, above all, one that brooks no delay. That is what will put to the test Europe's ability to adopt an innovative approach, show

political and diplomatic wisdom and come to terms on what are issues of vital importance to it.

In advance of next November's meeting of the ECSC nations in Vienna, all inter-European negotiations have been recently highlighting the issue of galvanising the European process in general. The USSR and France have been the trial-blazers of detente. By their joint efforts, they contributed towards overcoming the aftermath of the cold war and promoting cooperation between states with differing social systems. It is in Europe that detente has struck root, most solid and deep, and it is here that there has first appeared the unique phenomenon which has come to be known as the European process.

Of course, the European process has not been developing without a hitch or backtracking. It has not come about in a vacuum, and so could not remain unaffected by the changes in the overall international situation. However, the positive record of mutually beneficial relations between the European states, and the experience of peaceful coexistence and political dialogue have made it possible to avoid conflicts and maintain the relative stability of the situation for over 40 years despite the political, economic and ideological distinctions between the states of different social systems.

The process of European detente must go on in every area—political, economic, humanitarian, and cultural. Only in that case will it be a full-blooded and viable process responding to common interests. Having absorbed the experience of the past decades—positive as well as negative—and having reached greater maturity, it is expected to become a more reliable dampening force of confrontation, a kind of dam to stem the rising tide of tension.

There is good reason to expect the forthcoming Vienna meeting to signal a turn for the better in East-West dialogue. The Soviet Union, on its part, is ready to contribute to that and would like to count on the cooperation and understanding of all the parties to the European process, including France and other countries of Western Europe.


It is important to enhance Europe's role in international affairs. Without it, it is impossible to make any notable headway towards a safer future.

As was stressed at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee on July 24, 1986, "pronouncements in favour of a responsible view on the world today must be followed up with real and practical action to ensure the dependable security of the peoples living in our common European home".

SOVIET-SPANISH COOPERATION AND DETENTE IN EUROPE

Yevgeni O L G I N

Today when there is ample cause for alarm, in different parts of the world there is a mounting awareness of the need for peaceful cooperation between all countries and peoples, to stop the deliberate stoking up of tensions. The success of the struggle to strengthen detente and achieve the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, normalise the world situation and avert the danger of war depends to a large extent on whether Europe—the cradle of detente—will be able to set the stage for its revival. The Soviet Union firmly believes that the solution to this key task can and should be facilitated by developing relations between the USSR and Spain, a prominent European and Mediterranean state whose international prestige has been steadily growing.



There have been dramatic moments and long breaks in the history of Soviet-Spanish relations. Yet it also contains many vivid pages showing the solidarity of the two peoples in their struggle for freedom, national independence and social justice.

The Soviet people were among those who showed international solidarity with the Spanish people's heroic struggle for democracy in the national revolution of 1936-1939. They rendered all-round aid to the Spanish patriots; many Spanish people found shelter and a second homeland in the Soviet Union and have never forgotten the warm welcome they received in this country. This year Spain's democratic circles mark on a wide scale the 50th anniversary of the first significant battle between the courageous champions of the Spanish Republic and fascism. Among those who came to take part in the commemorative events were Soviet representatives—veterans of the anti-fascist brigades and the people who cared for and educated the children of the Republican fighters in children's homes in time of need. The years of joint trials have left their imprint on the Soviet people's attitude to the people of Spain. In their turn most Spaniards cherish friendly feelings towards the USSR and are anxious to extend business, cultural, humanitarian and other contacts with this country.

The establishing of Soviet-Spanish diplomatic relations in 1977 following the fall of the Franco regime was a noteworthy event in European political life. In the years that followed Soviet-Spanish cooperation was extended virtually to every sphere.

And here prime significance belongs to the development of political dialogue. In 1979 the Spanish Foreign Minister paid his first official visit to the Soviet Union and this was soon followed by a return visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister to Spain. To all appearances Spain's willingness to develop dialogue with the USSR was prompted by several factors, both foreign and domestic. Seeking to overcome its nearly half-a-century long isolation on the international scene Spain began to regard its contacts

with the Soviet Union as an important step in this direction. Consideration was also given to the general improvement of the world situation, including the European scene, as a factor conducive to the strengthening of the democratic regime in post-Franco Spain.

This connection between detente and democracy was reflected in the foreign policy theses which the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (SWPS) proclaimed at the parliamentary elections of 1982 where it scored a sweeping victory. It won the absolute majority of seats in both chambers, this being chiefly the result of its correct assessment of the Spanish people's aspiration for changes in the country's domestic and foreign policy. Its broad circles came out in favour of Spain's independent policy and demanded its break with NATO. This was taken into consideration by the Socialists who had on the whole taken an anti-NATO stand at the time. In short the SWPS rode to power on the crest of the Spanish people's anti-Atlantic sentiments.

The Socialist government took steps to implement its election platform. Its first foreign policy act was aimed at freezing the country's entry into NATO military side. By that time Spain had freed its territory of nuclear arms and refused to deploy new US medium-range missiles. On several international problems Spain's stand differed from that of the USA and its closest NATO allies. It also took an active part in the quest to find a compromise settlement at the Madrid meeting of states participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In other words, Spain was bent on invigorating its international policy, raising its foreign policy potential and acquiring greater freedom of action in the world scene.

However, this course pursued by the Spanish ruling circles ran counter to the plans of the USA and the NATO bosses who had long contemplated Spain as a major strategic rear in the event of a military conflict in Europe as well as an interpost for the US Rapid Deployment Force, especially for operations in North Africa and the Middle East. NATO also allots no minor role to the strategic axis—Balearic Islands—Strait of Gibraltar—Canary Islands, to "protect" NATO's southern flank.

Upon coming to power the Spanish Socialists were subjected to severe pressure in order to link the country closer to the "western defence" system and above all to NATO, which in the ultimate was successful: the countrywide referendum scored in favour of Spain's NATO membership even though by an insignificant margin.

To achieve this Washington shunned no means, including economic blackmail, using to this effect the USA's strong economic levers of influence. The USA maintains priority in Spain's financial sphere and technological deliveries which have become indispensable for the economic development of any country.

At the same time, attempts were made by Spain's overseas partner to hinder the development of its ties with the Soviet Union. Brandishing the classical bugbear of a "threat from the East" Western propaganda agencies clamoured that Spain had become a target for Soviet missiles. Spanish authorities were regularly supplied with CIA fabrications on the "Soviet Union's involvement" in terrorism which for many years now has been especially rife in Spain.

The mass media has time and again launched anti-Soviet campaigns, patently inspired from without, dealing with "Soviet spy" mania, the alleged persecution of dissidents in socialist countries, etc. In this way Spain was being prompted to sharply restrict, if not break, all contacts with the Soviet Union.

This pressure to bear on Spain from certain Western quarters often affected Soviet-Spanish relations. Yet on the whole cooperation between the two countries has been on the rise. A significant event among others:

was the visit by King Juan Carlos I of Spain to the USSR in May 1984 which did much to overcome the views that had been imposed on the Spanish people for years by Franco's propaganda machine. The very fact that King's visit to the USSR was made and his public statements in favour of extending contacts with this country received wide response in Spain. The CPSU Political Bureau, having highly assessed the results of this visit, noted that it would promote mutual understanding and the development of mutual relations in the interests of peace, detente and mitigating world tensions.¹

Conducive to extending political dialogue are the inter-parliamentary ties established that same year. Meetings between Soviet and Spanish parliamentary delegations in 1984 and 1985 made it possible to share views on bilateral relations and vital international issues. Representing different political forces, among them right-wing parties, the Spanish parliamentaries naturally expressed views that were sometimes out of tune with those of their Soviet counterparts. However, they were unanimous in one major point—the importance of reviving international detente. As stressed in a joint communique on the visit of the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Spain in 1985, it was essential “to change the course of events, bring down tensions, curb the arms race and reduce weapons arsenals to achieve a new detente, develop civilised international relations between countries regardless of their social systems. This would be in the interests of all nations of the world.”²

In 1985 Andrei Gromyko, then Soviet Foreign Minister, paid an official visit to Spain. All in all, after diplomatic relations were established between the two countries, there had been 13 meetings between their Foreign Ministers. At the same time consultations were held along the lines of their Foreign Ministries. Business contacts developed between other ministries and departments.

The direct result of political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Spain was the strengthening of the legal-contractual base of their bilateral relations. After the Socialist government came to power in Spain 26 inter-government and inter-department agreements and protocols were signed in the most diverse spheres of activity. Under the agreement, signed in Moscow in 1976, on forms of cooperation between the Soviet-Spanish and Spanish-Soviet Committees for Trade Development founded under the auspices of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry and Spain's Supreme Council of the Official Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Navigation, both countries take part in trade and industrial exhibitions held in their territories and promote contacts between foreign trade organisations and firms. On the invitation of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry a delegation of the Spanish Confederation of Enterprise Organisations headed by José Maria Cuevas visited the Soviet Union in 1985. Several Spanish banks and firms now have their offices in Moscow; joint-stock companies have been set up in Spain with the participation of Soviet foreign trade organisations to the benefit of both partners.

The role of “trailblazers” in normalising Soviet-Spanish business cooperation belongs to maritime shipping. A Soviet-Spanish committee where questions dealing with maritime transport, freight, etc. are regularly discussed has been functioning under the intergovernment agreement of May 30, 1983. Both countries have been making good headway in the cooperation of their fishing industries. Fine results have been achieved by the mixed Soviet-Spanish “Sovhispan” company, servicing as it does yearly 1,200 to 1,400 Soviet fishing vessels; its functions include preventive repairs and crew replacement.

¹ See *Pravda*, May 18, 1984.

² *Pravda*, June 25, 1985.

Nevertheless, there are still substantial reserves in store in trade and economic relations between the USSR and Spain. Their mutual trade turnover still falls short of its actual potential and lacks stability. In 1985 Soviet-Spanish trade turnover stood at 588.4 million rubles (somewhat less than 639.5 million rubles achieved in 1984). The pattern of trade also calls for improvement, its greater part still being confined to raw materials.

Both the Soviet Union and Spain come out in favour of extending mutual trade and economic contacts. Showing their endeavour to lay a sound economic basis for their political relations both countries admit the need to build their economic relations with the accent on new forms prompted by scientific and technological progress. Here much depends on the effectiveness of scientific-technological exchanges regulated by the intergovernment agreement on scientific and technological cooperation of 1979 and the intra-branch agreements and protocols signed on its basis. They deal chiefly with fundamental and applied research, the coal and atomic power industries, communications, chemistry, agriculture, public health services and meteorology. Both partners believe that the realisation of joint projects in third countries, particularly in Latin America, offers good prospects. The two countries are cooperating ever more actively in the spheres of civil aviation, railway and motor transport and tourism.

Highly prolific are Soviet-Spanish cultural ties which are making headway under the inter-government agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation of 1979. A special Soviet-Spanish commission endorses two-year programmes for cultural and scientific cooperation which are rich in content. In 1985 alone Spain played host to over 350 prominent Soviet artists while 120 Spanish artists gave guest performances in the Soviet Union.

A noteworthy event in the countries' cultural life was the exchange of art exhibitions from the collections of the Hermitage in Leningrad and the Prado in Madrid in 1980 and 1981. Modern art shows are also held. A salient feature of the progress achieved in cooperation in the sphere of cinema art, TV and radio broadcasting is the joint Soviet-Spanish film "Don Quixote" after Cervantes' immortal novel. Great prospects are in store for cooperation in book publishing and book trading industries. Between 1946 and 1984 there have been published in the USSR 515 books by Spanish authors with a total print of more than 27 million copies. Books by Cervantes have been reprinted 154 times and translated into 12 languages of the Soviet peoples. Books by Lope de Vega, Garcia Lorca, the modern writers Miguel Delibes, Luis Goytisolo, Guillermo Diaz-Plaja have also been repeatedly published in the USSR.

Soviet-Spanish ties are also developing along the lines of municipalities, universities and public organisations. Agreements on friendly contacts and cooperation have been signed by Moscow and Madrid, Leningrad and Barcelona, Odessa and Valencia; ties are developing between other cities and between autonomous regions. Agreements have been signed on cooperation between the Moscow State University and the Complutense University in Madrid, the universities of Leningrad and Barcelona, Voronezh and Leone.

In this context credit should be given to the efforts, applied by Friendship Societies in both countries to the noble cause of promoting mutual acquaintance and strengthening friendly relations between the Soviet and Spanish peoples.

With political dialogue in progress and the good headway made in developing contacts between the two countries in the most diverse spheres of cooperation, the official visit of the head of the Spanish Government Felipe Gonzalez to the Soviet Union in May 1986 was a significant event. Highly representative was the delegation that accompanied him to the USSR: along with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Francisco Fernández Ordóñez it included the Minister for Economics, Tax and Trade Carlos Solchago Catalan, the Minister for Culture Javier Solana Madariaga (who also represented his government on matters of information), other leading figures and a large group of businessmen.

Mention should be made of several circumstances that had taken place on the eve of the visit. Certain Spanish circles, along with those in other countries, voiced their doubts on the expediency of this visit on the eve of the parliamentary election in Spain and also in view of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power plant. The highly influential in the West Trilateral Commission comprising prominent representatives of political and business circles from the USA, Japan and Western Europe did not remain aloof from this campaign. The Spanish press wrote that at its meeting in Madrid in May the members of the commission criticised the head of the Spanish government for going on with the visit.³

The focal point of the visit was the meeting between the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Felipe Gonzalez, where both sides spoke in favour of promoting Soviet-Spanish cooperation in the interests of both countries as well as in the interests of Europe and improving the world situation. They also expressed confidence that the visit would give fresh impetus to developing political dialogue, economic and cultural relations and extending friendly contacts between the two peoples. In discussing international problems both sides voiced the need for "immediate collective effort to strengthen the principles of peaceful coexistence, political interaction, dialogue and talks between different states".⁴

International problems were also discussed during the meeting between Felipe Gonzalez and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrei Gromyko, and Chairman of the USSR Council of Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, as well as at the talks between Foreign Ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Francisco Fernández Ordóñez. Without shutting their eyes to the existing differences in assessing and approaching international issues the participants in the talks noted with satisfaction that the USSR and Spain held contiguous views on several essential aspects of international life, which "makes it possible to extend the spheres of mutual understanding and joint and parallel action by both countries in favour of peace, confidence, security and cooperation in Europe and beyond its borders".⁵

Much attention was devoted to promoting trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation, especially in light of the opportunities afforded by the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000. During exchange of opinion on this subject it was noted that the achieved level of commercial and economic contacts fell short of the partners' economic potential and the existing opportunities. Many forms of mutual business exchanges, often lacking a long-term basis, were claimed to be out of tune with the times. Both parties spoke in favour of promoting Soviet-Spanish economic cooperation by normalising industrial cooperation, extending deliveries of up-to date machinery and plant, exchanging technology and licenses and making fuller use of the countries' achievements

³ See *El País*, May 20, 1986.

⁴ *Pravda*, May 21, 1986.

⁵ *Pravda*, May 20, 1986.

in hi-tech industries. A protocol was signed for working out a long-term programme for economic and industrial cooperation between the two countries along with an agreement on international highway communication.

The talks in Moscow confirmed the readiness of the two countries to extend mutually advantageous cooperation on an equitable basis. Highly important was the endeavour expressed by the USSR and Spain to coordinate their activities on the international scene. The visit showed once again that despite the difference of political systems both sides were equally interested in mitigating world tensions. The two countries showed a mutual understanding that in the nuclear and space age there is no other alternative than to live and cooperate in the world with all its complications, contradictions, and growing interdependence.

The regular parliamentary elections held in June brought a new victory to the Spanish Socialists giving them an absolute majority of seats in the Lower House of the Cortes Generales and the right to form a new one-party Cabinet. As before, the broad masses of the Spanish people link their hopes for continuing democratic changes in the country, including the sphere of foreign policy, with the Socialist party. In their foreign policy election platform the Socialists claimed that Spain would take part in the efforts to revive the policy of detente and develop relations with socialist countries. Dwelling on Spain's NATO membership it proclaimed a ban on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons in the country, the intention to work for the achievement of international agreements banning all nuclear tests and chemical weapons, and the endeavour to realise a peaceful political settlement of regional conflicts. All these elements offered by the SWPS's election platform impressed the many millions of Spaniards, adherents to Spain's independent foreign policy and its greater role in strengthening peace and detente.

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The question of strengthening detente concerns not only Spain's national interests. In the present complicated international situation it is important that all states regardless of their size apply efforts to lower tensions and stave off the danger of war. Today no one can remain aloof from the task of averting a nuclear catastrophe. Its solution can be drawn nearer through dialogue, the quest for points of contiguity, confidence and common views, and by no means by focusing on discord and differences. Spain is capable of contributing to this effort. As much as one can judge by the statements of the Spanish government leaders this viewpoint is finding ever more understanding in Madrid.

Giving the political guidelines of his new government in the programme statement of July 1986, Felipe Gonzalez said that while remaining a member of the EEC and NATO Spain would not take part in NATO's joint military structure and will ban the deployment of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons in its territory. F. Gonzalez made a special point of Spain's efforts to promote relations with socialist countries, the Soviet Union. He also stressed that Spain believed that a persistent continuation of dialogue with the great powers, which have the first say in the matter of disarmament and detente, would be useful not only to Spain but would help establish a climate of greater international confidence.

On the whole the prospects of Soviet-Spanish relations fill one with well-founded optimism. The USSR and Spain have no points of dispute and objective brakes in the way of their constructive cooperation. Its success depends first and foremost on the political will of both sides and

EUROPE AND NATO

Yuri Z H U K O V,

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The discussion of the international security problems is gaining momentum in the West European capitals. It would be correct to assess this discussion using the words of John Foster Dulles, the demised but not forgotten aggressively-minded US State Secretary, who described the situation as a "painful reappraisal" of the entire postwar strategy of the Western powers.

This "painful reappraisal" is felt despite the iron discipline of the class prevailing in the Western alliance where the senior partner, the United States, gives orders all around and the junior allies, moaning and groaning, toe the line and obey. Still, widening splits can be noted on the front of the military organisation of the North Atlantic Alliance, and even Washington's staunchest friends and allies are beginning to talk about the growing contradictions and discord.

For example, this is what West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said at the meeting of the Foreign Policy Society in Bonn on June 25 this year: "Recently, one could hear a lot of criticism on both sides of the Atlantic... Concern was also voiced over the state of relations between the USA and Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty and the American-West German relations. Some of this is fair and deserves careful consideration."

Naturally, Helmut Kohl does not question the expediency of preserving the alliance. He is all for it. Following his Washington friends he is just putting a good face on the matter in his attempts to prove that contradictions inside NATO only confirm its might as a "democratic organisation" where everybody is free to say and act as he sees fit. And still... "The union of free nations, which the North Atlantic Alliance is," Kohl had to admit with regret, "is not always convenient [sic!]. In such a union divergences in opinions and interests of the partners, as well as discussions on this score, are only natural."

What are the root-causes of this anxiety which has gripped the US West European allies? It is not so difficult to supply an answer to this vital question if one turns to the very basis on which in 1949 the bloc was founded. It was then that the two concepts of international security clashed for the first time, concepts which were revealed to the world in light of the decisions taken by the 27th CPSU Congress: what is preferable—the security of some states at the expense of the others, or security for all?

It seems that the hard, bloody lessons of the Second World War showed that the aggressive military blocs are doomed. The Locarno system of military accords of the West European states created at the close of the 1920s meant to offset the system of all-European security suggested

by the Soviet Union, had eventually led to the Munich deal and, later on, to the tragedy of war. The peoples paid a high price for the salvation of Europe from the Nazi plague. And, as is well known, a major factor in achieving the victory was the fact that the Western powers, although with an unpardonable delay, revised their attitude to the problem of European security and entered into an alliance with the USSR.

Having passed through the terrible trials of war, the peoples hoped that this experience will be taken into account in the postwar settlement and that the concept of security for all would guarantee the normal development of international relations as was stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations adopted by the constituent conference in San Francisco while the guns were still firing in Berlin.

And what has happened?

THE ABDUCTION OF EUROPE

Hardly had the Soviet, American, British and French soldiers healed their wounds and left the hospitals, did the former Prime Minister Winston Churchill make his notorious Fulton speech and the US President Harry Truman and his advisers immediately became engaged in frenzied activities aimed at wrecking the anti-Hitler coalition created during the war and returning to a system of military blocs based on the selfish interests of imperialist states. Initially, it was said in Washington that the USA and Great Britain would stand side by side at the head of that system. However, it soon became clear that the USA had appointed itself the leader.

These plots, the anti-Soviet thrust of which was clear to everyone, met with strong resistance in Western Europe where the USSR, which had liberated Europe from the fascist yoke, evoked tremendous sympathy. People believed that cooperation with the USSR was there to stay and that it would be a pledge of a lasting peace. However, in Washington it was thought that security for all was disadvantageous and undesirable. This is how they started a large-scale political operation which the Western press wittingly called the "abduction of Europe" recalling the antique myth on how Zeus, who had fallen in love with the daughter of the Phoenician King Agenor named Europe, turned into a bull, abducted her and took her on his back overseas. Naturally, Uncle Sam, aspiring to the role of modern Zeus failed to abduct Europe. However, its western part remained captive for a long time.

Mikhail Gorbachev recalled that when speaking at the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on June 30 this year: "The ancient Greeks had a myth on the abduction of Europe. This fairy tale has suddenly acquired a modern meaning. Naturally, as a geographical notion, Europe remains in its place. However, one gets the impression that the independent policy of some West European countries has been abducted and is being carried across the ocean. Under the guise of safeguarding security the national interests of the peoples and the destiny of 700-million people inhabiting our continent and the centuries-old civilisation are handed over to somebody else's control."

It all began with the notorious Marshall Plan when the West European countries had to pay the overseas partner with political independence for a mess of pottage soup—modest economic aid. Later, in 1948, the so-called Marshallised countries—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg—became members of a separate grouping which was christened the Western Union, and immediately the United States, which patronised this idea, joined the Union as "observers".

To blind the public it was stated in the treaty on the creation of the Western Union, signed in Brussels, that its participants were allegedly

striving to prevent the resumption of aggression by Germany. But why then were the USSR and the people's democracies already existing in Europe expelled from that union? The answer to that question, as to many other questions, was received soon when a separate West German state—the FRG, created by the USA, Britain and France—was incorporated into the Western Union, and the anti-Soviet thrust of the bloc became obvious.

The abduction of Europe by the overseas bloc was just the beginning of a much broader military-political campaign: as early as January 14, 1949, the State Department published a document on the building of peace and collective security in the North Atlantic region from which one can gather that already in the summer of 1948 the USA was engaged in talks with the members of the Western Union and Canada on the creation of a new bloc, this time with US involvement and leadership.

THE GOAL: TO TOPPLE SOVIET POWER

I found an entry in my diary made on the evening of March 18, 1949 in Paris where I worked at the time as a *Pravda* correspondent. That day journalists were invited to the gilded Clock Hall in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be given the text of the North Atlantic Treaty prepared for signing.

We saw Robert Schumann, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the "Marshallised" Fourth Republic who was animatedly jesticulating before the pressmen and, at the bidding of his American patrons, was striving to instil in his listeners the idea that the treaty was intended "exclusively for defence."

He said that the participants in the new alliance were preparing to exercise their right only for individual or collective defence recognised in Article 51 of the UN Charter, and even in case of an attack they would use weapons only until the UN Security Council, which would then be immediately notified of that attack, takes necessary measures to restore and maintain international peace and security (see Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty), and so on and forth.

The sponsors of the treaty were not open enough at that time to say in so many words that their bloc was an offensive instrument and that its main target for aggression was the USSR and the people's democracies. However, the garrulous American politicians and especially the press were not so discreet. They knew all about the plans that were feverishly prepared by military headquarters. The American generals, who still remained monopolists of the A-bomb, were dreaming of a savage attack on their former ally, the Soviet Union.

Now these plans have been declassified and made public. One is just amazed by the arrogance of these generals' reasoning. It is enough to look at the document entitled *The US Objectives with Respect to Russia* published a few years ago in an official collection *Containment*. This work was drafted by the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department at the order of the then Defense Secretary James Forrestal. On August 18, 1948 it was approved by the US National Security Council as a secret Directive NSC 20/1. It said, in particular: "Taking the worst [sic] case, which would be that of the retention of Soviet power over all, or nearly all, of present Soviet territory, we should have to demand:

a) *Direct military terms* (surrender of equipment, evacuation of key areas, etc.) designed to assure military helplessness for a very long time in advance;

b) *Terms designed to produce a considerable economic dependence on the outside world.*"

Further on it said: "It is safe to say that such terms would have to

be harsh ones and distinctly humiliating to the communist regime in question. They might well be something along the lines of the Brest-Litovsk settlement of 1918 which deserves careful study in this connection." [My italics.—Yu. Zh.]

However, this is not all. The sponsors of Directive NSC 20/1 stated that should they win a war with the USSR, they would bring to power their proteges from among the anti-Soviet emigre circles.

The document says that at present there are a number of interesting and strong Russian emigre groupings and that any of them would suit the USA as the rulers of Russia.

The initiators of these blood-chilling plans also set specific dates for an attack on the USSR. We can read the following in the instructions to the US Joint-Chiefs-of-Staff of December 21, 1948 appraising the plans of a strategic air attack and included in the collection of document published by West German historians B. Greiner and K. Steinhaus under the title *The Road to a Third World War?*: the war would begin before April 1, 1949. A-bombs would be used on a scale as would be possible and desirable... The maps showing the targets and flight routes for carrying out operations affecting the first 70 cities would be prepared by February 1, 1949.

That is why the State Department was in such a hurry to set up the North Atlantic military-political bloc. American generals needed both the territories and the armed forces of the West European states for the planned aggression against the USSR. However, they had failed to complete all these preparations before April 1, 1949; the dates when the war was to begin had been postponed several times, and soon the situation had radically changed. On September 25, 1949, TASS published a laconic statement saying that the USSR had mastered the secret of atomic weapons and the United States had lost their monopoly in that field.

Of course, NATO retained its aggressive nature. However, now a war with the USSR entailed a greater risk for the aggressor itself. The US and NATO political and military headquarters were hurriedly revising their plans. The notorious cold war against the USSR began which was an undertaking accompanied by regional crises in various parts of the world, and in each instance the USA attempted to involve its allies in those crises.

PLANS TO EXPAND NATO'S ZONE OF ACTION

The experience of recent decades has shown that the NATO military machine is functioning as a rule smoothly when it involves confrontation with the socialist countries of Europe. Although each time the USA starts yet another adventure the allies voice certain misgivings, state their objections, displeasure or grumble eventually the class discipline of the military bloc gains the upper hand, and the allies just give in.

Such was the case with the deployment of the American Pershing-2s and cruise missiles. The outcome was also the same with the creation of binary chemical weapons slated to be used on the European theatre of war operations. And that was the case in very many other instances.

However, the USA met with difficulties in its attempts to use the NATO military mechanism to carry out its far-reaching designs beyond the zone of action stipulated in Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

To say that the bloc is spearheaded against the USSR and the other European socialist countries would be only to state part of the truth. The entire history of NATO indicates that Washington placed on that design much more hope involving actually the whole planet. This circumstance was exposed by the Soviet government already at the time when the Treaty was just in the making. The statement of the USSR Ministry of

Foreign Affairs published in *Pravda* on January 29, 1949 unequivocally said the following: "The aims of the main imperialist grouping joined together now on the basis of the North Atlantic Treaty are not in the least of a regional nature but embody claims of certain powers to superiority all over the globe."

Despite the fact that the text of the Treaty clearly defined the region of operation of the bloc's military organisation as North America, Western Europe, the Algerian departments of France (at that time the French government still retained control over Algeria attempting to keep it within the bounds of its state), and the islands still under the jurisdiction of the contracting parties in the part of the Atlantic north of the Tropic of Cancer, the USA was actually harbouring much more extensive plans. The "Marshallised" countries incorporated in NATO were intended to serve as suppliers of cannon fodder for US "crusades" for the sake of America's selfish interests in all directions.

Did the US partners realise that? Of course, the major partners were in the know. However, guided by their own interests, which were differing, they consciously agreed to create a giant aggressive machine.

London believed that it would manage to preserve special relationship between the "Anglo-Saxons", as the British and the Americans called themselves, by setting up a two-party directory on a global scale. Bonn hoped it would use the NATO flag to sidetrack the Potsdam agreements which provided for the dismantling of all that remained of Hitler's war machine. Others were just expecting new handouts from Washington for their consent to participate in the military bloc.

Naturally all that was fraught with a new discord and conflicts within NATO, and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the above-mentioned statement, had every reason to warn that the establishment of the North Atlantic bloc and a number of other blocs "will not diminish contradictions between the main partners [the USA and Britain—*Yu. Zh.*]... It is all the more necessary to say that the signing of various pacts cannot remove the clash of interests of larger and smaller countries participating in these groupings when one partner or one group of states wants in any case to profit at the expense of the other partner or another group of states, using various means of pressure, including economic, to this end."

Now, 37 years later, one can see that the seeds of this discord have sprouted and born fruit. And the more rudely and shamelessly the American partner is lashing out at his allies forcing them to follow his line, the more obvious these contradictions are becoming.

As was expected, immediately after the signing and ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty the United States began to use it to carry out its foreign policy, paying particular attention to the attempts to make use of the armed forces of the allies in the areas outside the NATO zone. However, this turned out to be a difficult task.

Actually, the United States managed to use the armed forces of its allies more or less extensively only once, during the war in Korea, and only because it managed to force through, illegally, in the United Nations Security Council, in the absence of the Soviet representative, the decision allowing to use the blue UN flag as a cover for this aggressive action.

In February 1964 attempts were made to involve the Bundeswehr, which had been created by that time, into the NATO expedition to "pacify Cyprus". However, the then General Inspector of the FRG armed forces Heinz Tretnr refused to obey that demand under the pretext that "the Bundeswehr can only be used if the Federal Republic or one of its allies attacked".

Three months later, in May 1964, Bonn was visited by Robert McNamara, the then US Secretary of Defense. This time he demanded that West German troops be dispatched to Vietnam. As was noted in the com-

munique issued on that occasion, he on behalf of the USA once again expressed hope that the West European allies in their policy against a communist threat in other regions of the globe, for instance, in South Vietnam, would get support from the other NATO partners. However, that hope went up in smoke, too. Instead of soldiers a floating hospital, the *Helholand*, and autorepair shops were sent to the Vietnamese shores. Other partners failed to do even that.

Washington pricked up its ears. It began to reproach the allies in the open for their unwillingness to help the partner extricate itself from the mess it was in. "So," the US Administration's spokesmen indignantly said, "you abide by the letter of the treaty? Alright, let us change the letter so that the North Atlantic Treaty will embrace the whole world, or let us affix to it a series of other, regional treaties." A meeting of NATO experts was held in the US Naval Academy in Annapolis (Maryland) in June 1973. It discussed the same sacramental problem of using the allies' armed forces beyond the limits of the zone of action established by Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty. This time on the agenda was the item concerning plans for defending sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope. The idea once again failed to produce enthusiasm among the US allies, and even the most zealous adherent of NATO, the then Secretary-General of the bloc Dutchman Joseph Lunts, said at a press-conference in June 1973 that it would be unrealistic [sic!] to expect that NATO would decide to stretch the southern border of its sphere of action beyond the Tropic of Cancer and that such a decision would require the unanimous consent of the member countries of that organisation, which was impossible at that time.

However, Washington did not heed that warning. In May 1977 the US President James Carter, speaking at the Notre Dame University, said in no uncertain terms that the system of Western alliances established after the Second World War under American guidance no longer conformed to the international situation. Further on he said that he was convinced that that system should transgress the Atlantic Alliance and should allow for establishment of a new type of relations with major countries which had acquired by that time international prestige.

That was clearly a hint at the ideas that were current at that time in the so-called unofficial Trilateral Commission which was James Carter's *alma mater* before he became President. The issue in point was the establishment of a tripartite alliance comprising the USA, Western Europe and Japan, an alliance which was conceived as a world directory.

This plan of a radical reconstruction of the North Atlantic Alliance was actively supported by the then NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, American General Alexander Haig who was later on to become US State Secretary for a short spell of time in the Republican Administration. Speaking at a press-conference for British journalists on March 1, 1981 Haig, answering the question of whether he expected NATO to play an expanded role beyond the existing geographical boundaries, replied that he had extensively discussed that issue approximately a year before and submitted a document to the conference in Brussels sponsored by the Institute for Strategic Studies. Further on he said that as he had pointed out, whether they liked it in the West or not, NATO would be increasingly affected by the events occurring beyond its geographical zone of action. He went on to say that, whether they liked it or not, it was a reality, that he had said that six years before to the horror of some of his NATO colleagues and had repeated it ever since.

It was not by chance that Haig mentioned the "horror" with which some of his NATO colleagues had met his demand, because the USA once again insisted that its allies agree to send their troops beyond the NATO zone of action in order to carry out military plans suiting Washington's

interests, and the American claims have always been recieved with objections.

Let us recall such an incident. Soon after that speech by Alexander Haig the USA asked that its NATO allies immediately respond to its request to send their troops to the Persian Gulf area. And later on, on March 16, 1981, replying to the question put by a correspondent of the Italian newspaper *Avanti!* as to what Italy's stand was on that matter, the then Minister of Defence of Italy Lelio Lagorio said not without malice: "The Italian flag feels fine where it is. NATO is a defensive and geographically-limited alliance... Italy has already declared that in accordance with the decision of its government and proceeding from the fact that its forces are indivisible it will play its role exclusively in the region where it is situated, that is, in the Mediterranean basin. At present, the Persian Gulf is not at all the Crimea of 1853 and Italy is not Piemonte that needed to show its flag far from the Italian territory because of its dream of conquering Italy and the subsequent need for the understanding and support of the Great Powers. Modern Italy is a major nation. It must believe more in itself and have a better understanding of its role..."

Some time later the FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl provided a similar negative response to the US request to supply troops of the NATO allies to be used "in other regions, for instance in the Persian Gulf region". In his interview to *Die Welt* newspaper on November 5, 1982 he said: "The North Atlantic Alliance has clearly defined its zone of action. Under no circumstances do I want to change anything."

True, he immediately supplied the USA with cunning idea: if the USA would like to fight in the Persian Gulf area or elsewhere, let it take its troops stationed in the FRG and send these troops anywhere it pleases, and the Bundeswehr will replace them with its own soldiers. "If," he went on to say, "the USA, for instance, would defend in this region [the Persian Gulf--*Yu. Zh.*] our interests as well it would only be fair on the part of the USA to appeal to us, the European NATO allies, with the request that within [sic!] the NATO zone of activity we should be prepared to do more than before, so as to release the USA here."

So, that was the decision taken in Bonn: they assigned several tens of thousands of reservists to replace the American divisions if the latter take part in just another "crusade".

However, the USA's West European allies obviously underrated their senior partner in their belief that it would calm down when confronted with their clear unwillingness to expand the NATO zone of action. Washington has decided that the time has come to put its allies at attention and make them do not what they would like to, but what they are ordered to do by their senior partner in the military bloc.

On January 31, 1984 Lawrence Eagleburger, the then Under Secretary of State, speaking at the International John Davis Lodge Centre made it understood that Washington intends to make the allies submit to an "expanded interpretation" of the North Atlantic Treaty. He said with cynical frankness that twenty years before those who put in the forefront relations with the Atlantic countries believed that when the Western countries finally assert their own positions their following the lead of the American policy would facilitate the implementation of the US diplomacy goals. He said that they also asserted that if the West and the USA became united they would present a formidable force and could control the entire international situation. However, he went on to say, in the process of shaping Western Europe as such, and in his opinion it was a "temporary" [sic!] phenomenon, the West was entirely involved in its own economic problems, and at the talks on ensuring security the positions of the USA and the West European countries no longer coincided.

As he went on with his prosecutor's speech, Eagleburger became ever

more incensed. He said indignantly that the West European states only cared for the preservation of stability in their own region: for instance they condemn the policy of the Reagan Administration as regards the Soviet Union asserting that it was crude and clumsy; the West Europeans believed that the US actions undermined detente and that they did not understand the USA when it said that detente had failed.

In conclusion this loquacious representative of the US Administration threatened the allies stating that if they continued to behave in the same vein they would invariably come across the problem of US withdrawal from Western Europe, and in that case the allies would have to take into account the shifting of the centre of gravity of US diplomacy towards the Pacific Ocean and the growing role of Japan.

Eagleburger no longer works in the State Department: he returned to business. However, the same, and even more tough line is followed by other hawks in the present US Administration and, of course, first of all the Pentagon chief, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Not so long ago, on April 16 this year, speaking at the Council on Foreign Relations in Boston, he said that no less than in Europe, the United States had vital interests in Asia and the Pacific and that the USA had entered the century of the Pacific.

Following that, at a regular meeting of the NATO experts again in Annapolis Weinberger still more frankly than his predecessors set forth the American concept of the predestination of the North Atlantic military bloc. He stated that the zone of NATO action which was so often mistakingly limited to the central front was, indeed, a broad zone delineated not by geographical boundaries but by the facts of political life. He said that the USA should be able to act in the regions of the world remote from the North Atlantic area and that the term "beyond the zone of action" could no longer be regarded as an automatic veto, as some people were inclined to understand it.

Indeed! So, Washington has already cast aside Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty which precisely delineated the NATO zone of action. Now that region in the interpretation of the US Secretary of Defense is just an "outdated geographic label"!

In his speech in Vladivostok Mikhail Gorbachev stressed:

"I would also like to state that the Soviet Union is a staunch advocate of disbanding the military groupings and renouncing the possession of military bases in Asia and the Pacific Ocean and withdrawing troops from foreign territories. The USSR is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, but it is the European defensive alliance and it operates strictly within the geographical framework determined by the treaty.

In our turn we are resolutely opposed to US attempts at extending NATO's 'competence' to the whole world, including Asia and the Pacific Ocean."

EUROPE FACING THE CHOICE

What will be Western Europe's reaction to all that? We see that there is growing confusion there engendered by truly defiant US actions such as the bombardment of Libya, as the undisguised and ostentatious waging of undeclared wars against Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and other countries with social systems that do not suit the USA, as the flagrant refusal to abide by the agreements on the limitation and reduction of armaments, as the ever more rough treatment of its own allies.

As a result of all that there are tensions breeding within NATO which were revealed at the recent meeting of its Council in Halifax where all the

US allies without exception spoke against the Washington-planned violation of the treaties limiting the arms race. This was only to be expected since even in April the present Secretary-General of NATO British Lord Carrington, in his interview to BBC, warned that in the North Atlantic community there arose a very serious, the most unfavourable situation as far as he could remember.

However, here a legitimate question suggests itself: if the West European powers are really alarmed by the adventurist actions of the USA, if they are really against these actions why do they remain the devoted vassals of Washington? Why, for instance, as a result of the meeting of the heads of seven major capitalist states in Tokyo did the leaders of the FRG, Britain, France, and Italy, submitting to the pressure of "Big Brother", adopted a resolution absolving him of all sins and condemning simultaneously Libya, the victim of the American aggression? Why do the West European allies continue to actively support any aggressive US action? How can one explain the fact that, as the weekly magazine of the FRG Social Democratic Party *Vorwärts* bitterly put it, they display despicable faint-heartedness in the face of bellicose boasting of Mr. Reagan?

Of course, any historic comparisons are relative. And here one cannot help recalling the faint-heartedness of the West European powers in the prewar years when they, in Munich, appeased bellicose Germany and entertained hopes that it would direct its aggressive ambitions the East, leaving them in peace.

And now, as it is often said, the moment of truth has arrived. The tactics of political contrivances, excuses, subterfuges and attempts to sidetrack the burning issues of our day cannot bring anything good to those who resort to such tactics. Once again, as it was before, the issue of crucial importance to Europe arises: a choice must be made between the system of security for all consistently supported by the socialist countries and the system of dividing Europe into opposing military groupings, with the key position in the military grouping of the West belonging to a non-European power, the United States.

The programme for stopping the arms race and establishing a comprehensive system of international security involving the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress opens a reliable road to peace in Europe, and not only in Europe but in the entire world.

The programme for escalating the arms race imposed by the United States on its West European allies, for expanding NATO's zone of action, for creating a multilateral rapid deployment force which, like a fire brigade, would rush to any part of the globe for the sake of the ill-famed US interests, leads directly to a situation fraught with war. Incidentally, this dangerous programme was supported by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the spring of 1982 in her speech in Parliament.

The choice is totally clear, and time is running out. This was strongly reiterated by the heads of the socialist countries in the communique adopted by the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee held on June 10-11 in Budapest. *"The world has entered such a phase in its development when getting away from the cardinal issues of our time means to risk the destiny of the entire civilization. In the present conditions no individual state or group of states can build their own security and prosperity on using military force to dictate their writ to other countries and peoples. Such a policy, whether it is called 'neoglobalism' or something else, has no future. It is fatal for mankind".* [My italics.—Yu. Zh.].

Yes, reliable security of all countries and peoples, peaceful conditions for their development and progress can be ensured only by political means

and concerted actions of all states. This position, as was stressed by the leaders of the socialist states, corresponds to the realities of the nuclear age and is a testimony to the responsible attitude to the destinies of their peoples and the entire mankind.

As long as there are two opposing military alliances in Europe the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty states to conclude a treaty with NATO on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, open for all states, would retain its relevance. It could be followed up by other far-reaching agreements and accords aimed at ensuring mutual security and mutually beneficial business cooperation.

Europe needs the revival of detente and its movement towards a more stable phase. Only in this way, as was emphasised in Budapest, is it possible to ensure security for all European peoples, to overcome the split on the continent and to create a Europe characterised by peace, friendly cooperation and good-neighbourliness. This is a realistic goal and it can be attained through vigorous concerted efforts.

As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at the dinner in honour of the President of the French Republic François Mitterrand, "it is necessary to totally rid political thinking of viewing Europe a 'theatre of war operations'. Europe must set an example of the coexistence of sovereign, different but peaceful states realising their interdependence, and building their relations on mutual trust".

So now it is up to the West European states to respond.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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The concept of creating an all-embracing system of international security put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress envisages a series of essential measures to be launched in the economic sphere that would go towards forming its very foundation. Economic provision for international security, like other measures (in the military, political and humanitarian areas), is based on taking into account specific features of the current stage of international development, first of all the fact that today the world should be seen as a complex, contradictory and increasingly inter-dependent organism.

Economic factors have always had a great role to play in world relations, and this is particularly pronounced in our day. This is explained by the growing ties of "pure economics" with politics, including foreign policy, and by more general features typical of contemporary development, the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution and the struggle between the two opposite socio-economic systems.

Apart from this, nowadays global problems have acquired particular significance, with special emphasis laid on the economic aspect, so their solution essentially depends on whether regulation and decisions in the economic sphere can be found with the due account being taken of STR advances and their practical application.

Besides, economic activity has become ever more internationalised. The process, of course, takes on specific forms in each socio-economic system, in conformity with its scale of social, economic and political values. Correspondingly, economic problems are tackled differently.

Socialism is going to resolve these problems through socio-economic acceleration, by mastering achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and making use of every opportunity offered by the socialist system which has been sovereignly opted for by our peoples. This course has been outlined at the 27th CPSU Congress. Such are the aspirations of all the fraternal parties.

Capitalism, in its turn, is seeking to realise the "possibilities for economic growth and the mastering of new scientific and technical fields, ...sustaining concrete economic, military, political and other positions and in some areas even the possibility for social revenge, for regaining what had been lost before,"¹ by extreme reactionary policies, suppressing de-

¹ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 17.

mocratic rights and freedoms, and stepping up exploitation all over the world.

In today's complex situation general problems involved in the preservation of civilisation and human life as such require new and very responsible political thinking and launching relevant measures in international relations. As Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised, the only acceptable and realistic approach to international problems in this nuclear age, when ecological and other threats are constantly mounting, is that which recognises the right of every country to decide its internal affairs on its own, excludes the use of force, shows tolerance and patience, and respect for everybody's legitimate interests.²

The idea of framing and implementing measures for the normalisation of international economic relations and providing for the states' economic security has been winning the world public today. The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee discussed the question. In May 1985, during the visit of Willy Brandt to the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The world community has good reason to see to the economic security of the states and peoples."³

The new Soviet initiative of creating a comprehensive system of international security, its innovatory essence, essentially amounts to taking into account the growing significance of economic factors in international relations today. Profound analysis of the current events and a foresight of the future lead to the conclusion that to resolve pressing economic and political problems, a closer and more fruitful cooperation between the governments, parties, public organisations and movements is needed, in fact, between all the peoples genuinely concerned with the destinies of peace on Earth. It was the socialist countries which first formulated the question of economic security as a component of international security as a whole, but it has a bearing on the interests of broad sections of the population world-wide, for it reflects a genuinely democratic, constructive comprehension of the realities and a highly responsible attitude towards searching for solutions to military, political, economic and general humanitarian problems at hand.

The very concept of economic security, according to the Memorandum of the Government of the USSR International Economic Security: an Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations put forward at the UN on January 27, 1986, "first of all envisages rejection of the use or threat of use of 'strong-arm' techniques, protection of the states' legitimate rights and interests, and creation of reliable safeguards against their violation."⁴

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress emphasised that a comprehensive system of international economic security, which would in equal measure protect every nation against discrimination, sanctions and other attributes of imperialist, neocolonialist policy, can become, alongside disarmament, a reliable basis of international security in general.

The Soviet Union's proposals on establishing an all-embracing system of international security, including in the economic sphere, met with the wholehearted support of the socialist community countries, clearly expressed, in particular, in the Communique of the session of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty members states, held in Warsaw in March 1986.

² See *Pravda*, July 19, 1986.

³ Mikhail Gorbachev, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1986, p. 115.

⁴ *Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1986.

"Complex problems of the world economy cannot be resolved by this or that group of states in isolation,"⁵ stressed leaders of the socialist countries in the Communique of the Political Consultative Committee session which took place in Budapest in June 1986.

Such a broad and constructive approach differs radically from the interpretation of the security concept widely current in the West as the whole complex of interconnected national "securities". Certain experts allege, for example, that each national "security" is underlied by some "vital national values", including economic ones, "depending on a nation's hierarchy of values". Among those who recognise the need for providing a "security of international economic relations", there is a prevalent opinion that the matter essentially hinges on how readily and effectively individual countries would agree to sacrifice their own national sovereignty, independence, etc., so that international monopoly capital could thrive.⁶

Undoubtedly the issue is not in definitions but how prepared one is to try and resolve the vital problems, to find a constructive solution, taking into account the specifics of a given region (Europe or Asia for example), the various types of economic ties (international trade, sea transport, etc.).

The Soviet proposal is first of all a logical projection of the fundamental line the USSR has been pursuing in international relations. As early as in the 1930s, the Soviet Union came forward with a proposal on economic non-aggression, first in the League of Nations commission studying the issue of a European Union,⁷ and then at the London Economic Conference.⁸ The importance of concluding a pact on economic non-aggression was also emphasised in such documents as, for example, Mikhail Kalinin's Message to US President Franklin D. Roosevelt in May 1933.⁹ In 1953, the concept of economic aggression was included in the definition of aggression proposed by the USSR in the UN, and it was subsequently developed and specified in other UN documents.

At the same time the Soviet proposal takes into account relevant views voiced by other countries, among them the idea on collective economic security put forth for discussion in the UN at the initiative of Brazil in 1973-1974. Though the initiative of the developing countries was rather limited in character, it played a positive role in the promotion of the idea of economic security; this was reflected, in particular, in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974.

It is indicative that concern over the complex character of world economic problems, of the international economic ties was reflected in a number of well-known reports and in independent research. This included: "Reshaping the International Order" (a 1976 report coordinated by Yan Tinbergen), "The Future of the World Economy" (a 1977 United Nations study by a group of UN experts led by Wassily Leontief) as well as reports of the commissions of Willy Brandt and Olof Palme. These reports and the recommendations they contain reflected the aspirations of many representatives of social currents and scientific circles towards finding constructive and mutually acceptable decisions.

In 1985, the UN General Assembly resolution on international economic security was supported by the vast majority of the UN members

⁵ *Pravda*, June 12, 1986.

⁶ *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats and Policies*, Tilburg, 1982, p. 4-5.

⁷ *Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR*, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1968, pp. 342-43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, 1970, pp. 425-26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

(almost 100 countries), which proves that international economic security has become a prime need in our day.

An important feature of an all-embracing system of international security, the 27th CPSU Congress maintained, is *exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions if this is not directly envisaged in the recommendations of the world community.*

If one is to believe Western declarations, the principle of non-discrimination has already been recognised as a basic one in trade and economic relations, and it has been certainly applied by the leading capitalist countries. To render more strength to this statement, Western economists usually refer to the tendency of gradually reducing the barriers put up to the international movement of capital, goods and labour. Non-discrimination and "open economy" are alleged to be just the two sides of a single coin and practically synonymous. To prop up the thesis, they assert that tariffs in the Western countries have fallen by two-thirds since 1947;¹⁰ over 35 per cent of the machine-tools and 25 per cent of the automobiles sold in the USA are foreign-made;¹¹ one-fifth of all consumer goods are imported in the USA, and foreign competition in the US domestic market also embraces capital investment and the labour market. However, it is no secret that it is precisely the USA and its closest allies who cultivate inequality and discrimination in international economic relations.

The above-mentioned Memorandum of the Soviet Government of January 27, 1986 shows the basic negative factors which "create tensions and sow distrust in international economic relations, disrupt world economy and trade, and undermine their basic legal principles."¹²

The socialist countries, for example, have been put under unequal conditions due to the application of a broad system of laws and regulations against them.

But the world, of course, is constantly changing. Western extremists sometimes just fail to take discriminatory measures against the socialist countries—for example, the failure of the large-scale discriminatory operation framed to undermine the "gas-pipe-line" project. Some countries, mostly in Western Europe, often refuse to obey US commands also in other concrete questions of the trade and economic regime concerning the socialist countries. From time to time, the USA itself has to withdraw some of the discriminatory measures it has earlier introduced. *But the general line of discrimination remains in force; moreover, the USA is working to make its Western partners obediently follow in the wake of American policy, and to render the discriminatory regime still tougher.*

This approach to international economic relations runs counter to the genuine interests of world social progress. The socialist countries, neither today nor in the past, have ever resorted to discrimination in international relations. Their proposals and concrete actions in this area have never pursued exclusive, group interests and have never been prompted by the selfish desire to derive any immediate benefits. "We are realists and are perfectly well aware that the two worlds are divided by very many things, and deeply divided, too," runs the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. "But we also see clearly that the need to resolve the most vital problems affecting all

¹⁰ *The Two Systems of World Economy: an Antagonistic Unity*, ed. by E. P. Pletnyov, Moscow, 1983, p. 87 (in Russian).

¹¹ A. V. Kunitsin, N. P. Shmelev, *The USA and Problems of the East-West Economic Relations*, Moscow, 1985, p. 20 (in Russian).

¹² *Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1986.

humanity must prompt them towards interaction, awaken humanity's heretofore unseen powers of self-preservation. And here is the stimulus for solutions commensurate with the realities of our time."¹³

One of the fundamental principles of the all-embracing system of international security is a *joint search for a just solution to the problem of external indebtedness*. This is quite understandable since the mammoth external debt is detrimental to the position of developing countries, leading to the exhaustion of their resources. The debt bondage of the Asian, African and Latin American countries enables the imperialist powers to increase their pressure upon them, undermine their sovereignty and independence, and impose on them norms and methods of domestic and foreign policy that serve the interests of Western monopolies.

Over the past three decades, the external debt of the developing countries has grown about a hundred-fold, topping the trillion-dollar mark in 1986. The debt has been snowballing over the last few years: in less than ten years the indebtedness of the bulk of developing countries has doubled or even trebled. To repay its external debt alone, it would take Latin America (and that only on condition that it does not take a penny in new loans and does not buy anything abroad) two and a half years' earnings on the export of its goods and services. Two years would be required on the same terms by Africa, and more than a year and a half by the Middle East. Some countries could not have settled their debt even during five or even ten years. But as it is, no country today can possibly only export for the single purpose of servicing its debts, while not importing anything at all. So now a situation has emerged when many developing countries, though using a third, and sometimes even a larger part of their currency earnings to repay their external debt, fail to diminish it by a fraction.

Many developing countries have been firmly trapped in a vicious circle, and their position tends to aggravate with time. Analysis proves that if imperialist expansion is not rebuffed and essential amendments not made in the present state of affairs, part of the newly free countries can well cease to be masters in their own home, and the political freedom they have won in the national liberation struggle can turn illusory, because indebtedness cannot be reduced to a mere correlation of certain indices in financial accounts, but reflects the actual class relations on the international scene.

When looking for the causes underlying this huge external debt of developing countries, Western economists mostly turn to the monetary and credit relations, unstable economic situation, thoughtless actions and inadequate decision-making by individual political figures and financial magnates. While not ignoring these reasons, one cannot but see that they alone can hardly account for the fact of such exorbitant international indebtedness of the newly free states.

The main economic and political reason this debt is incurred is the striving of imperialists to perpetuate the developing countries' economic and financial dependence, which is a vestige of their colonial past and the result of the neocolonialist present. External debts have been mostly incurred on the means advanced in various forms by Western monopoly capital in order to keep Asian, African and Latin American countries within the capitalist system, and to establish a social section there which would be a true mainstay and rear class allies for imperialist forces.

¹³ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 26.

Only one-fifth of the means received from abroad have been spent for the purposes of developing production.

The crisis situation that has emerged in connection with the international indebtedness produced a host of formulas and proposals which would allegedly settle the existing state of affairs. Sharp political struggle ensued, testifying to the fact that capitalism, far from trying to abolish the economic backwardness of developing countries, cannot even think up a just and democratic solution to the problem it has itself created.

There are voices heard in the West to the effect that the guilt and responsibility for the deplorable situation with respect to the external debt of the developing countries lies with these countries' peoples and governments alone. This is how the situation is "explained" by the US *Journal of International Affairs*.¹⁴ This publication claims that the incurring of huge debts by the developing countries is brought about by inefficient economic management by these nations and lack of discipline when contracting foreign loans and spending the money thus obtained. The creditors also come under criticism, though mild, and then only by way of reprimanding certain private banks in Western Europe and the USA for their alleged excessive kindness and taking of uncalled-for risks.

Some of Western experts' recommendations are of a reassuring nature. External debt, they say, is no new phenomenon and it can be easily coped with. They cite certain examples to the effect, sometimes even going way back into the Middle Ages, and also emphasise the fact that the United States itself has tended to become a major international debtor. So it is necessary to look for some "promising lines" and regulation methods, and work out and streamline a corresponding international procedure.

Not a single word is uttered, of course, about the responsibility of Western militaristic circles for the economic plight of the developing countries, though approximately 25 per cent of these countries' accumulated external debt is connected, in export opinion, with arms imports.¹⁵ Some advocates of monopolies even insist that the peoples of the developing countries, in which Western military-industrial concerns have been active under licences, contracts, etc., should bow low to the arms manufacturers who are teaching them "modern production methods".

The developing countries come out with proposals that offer much more radical solutions to the problem at hand, such as, for example, remittance of all the debt. If this proposal, discussed in particular at a representative meeting in Havana in 1985, were realised, the writing off of the developing countries' debt to the West could be regarded "as compensation for the damage inflicted on them as a result of colonial plunder and neo-colonialist exploitation", to cite the Declaration of the Economic Summit Conference of CMEA member countries.

Serious attention was also drawn in the developing countries to the proposal to liquidate the external debt by cutting military spending and Western corporations' profits. The idea of establishing a "debtors' cartel" also came under consideration; its function would be negotiating with the Western banks the terms and sums to be payable by way of settling the indebtedness without seriously damaging the economy and finance of the debtor states.

Since the early 1980s, the West has been forced to start the process of debt regulation. According to certain estimates, about half of the debt payments have been postponed. However, neither the political nor economic

¹⁴ *Journal of International Affairs*, No. 38, Summer 1984.

¹⁵ Ch. Smith, "Militarisation and Conflict in the Third World", *Third World Affairs*, 1985, London, p. 195.

aspects of the problem of indebtedness have been resolved, and the developing countries have not been given a moment's respite in servicing the debt: even today they are made to coordinate their policy with the interests of the West. The factors that have caused the indebtedness remain intact, and the growth of foreign private investments will inevitably bring about a still greater drain of resources from the developing countries, with the external debt inexorably snowballing.

Imperialist powers, with the USA in the lead, apply harsh pressure to make the developing countries repay their debts, while at the same time refusing to somehow limit the activities of their transnational corporations in these countries. The "shock therapy", successfully tried out by the US Administration at home, is seen as a suitable means for creating a climate in Asia, Africa and Latin America that would be to the liking of international monopoly business. This trend is opposed by the broad public in the developing countries, which is increasingly striving for major democratic reforms both in their own countries and in the world capitalist economy as a whole.

The Memorandum of the Soviet Government of January 27, 1986 says, among other things, that it is impossible to achieve a genuine solution to the problem of external indebtedness without restructuring international economic relations on the principles of justice and equality. The Soviet government has made a number of concrete proposals directed at lessening the debt bondage, such as, for example, reducing the interest rates on loans and credits, stabilising the exchange rates, abolishing protectionism in trade, restructuring the international capitalist monetary and financial system with due account of the interests of all states, and introducing democratic changes into financial agencies operating within its framework. This is the principled stand the Soviet Union adheres to; it testifies to the fact that the Soviet Union does not put off but is actively searching for a solution to acute international problems and the measures it proposes are of a practical, constructive nature.

The Soviet Union proposes, as one of the groundwork principles to underlie the comprehensive system of international security, that a *new international economic order be established which would guarantee equal economic security to all states.*

It should be recalled that in his speech at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on November 8, 1917 Lenin rejected "all clauses on plunder and violence" and stressed Soviet Russia's readiness to wholeheartedly accept "all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and all economic agreements."¹⁶ In connection with the preparation of the Genoa Conference in 1920, Lenin again promoted the idea "to develop a full, independent and integral programme on all cardinal issues".¹⁷ Among the measures he suggested was, for example, granting preferential loans to those countries which needed them badly, "while being most important for world economy as eventual suppliers of vast quantities of food and raw materials", and introducing a single international gold unit. Lenin favoured conclusion of a series of agreements, including "on measures to combat inflation and depreciation of money", "on measures for coping with the fuel crisis and on measures for the most rational and economical use of power resources on the basis of unified planned electrification", "for reorganising and improving international transport", etc.¹⁸

¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964, p. 255.

¹⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 42, 1969, p. 396.

¹⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 42, p. 397.

The Soviet governments Statement of October 4, 1976 On the Restructuring of International Economic Relations said: "The Soviet Union, guided by its unswerving policy aimed at strengthening peace and improving the entire system of international economic relations, consistently supports their restructuring on democratic and just principles."

The concept of a new international economic order formulated by the developing countries envisages a set of concrete measures to be implemented in order to alleviate the economic plight of Asian, African and Latin American states. Prominent among these measures are establishment of a more just correlation between prices on raw materials and those on industrial products, setting up an international mechanism to diminish market vacillations of raw material prices and raising a special fund to finance this mechanism, expanded transfer of high technology to developing countries, a reform of the world capitalist monetary and credit system, and limiting the activities of international monopolies.

The Soviet Union supports the legitimate demands of the developing countries; it resolutely backs the sovereignty of every nation over its natural resources, the right of every people to freely opt for the way of its development, and establishment of the most favourable conditions for turning the international division of labour to the service of the whole humanity, "no matter what particular aspect of international economic relations can be involved".¹⁹

Today, too, as it comes out with the initiative to provide for international economic security, the Soviet Union considers "respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and abstention from discrimination, and vesting every state with an inalienable sovereign right to choose its own economic system... as of fundamental importance."²⁰

Now that exploitation of the developing countries is being stepped up, imperialist circles, the USA above all, rely on military strength to maintain the status quo, protect the interests of the monopolies and prevent further progressive changes in the newly free countries. This policy, however, cannot but aggravate the situation and breed ever new conflicts. As was said at the 27th CPSU Congress "the bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder."²¹ At present, the establishment of a new international economic order that would guarantee equal economic security to all states has become an urgent need.

This is the general line to which all socialist countries adhere and which has been reflected in the documents of the Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA member states held in June 1984, and of other meetings of leaders of the socialist community countries, including the Communiqué of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states which was convened in Budapest in June 1986.

Solutions to the problems mentioned above are closely linked with the task of safeguarding peace and international security. It is logical, then, that the 27th CPSU Congress regarded *elaboration of principles for using part of the funds which could be released as a result of reductions in military budgets for the benefit of the world community, the developing countries in the first place*, as an indispensable element in establishing a comprehensive system of international security.

The issue undoubtedly is one of the most important international pro-

¹⁹ *Pravda*, Oct. 5, 1976.

²⁰ *Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1986.

²¹ *The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 21.

blems of our day, alongside the problem of the interconnection between disarmament and development in general. The release of material resources now thoughtlessly squandered for the arms race and the bringing into play of Man's boundless creative gifts—this is a fascinating prospect which should bring people together and determine the states' policies at the turn of the 21st century.

The feasibility of this conclusion is recognised by millions of people all over the world, and not by far only Communists. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries expressed its readiness "to promote peace, disarmament, the relaxation of international tensions, the just and peaceful solution to international problems, and economic development."²² Many other social and inter-governmental organisations voice similar demands.

Why then has not the slogan of "disarmament for development", widely acclaimed for its manifest clarity, become a general programme of international action to eradicate economic and social backwardness and fight poverty and starvation? Can it really be that the 15,000 wars waged by mankind over the past centuries have failed to teach us a lesson? Can it really be that even the threat of destruction in a nuclear holocaust, which gave birth to the political alternative, "coexistence or extinction", is not enough to prompt adoption of a realistic programme?

The commission headed by Olof Palme prepared a report, *Common Security. A Blueprint for Survival*, which emphasised, among other things that today "countries are joined together by economic interdependence as well as the threat of destruction."²³

In other words, there is a close connection between the restructuring of international economic relations and problems involved in curbing the arms race, in disarmament and strengthening security. This fact, it should seem, speaks for itself. Yet the West, instead of supporting the politically sound slogan of "development through peace", puts forward proposals which essentially serve to justify the arms race and increase profits derived by the war industry monopolies, counterpose one group of developing countries against the other, and channel their political activity along the lines benefiting the West.

Militarism is undermining the very foundation of the radical restructuring of international economic relations. Imperialism is out to make use of the arms race and inclusion into it of the developing countries to maintain and even perpetuate the system of international oppression and inequality. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress pointed, with good reason to the connection between the trillion-dollar debt incurred by the developing countries and the more than trillion-dollar growth of the US military spending, between the aggregate economic loss sustained by developing countries as a result of neocolonialist exploitation and practically the same sum of the US military budget.

On January 15, 1986 the Soviet Union proposed a concrete programme of complete and overall liquidation of nuclear weapons to be effected by the year 2000, saving mankind from the threat of self-destruction providing reliable security to the present and future generations. Realisation of the set of new Soviet initiatives embracing every major line and sphere of activities, aimed at promoting disarmament, restoring confidence and ensuring a peaceful future and progress for all nations, will guarantee greater security to mankind and release more means for raising life standards.

²² Cited from *General Assembly. Security Council*, Doc. A/38/132, S/15675, Apr. 8, 1983, p. 8.

²³ Doc. A/CN.10/38, p. 189.

It should be recalled that this is not the first time the Soviet Union has voiced proposals aimed at utilising the means that could be received through cutting back on armaments for the benefit of humanity. In 1962, for example, the USSR submitted a draft declaration on channelling for peaceful purposes the means and resources released as a result of disarmament to the UN General Assembly session. The Soviet Union also introduced in the UN a proposal that the means obtained through stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons and reducing their stockpiles be directed exclusively for peaceful purposes, including those of development. In 1973, the UN General Assembly approved the Soviet proposal on a 10 per cent cut in the military budgets of the UN Security Council permanent members and giving part of the means thus economised as aid to the developing countries.

In March 1984 the socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation proposed to the NATO member states that both blocs abstain from increasing and subsequently reduce their military expenditures. Realisation of the proposals formulated by the USSR and other socialist countries on the whole set of problems involved in the limitation of armaments and in disarmament should also produce substantial funds that could be used to accelerate development.

The sooner war industries slow down and then stop their conveyor belts and cease wasting great intellectual and material wealth to design and stockpile new weapons of destruction, the more successful and quick will be the economic and social progress of all states and peoples.

The issue of "disarmament and development" is firmly linked in the Soviet proposal with *joining efforts in the study and peaceful uses of outer space, and in tackling global problems on which mankind's future hinges*. The curbing of the arms race, elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and substantial cuts in the states' military spending is the most reliable and effective source of the means so badly needed to satisfy the economic and social needs of developing countries and to resolve global problems, such as the overcoming of economic backwardness, elimination of the vast zones of hunger, poverty, epidemic disease and illiteracy, satisfaction of the people's growing requirements of energy, raw materials and food, environmental protection, and peaceful uses of the World Ocean and outer space.

During his meeting with participants in the international forum of scholars for the termination of nuclear tests, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee cited several examples of fruitful international cooperation in finding solutions to entangled technological problems, among them work on the Vega project. Realisation of this programme, said Mikhail Gorbachev, "required finding new decisions and new materials. They were found. New decisions were required, to provide for distance-control manoeuvres of the sophisticated apparatus. This also was done. A need arose for reliable radio- and telecommunication. This was accomplished, too. New mathematic discoveries and calculations had to be made to fulfil this complicated task—and it was also achieved. Precise information about the situation on Venice and near Halley's comet was needed—and this was also obtained."²⁴

Mankind is now faced with the problem of mastering a reliable energy source. In connection with the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out

²⁴ *Pravda*, July 15, 1986.

that the Soviet Union regards it as a vital task that the reactor of a new generation be created by joining efforts of scholars from different countries. At the same time, cooperation should be expedited in mastering thermonuclear synthesis which could provide an inexhaustible source of energy.²⁵

The Soviet Union also came out with proposals in the United Nations on promoting international scientific cooperation for peaceful uses of outer space; it demonstrated for all to see that opportunities offered by scientific progress in peaceful areas are unfathomable indeed. The USSR acts on the assumption that science and technology can be developed along lines other than those of the arms race, so assertions by American politicians and strategists to the effect that the "strategic defense initiative" would allegedly lead to the peak in scientific and technological progress is "thinking inside out". Mankind can only answer the acute questions of today, and the more so of the coming 21st century, if it frees itself from the exorbitant arms race and directs all resources at its disposal for tackling the most urgent problems it faces, among them those raised by the present turn of the scientific and technological revolution.

The USSR calls on all countries to take resolute steps towards international economic security, including economic security, and acts accordingly.

During the trip by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Soviet Far East late in July 1986 it was said that the record of history, the laws of the growing interdependence and economic integration requirements make us look for ways of reaching accord and establishing open ties between the Asian countries and other nations. The interest shown by the USSR "is not a claim to any privileges and special position and not egoistic attempts to strengthen one's own security at the expense of others and not a search for advantages to the detriment of other parties."²⁶ As regards the economy, the goal is now to set in the Soviet Far East and the Primorye area powerful, high-tech branches of production covering the needs of the region, and export-oriented production lines. It was said that it was necessary to boost coastal and border trade, to master new, progressive forms of economic ties with other countries, including cooperation in production, the construction of joint enterprises, and to create specialised export-oriented industries.

Serious attention was also paid to safeguarding international economic security in the recent proposal addressed to the UN Secretary-General to put on the agenda of the 41st Session of the UN General Assembly the item on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

Increasingly more people throughout the world begin to realise the importance of these initiatives, and among these people are members of Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, the non-alignment movement, trade union, women's, youth, and other mass organisations, and the business community. Governments of many countries also stress the significance and timeliness of these proposals. And that means that the world regards the Soviet concept of a comprehensive system of international security, including its economic component, as an effective and constructive programme, rather than a political slogan.

²⁵ See *Pravda*, July 20, 1986.

²⁶ *Pravda*, July 29, 1986.

DOCTRINE OF NEOGLOBALISM AND WASHINGTON'S IMPERIAL POLICY

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In analysing the US policies in 1985, the American magazine *Foreign Affairs* made an interesting observation. In its view, "the three most important foreign policy initiatives" of the USA over the year were, first, the "Reagan doctrine"; second, acceleration of the SDI programme; and, third, the overall "arms build-up".¹ In other words, ever since the last Presidential election, the practical policy of the ruling circles in the USA has been aimed overtly at social revanche on a world scale. The chief means chosen to attain these ends vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the drive for military superiority, both on the Earth and in outer space. The main instrument of winning back the imperialist positions in the Third World is meant to be the doctrine bearing the name of the present US President. To be sure, at that time, in 1985, it came to be called the doctrine of "neoglobalism". But the essence remains the same.

What the term designates was formulated in just two paragraphs in the lengthy State of the Union Message to Congress in February 1985. This passage immediately drew everyone's attention. The President declared that from then on the USA would openly support rebels "on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua" if they fight against governments friendly to the USSR in non-aligned countries.²

Actually, however, these proclaimed aims of the doctrine were but the visible tip of the iceberg. The in-depth meaning is that US imperialism sets itself far more ambitious goals. In essence, an attempt is being made to overturn the entire almost-completed process of decolonisation, a historical process that has liberated dozens of countries from colonial dependence. The US war machine is thus being set against the non-aligned and developing countries as a whole.

This course, reflecting the neocolonialist nostalgia for the "good old days" of "classical" colonial domination, is fueled by the anger of the "cork helmets" over their losses and their overwhelming desire to put Asian, African and Latin American nations fighting for freedom in their place. This course is guided by the desire to establish Washington's monopoly domination in a world recolonised anew.

¹ *Foreign Affairs*, "America and the World 1985". Vol. 64, No. 3, p. 408.

² *The Washington Post*, Feb. 7, 1985

FORCED RETREAT

Disintegration of colonial empires after the Second World War undercut the imperial ambitions of US imperialism. Following the bankruptcy of the British, French and other old-time colonialists Washington, too, suffered a humiliating defeat in the world's largest colonial crusade aimed at crushing the anti-colonial struggle in Vietnam. Overstrained in this adventure, the US ruling quarters cooled down for a while. In these conditions, with the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist popular struggle continuing, the Carter Administration, coming to power in 1977, had to resort to some manoeuvring. As the first test it had to face the explosive situation in Latin America. The focal point at the time was the Panamanian people's demand for their full sovereignty over the Panama Canal. The USA had owned it for three-quarters of a century. In official assessment, the glaringly anachronistic colonial enclave in the heart of a Latin American country caused a rise in anti-American sentiment across Latin America.³ The report Carter received said that in order to maintain the situation, the Pentagon would have to send up to 100,000 troops to the Canal zone.

The Carter Administration had to make concessions. A treaty was signed by the government and ratified by the Senate, under which the rights of ownership and management of the Canal were to be returned to Panama by the year 2000. Parallel with this, however, another treaty was imposed on Panama, leaving "the defense of the neutrality" of the Canal practically in the hands of the USA.

Another manoeuvre by the same Administration had to do with the situation in the South of Africa. The US continuing cooperation with the racist regimes in South Africa and South Rhodesia evoked increasing indignation on the part of African countries and the population. Since no use of force was feasible, the USA decided to demonstrate "sympathy" with the aspirations of Africans.

The US-formed "contact group" consisting of five Western powers was intended to create an illusion of progress on the issue of granting independence to Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa. An American and British diplomatic show was also staged around the accession to power by representatives of the black population in South Rhodesia. In reality, as the former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance admits, the underlying idea behind Washington's effort to "breathe new life into the negotiating process" was to find "the best way to avoid" imposing sanctions against South Africa.⁴

In the Middle East, with the tactics of separate deals obviously compromised there, the Carter Administration had to put up with the fact that collective efforts by all parties concerned and with the direct participation of the Soviet Union were the only reliable way to a lasting settlement. The Soviet-American statement of October 1, 1977, envisaged a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference. Before long, however, the Washington Administration backtracked, yielding to pressure from Israel and the Zionist forces in the USA. Its efforts in collaboration with Israel culminated in the 1978 Camp David deal with President Sadat of Egypt. Thereby, this major country was torn from the united Arab front and the formation of an independent Palestine state was blocked.

In the same period, US imperialism lost its chief ally in the Middle East, the Shah of Iran. As indicated by reminiscences of the then mem-

³ See J. Carter, *Keeping Faith*, New York, 1982, p. 155; Z. Brzezinski, *Power and Principle*, New York, 1983, pp. 51, 134.

⁴ See C. Vance, *Hard Choices*, New York, 1983, p. 262.

bers of the Administration, the revolution in Iran brought to life ideas for a possible US response such as mining Iranian ports, imposing a naval blockade, carrying out "punitive strikes" at Iranian oil fields and, finally, as the former President himself admits, a "direct military attack" on Iran.⁵ At the time, Washington did not dare resort to actions of this kind, which only increased irritation in the American capital. On the whole, as W. Bundy, then *Foreign Affairs* editor, summed up, the Iranian revolution, from the US viewpoint gave impetus to a vicious circle of decisions related to politics, the economy and oil, tantamount to the greatest menace to US and other Western interests since the Second World War.⁶ In other words, the revolution in Iran was in a way the last straw breaking the patience of US imperialism. Washington decided to strike at the rising national liberation movement.

Subversive activity against Afghanistan following the popular-democratic revolution became part of this policy. The USA initiated a secret arrangement under which Egypt supplied arms to Afghan counter-revolutionaries, Americans airlifted them to Pakistan from where they were delivered to counter-revolutionary gangs, and Saudi Arabia covered the expenses. In mid-December 1979, prior to bringing a limited contingent of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, Zbigniew Brzezinski told President James Carter that they had to "continue to demonstrate our sympathy" to Afghan counter-revolutionaries.⁷

Thus, starting off with good promises for the newly-free countries, the Carter Administration ended its term of office with a classical colonialist thrust. On January 23, 1980, it declared the Persian Gulf area a sphere of "US vital interests" where it would not stop short of using "armed force". This was the notorious Carter Doctrine. Yet its operation area was outlined only symbolically. The USA was bringing to completion the formation of Rapid Deployment Force intended for punitive operations against any non-aligned and developing country rejecting Washington diktat. By that time as much as a quarter of the US military budget had already been earmarked for intervention against newly free countries,⁸ and the threats of armed incursions were quite transparent.

It was in this setting that the Republican Administration took office in the USA.

MUSCLE FLEXING

The Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington became one of the new Administration's main sources of ideas concerning the newly-free countries and supplier of the staff to carry out the corresponding policies. Some 30 leading experts of the Center took seats in the Administration's top foreign policy offices. Richard Allen, for one, received the post of Presidential National Security Advisor, Roger Fontaine—chief of the Latin American department in the National Security Council, Chester Crocker—Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, Jeane Kirkpatrick—US Permanent/Representative to the United Nations (an open confrontation with newly free countries anticipated there); David Abshire—US representative in NATO, and so forth down the list.

It was these people who moulded US foreign policies towards the newly-free countries. A clear understanding of this moulding is provided by two "scientific" conferences sponsored by the Georgetown Center in

⁵ H. Jordan, *Crisis. The Last Year of the Carter Presidency*, New York, 1982, p. 57; J. Carter, *Op. cit.*, p. 466.

⁶ *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1979, p. 11.

⁷ Z. Brzezinski, *Op. cit.*, p. 428.

⁸ See *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1980, pp. 104-05.

the autumn of 1981 and 1982. Their results were summed up in two collections, *The Future of Conflict in the 1980s* and *Strategic Responses to Conflict in the 1980s*. The credo of US neocolonialists in them boiled down to the following.

In the first place, the Georgetown Center predicted that the main form of conflicts in the 1980s would be "low-intensity conflicts" occurring "predominantly in the third world"; nevertheless, "American interests are threatened". Why? "The United States is increasingly dependent on third-world resources and markets to maintain growth. The challenge for the rest of the century, and the next, will be to expand those markets and develop those resources. Without them, the United States cannot survive." Therefore, Washington cannot remain indifferent towards "what kind of government controls the mineral resources" in developing countries. The USA should forestall disintegration of pro-Western regimes safeguarding American interests and reject "apolitical views" since they "lead to accommodation to radical political change in the third world".⁹ The goal was thus to establish control of US imperialism over the political and socio-economic development of the newly-free countries and thereby to keep them in the position of submissive periphery of the world capitalist economy.

As for the methods, it was suggested that the USA rely on "military interventions in Asia, Africa and the Middle East" and also in Latin America, that is, generally speaking, on "intervention in the third world... in wars against revolutionary forces". The authors of the collections asserted that the character of war in Vietnam, rather than an anomaly, had been a model for the future. Therefore, the first important step in the preparation to conflict in the 1980s was to be a rehashing of that war's lessons. They foresaw difficulty in that "active and visible involvement of US military personnel in counter-revolutionary campaigns" could cause discontent among American population, "particularly if such involvement is protracted",¹⁰ but it was hoped this could be coped with.

The hawks of the Georgetown Center saw three main options for involving the Pentagon's military machine in punitive operations against newly-free states. First, special troops, "lighter, more specialised forces with greater strategic mobility", had to be set up for such intervention. Second, they suggested "primacy of a naval policy in US strategy" in the area. It was emphasised that the functions of the US Navy should not be reduced to confronting the USSR, which "can be only part of the navy's global task". Third, a "capability to threaten with chemical attack" on the countries in question was suggested. It was pointed out that this use of chemical weapons was "militarily warranted" and that of all the types, "binary weapons might be the most promising answer". The final part of the analysis was prepared with the direct participation of Assistant to Under-Secretary of Defense, A. Hoeber.¹¹

Hence, while the Carter Administration, especially in its initial period, relied mostly on political methods, its Republican successor from the very outset staked on military force as the chief means to subdue the newly-free countries to US imperialism, in practice—to effect recolonisation.

The three main areas serving as testing grounds for the policy to reverse the Third World tendencies unfavourable for imperialism, prima-

⁹ *The Future of Conflict in the 1980s*, Ed. by W. Taylor and S. Maaronen, Lexington (Massachusetts), 1982, pp. 4-5, 39, 49.

¹⁰ *Strategic Responses to Conflict in the 1980s*, Ed. by W. Taylor, S. Maaronen and G. Gong, Lexington, (Massachusetts), 1984, pp. 25, 47, 487.

¹¹ *Strategic Responses to Conflict in the 1980s*, pp. XII, 111, 117, 424, 432, 496.

rily US imperialism, became Central America, Southern Africa and the Middle East.

The US Administration started with attempts to strangle the patriotic forces in El Salvador, but soon shifted its emphasis to the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. As early as 1981, the training and arming of counter-revolutionary bands to be sent to Nicaragua started in the USA, secretly at the beginning. Later it transpired that the manual for the contras, carrying instructions on how to "neutralise" (i. e., murder) Nicaraguan leaders, had been copied, in some places word for word, from instructions drawn up in 1968 for American troops in Vietnam.¹² Then the CIA and the Pentagon became directly involved in hostile actions against Nicaragua. CIA ships mined Nicaraguan ports and set oil tanks on fire.¹³ Moreover, the CIA delivered aircraft and bombs and trained pilots for air raids on Nicaraguan towns and villages from airfields in Honduras and El Salvador.¹⁴ And still, the first victim of the USA in the region was tiny Grenada, which was seized in October 1983.

Any flirtation with independent states in Southern Africa was discarded as superfluous and the US "constructive engagement" with the South African racist regime was proclaimed. Sensing a change in the situation, the South African racists in August 1981 made an incursion into Angola and occupied its southern part. Then they stepped up their actions against other neighbouring African states. In the meantime, the USA and other Western powers were protecting South Africa from sanctions in the UN Security Council and helping it protract the occupation of Namibia. On the whole, US imperialism embarked on a policy of intimidation and blackmail against progressive African countries. Military provocations were launched against Libya. Aid to Zimbabwe, on Washington's black books for its independent policy, was greatly reduced. To be sure, this hard pressure did not work. Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe declared: "We are not on sale and will never be on sale to the highest bidder. We treasure our sovereignty and independence, so much so that we would rather be without a single cent from any source if securing it meant selling or compromising our sovereignty."¹⁵

In the Middle East conflict, the USA wholly took the side of Israel. In the autumn of 1981 the US President instructed the Department of State and the Pentagon "to open a new era in Israeli-American relations" by arranging direct military cooperation. "We regard Israel as an ally," he declared.¹⁶ Following that, Israel occupied Syria's Golan Heights and in the summer of 1982 invaded Lebanon. The Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies was jubilant: the USA was scoring in the Middle East with Israeli help. "Lebanon's location makes it strategically important to United States interests in the Middle East," a spokesman for the Center stated, adding that Israel's actions in Lebanon were "a victory for the free world"¹⁷. However the USA decided to gain a foothold for itself in the region. First, US Marines landed in Lebanon, and then an American naval force moved close to its shore. Its warships and aircraft bombarded peaceful Lebanese towns and villages.

Overall, by the end of 1983, in all the three afore-mentioned regions of the globe US imperialism was in one way or another engaged in military action against peoples fighting for freedom. But that was only the beginning.

¹² *The New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1984.

¹³ *The New York Times*, Apr. 8 and 18, 1984; *The Wall Street Journal*, Apr. 6, 1984.

¹⁴ *The New York Times*, May 3, 1984.

¹⁵ *The Washington Post*, Dec. 24, 1984.

¹⁶ *The New York Times*, Sept. 10, 1981.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1983.

PREPARATION FOR AN ALL-OUT ONSLAUGHT

A salient feature of the year 1984 in the United States was the presidential election, taking place in autumn. Many in the country were wondering what impact the country's increasingly imperial policy, above all the invasion of Grenada and the marine landing in Lebanon, would have on the election. Since by the time the Administration had suffered a heavy setback in Lebanon, where the headquarters of US Marines had been blown up, it was suggested that the aftermath "could be costly".¹⁸ The Administration was aware of that too. It decided to reduce the scale of its combat operations against the newly-free countries during the election campaign. This was but a tactical respite, as was borne out, among other things, by statements of high-ranking officials in the Administration. In April 1984, the US President, speaking in the same Georgetown Center, attacked Congress for its insufficient support of the Administration's power politics. "Peace through strength is not a slogan, it is a fact of life—and we will not return to the days of handwringing, defeatism, decline and despair. ... Military force, direct or indirect, must remain an available part of America's foreign policy."¹⁹ A few days before that, Secretary of State George Shultz had told the well-known Tripartite Commission that the USA would not keep to "purely passive strategy" unsuitable for it towards the non-aligned countries, but intended to take "preventive or pre-emptive action" against them.²⁰

Although a lull followed for a few months after the warning shots, the Administration's imperial postulations found fertile soil in the neo-colonialist aspirations of the ruling class. The ostensibly moderate Tripartite Commission had by that time been badly infected by chauvinist sentiment. The No. 1, 1984 issue of its journal *Dialogue* was devoted to the discussion on "Sovereignty and Intervention". In the discussion it was unequivocally asserted that the Western powers should deliberately steer for armed intervention in recalcitrant non-aligned and developing countries, because "intervention by the democratic world—or, better, counter-intervention—is justified". It was also stressed, that in relation to the newly free countries, "the untouchability accorded to boundaries has evolved into a statist prejudice" which had to be abandoned.²¹ The next issue elaborated on the theme: "What should be debated is a much more carefully structured argument about where, when and how we should intervene."²²

The former CIA chief Stansfield Turner also contributed to the interventionist mood with his article "A Strategy for the 90s". Quite unabashed, he wrote: "Our most urgent need is to be better prepared in the area where we are most likely to be challenged—namely, in intervention around the world." Placing emphasis on the US Navy, Turner recommended that it considerably increase its capability for "amphibious assaults" on coastal areas of the newly-free states, for "bombardment with aircraft or missiles", "seizing the necessary points of entry, preferably airfields and ports", "attacking their bases from our aircraft carriers", etc.²³

A week after the 1984 Presidential election, the ultraconservative Heritage Foundation called on the Administration to launch reprisals against disobedient newly-free countries. At the time, three dozen of its members were already officials in the Administration. As the first targets for attack

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1983.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 7, 1984.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1984.

²¹ *Dialogue* 35, pp. 18, 25.

²² *Dialogue* 36, p. 11.

²³ *The New York Times Magazine*, May 6, 1984, pp. 40, 42, 46.

the Foundation identified ten countries: Libya, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Ethiopia, Iran and Syria.²⁴

Three weeks after the election, the Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger expounded his views, too. American propaganda was trying to sell his statement as an indication of the Pentagon's awareness of some sort of "limitations" in the use of force outside the USA. In actual fact, he proposed quick and resolute intervention operations. "In those cases where our national interests require us to commit combat forces, we must never let there be doubt of our resolution. ...When we commit our troops to combat we must do so with the sole object of winning. ... In Grenada we did just that."²⁵

All combined, this set the stage for US imperialism to officially proclaim its course for recolonisation of the newly free world by brute force as its paramount strategy.

THE DOCTRINE IN ACTION

It is clear in the light of these facts that the very proclamation of the doctrine of neoglobalism signified a qualitatively new stage in the US policies towards the newly-free countries. "The Reagan Doctrine drops the fig leaf," was the reaction of its critics in the United States.²⁶

Indeed, available materials indicate a new philosophy, aggressive and bellicose to the utmost, underlying this doctrine. Some idea of it is to be found in statements by a group of ultra-right American politicians who set forth a programme which in their opinion, the USA should henceforth be guided by.

One of their main points was the assertion that "the behaviour of Israel, Chile and South Africa are not really the most urgent issues" and that the most urgent one was an impending "second sacking of the West" by barbarians and vandals. This referred to the demands by developing countries for a new world economic order. A leading proponent of this approach is the ultra-conservative US journalist Patric Buchanan, Director of the White House Communications Bureau since early 1985 and an acknowledged author of the doctrine of neoglobalism. It was he among that group who called for nothing less than hanging half the leadership of the Organisation of African Unity. And he also unambiguously formulated the line the USA should follow in supporting its puppet regimes in some of the developing countries: "If certain countries allied to or supportive of the United States are in extremes, send the money directly, and receive in return tangible assets like naval bases, CIA stations, assistance in US diplomatic initiatives, ouster of Russian or Cuban diplomats or 'technicians' or support in the United Nations."²⁷

They were seconded by another ultra-conservative group, rallied by the Heritage Foundation. In the view of this group, the onslaught against developing countries should not be confined to just a few, the more progressive states. Rather, it should be targeted at all the independent countries in this bracket. Charles Lichenstein, who had shortly before resigned as US Deputy Ambassador to the UN, said: "In a country as important to us as Mexico, for example, I could contemplate a situation where we might feel compelled to intervene even if the Mexican government did not agree with us."²⁸

²⁴ See *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 7, 1984.

²⁵ *The New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1984.

²⁶ *Time*, Apr. 1, 1985, p. 54.

²⁷ *Future 21. Directions for America in the 21st Century*, Ed. by P. Weyrich and C. Marshner, Greenwich (Connecticut), 1984, pp. 26, 36, 38, 72.

²⁸ *Policy Review*, Winter 1985, p. 30.

The "neoglobalism doctrine" thus gave expression to colonialists' most atavistic orientation on overtly forcible suppression of "rebellious" countries just recently in the political and still remaining in the economic orbit of imperialism. Irving Kristol, one of the most avid proponents of neoglobalism, went as far as proposing that the US National Security Council be officially renamed the American Imperial Council.²⁹ This is the most conclusive evidence. True, from tactical considerations, it was the US fight against the more progressive newly free countries that was emphasised, especially those countries that had friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. The philosophy behind it was that although neoglobalism is aimed "to revise the status quo" across the world, the initial blow should not be targeted directly at the core of the world forces opposed to imperialism, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The first to be tackled, they say, is the periphery, the more progressive of the non-aligned states. Since this line does not imply a direct confrontation with the socialist world, it would, hopefully, have a low-risk character³⁰ and become an easy way to the ultimate goal of social revanche.

Accordingly, this was the area of greatest activity. In mid-1985, the Administration put more pressure to bear on Congress and achieved support for its line. Within just over a month it first managed to get the House of Representatives to ratify \$27 million for "humanitarian aid" to Nicaraguan contras, then started financing counter-revolutionary forces, including the Pol Pot gangs fighting People's Kampuchea, then repealed the Clark Amendment blocking aid to UNITA gangs in Angola and, finally, obtained official Congressional approval of open aid to the Afghan dushmans.

Those who analysed the logic of this course pointed out that the next inevitable phase in "low-intensity conflicts" would be direct involvement of US troops. One of the American observers wrote: "The reality is that such wars may require the services of tens or even hundreds of thousands of combat and support troops."³¹ He suggested that the USA begin practical preparations for these types of operations.

Under these circumstances, the US President's statement at the UN General Assembly on October 24, 1985, where the power politics of the USA vis-à-vis the developing countries was set forth quite frankly, evoked understandable concern. The Middle East countries were treated to an eloquent phrase, "We are proud of the Camp David accords"; the Asian countries—"We are proud of our assistance to Pakistan" [to fight Afghanistan—*P. O.*]; and Latin America—"We are proud to have responded to the call of our Caribbean friends over the events in Grenada."

What has to be added is that in his State of the Union Message in February 1986 the President already spoke of the US readiness to provide aid "not just to fight and die for freedom but to fight and win freedom".

All limitations were being lifted from the US imperial policy. In March and in April 1986 the USA carried out large-scale aggression against Libya. In June, the Administration pushed through Congress a bill for as much as \$100 million for the Nicaraguan contras. The war against progressive governments in non-aligned countries, started with the help of puppet forces, has been expanding and developing into a war of US imperialism directly against freedom and independence of countries that had thrown off the colonial bondage.

This is regarded as the first stage operations against a weaker adversary. When he is crushed and more strength is mustered up, a frontal attack on the positions of world socialism will come on the agenda. The-

²⁹ *The Washington Post*, May 2, 1985.

³⁰ R. Tucker, *Intervention and the Reagan Doctrine*, New York, 1985, pp. 8-9, 21.

³¹ *International Security*, Fall 1984, p. 153.

reby, the destinies of the newly-free countries and the future of socialism are interrelated in the strategy of imperialism. Indeed, this is so.

IN CONFLICT WITH THE TIMES

The imperialist policy of brute force and diktat, of imposing imperial will on other countries and nations, comes up against a diametrically opposite line, that of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It has been pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Party Congress that now, as the 20th century draws to a close, "the world is in a process of swift changes, and it is not within anybody's power to maintain a perpetual status quo in it."³² Besides, as is stressed in the CPSU Programme, "however different the newly free countries may be from one another and whatever way they follow, their peoples share a common desire to develop independently and to run their affairs without foreign interference."³³

Hence the objectively coinciding interests of a considerable majority of countries, the newly free and the socialist, in the world today. "Our stand on this issue is well-known", Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party in Warsaw. "Each nation has the sovereign right to determine its own destiny. This is a principle without which there can be no normal international relations."³⁴ Therefore, the USSR and other socialist countries render consistent support to newly free states in their struggle to affirm their sovereignty and independence. In turn, the reliable, confident and independent development of these states improves the international situation and strengthens security in the world at large.

Establishment of normal civilised and respectful relations among states is an important component of the programme for a comprehensive system of international security set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress. The essence of the doctrine of neoglobalism is the direct opposite of this system.

The first fundamental political principle of the comprehensive system of international security proposed by the USSR is "unconditional respect in international practice for the sovereign right of each nation to identify its ways and forms of development". Now, what is the "neoglobalist" precept? A top official in the Republican Administration had this to say: "We debated whether we had the right to dictate the form of another country's government. The bottom line was yes."³⁵

As the second political principle in the international security system, the Soviet Union proposes "just settlement of international crises and regional conflicts". Meanwhile, the more outspoken among the neoglobalists declare: "The U.S. must resist a political solution so long as there are undefeated armies in the field; we should insist upon a military solution."³⁶ This, in particular, is the view of Professor Ch. Moser, a one-time leader of the pro-Taiwan Committee for a Free China who became the treasurer of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan.

In other words, "neoglobalism" implies persistent imperial, power politics of the United States aimed at enslaving freedom-loving peoples. It therefore represents a direct threat to world peace and international security.

³² *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, p. 82.

³³ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, p. 71.

³⁴ *Pravda*, July 1, 1986.

³⁵ R. Tucker, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

³⁶ *Future 21...*, p. 114.

As was noted by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech of July 28, 1986, in Vladivostok, "wherever independence becomes a tangible international value and there emerges a threat to the exploiter interests of imperialism, it resorts to its favourite methods: economic blackmail, intrigues and plots against the leadership of the country in question, interference in internal problems; it supports separatists, finances and even directly arms counter-revolution and terrorists."³⁷

"Neoglobalism" is pernicious in its essence as a recurrence of the policy profoundly obsolescent historically due to the world's objective development. The US reliance on repressive and overtly racist regimes, on the one hand, and on subversion of the independence of progressive countries, on the other, is incompatible with the most elementary norms of morality and international behaviour. This is clear to those members of the US ruling class who are free from prejudice. The *Foreign Affairs* magazine carries an article on the consequences of the doctrine of neoglobalism in which it is stated that the question that arises is "what kind of world we are trying to shape: is it a world of sovereign states that accept certain obligations and common rules," or a world where US "values" are imposed on other nations?³⁸

The doctrine of neoglobalism is, of course, a powerful stimulant that spurs on the policy of aggression and provocation which US imperialism pursues in the international arena. Nevertheless, as was pointed out by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states in Budapest, this policy offers no prospects and is fatal for humanity. The socialist countries participating in the meeting declared: "In the present situation, there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence of states. Now more than ever before, it is necessary to strictly observe the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, the non-use of force or threat of force, the inviolability of state borders and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and other universally recognised norms of international relations."³⁹ Those who think otherwise may seriously blunder in politics. It is not arbitrary action or brigandage, not the law of the jungle, but non-use of force in international relations, peaceful coexistence and cooperation that mankind has to take into the third millennium.

³⁷ *Pravda*, July 29, 1986.

³⁸ *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1986, p. 714.

³⁹ *Pravda*, June 12, 1986.

HOW THE UNITED NATIONS GOT STARTED

Alexei R O S H C H I N

THE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On January 10, 1946, the First Session of the UN General Assembly was opened in the ancient Central Hall in London. It was attended by 51 delegations. Some 400 pressmen, cameramen and guests arrived for the opening. All were eager to see the debut of the world-embracing organisation committed to international security.

Delegations began arriving at the Central Hall around 3 p. m. They were shown to the main hall and seated in alphabetical order. Each had five chairs at the table and five in the second row for the assistants. The delegates and guests were supplied with earphones to follow the speeches interpreted into five official languages, Russian, English, French, Spanish and Chinese.

Amid the hubbub filling the premises, the delegates were greeting one another, shaking hands and strolling to their seats. The delegations of the USSR, the United Kingdom and the USA found themselves side by side. They were seated in the last row, right in front of the compartment for the staff of the delegations and the guests. Yet the attention of the audience was concentrated on the Big Three. It was these powers that were behind the creation of the United Nations and made that session possible.

Andrei Gromyko took the front seat in the Soviet delegation. The head of the delegation, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Vyshinsky, was absent at the opening of the First Session. He arrived more than a week later. The delay in his arrival was seen by many delegates to the Assembly as a sign of Soviet discontent over the stance of the Western Allies, the USA and Great Britain, on postwar settlement issues.

The head *pro tempore* of the Soviet delegation was quite a young man, only 36. Calm and impenetrable, he greeted delegates and took his seat. Beside him was the Soviet Ambassador to Britain Fyodor Gusev, a thoughtful and taciturn diplomat. Behind Gromyko sat Boris Shtein, a veteran of Soviet diplomatic service, participant in the 1922 Genoa Conference and former Ambassador to Italy, and the prominent Soviet international law expert Sergei Krylov.

On the right of the USSR delegation there was the South African delegation led by Field Marshal Ian Smuts. Half a century before, South African Boers had waged a bitter war against British colonialists; now the South African delegation was pro-British. The Field Marshal recal-

led that in the distant past he had happened to take Winston Churchill prisoner; now he was his one time captive's friend and political ally.

Further to the right there was the delegation of the Soviet Ukraine. Its head, Ukrainian Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dmitri Manuilsky, was a dynamic, lively and hard working man, aged, with a mop of grey hair, an infectious optimist, his manners easy and dignified. Having a good command of French, he was very active in the polemics on the current issues. His neighbour was the Ukrainian poet Mikola Bazhan, and next to him was Alexei Voina, an official of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Commissariat.

The British delegation was to the left of the USSR delegation. Since the Assembly was held in London, to a high measure it played host to the rest of those present. The delegation was headed by the Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee. I was surprised that so inconspicuous a politician should hold such a high post. At the conference in San Francisco, Attlee had been deputy head of the delegation (led by Anthony Eden) and it seemed he did not feel at home at that large international forum. The Labour leader was very persistent in upholding Britain's imperial privileges, maintaining close collaboration with Washington and opposing the growth of the USSR's influence and any strengthening in its positions.

Next to him was his rival in party leadership, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, a bulky man with a broad red face, a former trades union leader. He supported Churchill's policy of seeking maximum gains from the victory in the Second World War. One of the goals he pursued was to handicap any rapprochement between the USSR and the USA.

The US delegation was further to the left. It was led by the newly appointed Secretary of State James Byrnes. A self-confident politician, he was inclined to self-advertisement. This brought on his discord with President Truman and an early resignation. Back from Moscow after the December 1945 meeting of three foreign ministers, he decided to boost his popularity and before reporting to the President made a radio statement on the results of the meeting. The President did not like it. Just after the First Session of the UN General Assembly closed he was fired.

J. Byrnes' neighbour was Edward Stettinius, still a young man, yet his hair already white. He was discontented with his position as US Ambassador to the United Nations and handed in his resignation in June 1946. Among other US delegates there were two prominent Senators—the conceited and wilful Republican Arthur Vandenberg, the former leader of Isolationists in Congress, and Democrat Tom Connolly, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The fifth delegate was Eleanor Roosevelt, the widow of the late American President, who engaged in international social problems.

The US general political line was determined by the country's post-war economic boom. In the first postwar years, the enhanced economic and political clout the USA had acquired internationally provided it majority votes in UN bodies. On the economic plane, Western Europe, once the creditor for the US, was now in debt to American banks. Its monopoly on atomic arms fostered Washington's illusion of omnipotence. The US ruling circles maintained that the A-bomb would help them establish their domination in the postwar world.

When the delegates had all taken their seats, the chairman of the Preparation Commission, the Colombian lawyer Eduardo Zuleta Angel emerged on the rostrum. He was accompanied by the executive secretary of the Commission Gladwyn Jebb and his assistant at the Assembly Andrew Cordieu. The audience fell silent and Zuleta Angel declared the First Session of the UN General Assembly open. He made a brief

statement and then gave the floor to C. Attlee. The British Prime Minister's speech was not impressive. He recalled that the former League of Nations had suffered from a number of shortcomings, one of them being that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States had been among its founding members.

Next came election of the chairman. The USA and other Western countries had unofficially agreed beforehand to have Paul Henry Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, elected to the post. Manuilsky, for his part, nominated the Norwegian Foreign Minister Trygve Lie, a former trade union leader and participant in the Resistance movement. Spaak was elected by 28 votes against 23 cast for Trygve Lie.

THE WORK OF THE SESSION

There were three areas the General Assembly had to work in: to decide organisational questions, to have a general discussion in which the delegates would expound the basic policies of their countries, and, finally, to consider political, economic and other issues.

The first six meetings dealt with organisation. This involved deciding on the procedures and the structure of the Assembly, electing the deputy chairmen, setting up its main committees and defining their functions. The Assembly was also to form the UN main bodies—the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice, and to elect the UN Secretary General. Alongside, a whole number of auxiliary bodies of the Assembly had to be formed, such as those on verifying the mandates, on determining the venue for the headquarters, on the League of Nations matter, on administrative and budgetary questions, on contributions, etc.

Manuilsky was elected chairman of the first committee—charged with security problems. The fact that a Ukrainian representative was chosen to preside over a body of such high importance was recognition of the great role the Ukrainian Republic had played in the victory in the Second World War. Poland was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council, which was also indicative of the international role of that country which, through efforts of Washington and London, had to stay out of the San Francisco Conference since the question of its government still hung in the air. Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine and the USSR were elected to the ECOSOC. S. B. Krylov became a member of the International Court of Justice. On the Security Council's unanimous recommendation, the Assembly by a yes vote of 46, with three against, elected Trygve Lie Secretary General of the United Nations.

Diverse, at times directly conflicting, views were voiced in the political discussion. But the paramount tenor was the sense of relief that the most devastating war had ended, and concern over the emerging post-war problems. Most of the speakers expressed their satisfaction with the creation of the United Nations.

Statements by Byrnes and Bevin, representatives of the two most powerful and influential imperialist countries, are noteworthy. Both called for the creation of a UN international armed force, reckoning that that force would be instrumental in achieving the goals of their governments. Byrnes pointed to the special significance of atomic weapons, thereby implying an exclusive position for the USA. Bevin dwelled on the formation of an international secretariat, a reflection of the concern of the Foreign Office to secure British-influence in the UN Secretariat. Indeed, they did succeed in that in the first years of the UN. The British representative, and the French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault

as well, emphasised the "positive" role of their governments in instituting territorial trusteeship over some of the colonial countries.

Andrei Gromyko spoke on behalf of the USSR. He concentrated on strengthening international peace and the need to eradicate the remaining hotbeds of fascism.

After the general discussion, work began in the 6 main committees established by the General Assembly. These were the Political, Economic, Social, Administrative and Finance committees, the Trusteeship Committee, and the Committee on Legal Questions. Apart from organisational matters, most of the Assembly's points on the agenda were relegated to them. All member countries were represented on each committee.

Charged with security issues, I attended the first committee practically throughout its work. Of all the points, one was of particular importance—the setting up of the UN Atomic Commission. It was tied up with the most acute problem of our time which already then was in the limelight. Other political issues set forth by the delegations were included in the Security Council agenda, which had already begun functioning.

FORMATION OF THE UN ATOMIC COMMISSION

Washington's atomic monopoly was central to its ambitious plans on the world scene, above all the postwar settlement in line with the claims and appetite of American imperialism. To achieve these ends the USA accelerated atomic arms production and, hoping to retain the monopoly, shrouded in secrecy all that had to do with the production methods. At the same time, the atomic strikes at Japanese cities evoked a negative reaction in the United States and elsewhere. Opposition to President Truman's atomic policy was voiced among the public at large, in the academic quarters, and even in Congress and the government itself. The President's refusal to cooperate with the Soviet Union in the development of atomic power and control over its use caused anxiety. In October 1945 a Federation of Atomic Scientists was set up in the USA, which called for international cooperation and control over atomic energy. A group of US Senators and Congressmen came out for cooperation with the USSR in this field.

London took a dim view of President Truman's statement that the USA would not share the secret of atomic production with anyone. On Attlee's proposal, a summit meeting between the USA, Britain and Canada was arranged in Washington in November 1945. It resulted in a tripartite declaration proposing a UN Atomic Commission to provide for exchange of scientific information on the peaceful use of atomic energy, to establish control over it, to exclude atomic arms from national arsenals and to elaborate effective safeguards against the risk of breach of agreements. The USSR was not mentioned in the declaration.

The declaration met with disgruntlement among the US ruling quarters. Reactionary politicians feared that the intended exchange of information would deprive the USA of its atomic monopoly. Meanwhile, the liberals and progressives in the American population were extremely worried over the deterioration in Soviet-American relations and regarded the declaration as evidence of the President's unwillingness or inability to cooperate with the Soviet Union.

The White House, however, affirmed that there could be no renunciation of the US atomic monopoly. Yet, in order to placate public opinion, J. Byrnes, though opposed by Bevin, proposed a conference of foreign ministers of the USSR, the USA and Britain to be convened in Moscow in December 1945 to discuss the atomic problem and the postwar sett-

lement. In Moscow, the three ministers agreed to move jointly at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly that an Atomic Commission be set up comprising the Security Council members and Canada.

The Soviet leaders were conscious that the USA in no way proposed to put atomic energy under UN control and that it was out to keep its atomic monopoly. However, in order to facilitate international cooperation and to avert the threat of atomic war, the USSR agreed to pool efforts with the USA and Britain within the United Nations. China, France and Canada were also ready to take part in the move.

In line with the Moscow accords, the six countries made a proposal in the General Assembly on forming the Atomic Commission with the tasks envisaged in the US-British-Canadian declaration. That proposal was considered in the General Assembly's First Committee. Tom Connolly presented the draft resolution even though he was an opponent of the Atomic Commission for fear it might undermine the US atomic monopoly. Back in November 1945, when the tripartite declaration was being signed in Washington, he had staged a walkout on the ceremony since the declaration proclaimed the principle of scientific exchange in the peaceful use of atomic energy. While presenting the six' draft resolution, the Senator specially emphasised that the proposed commission would only be a consultative, a deliberative body, its decisions not binding on the UN member states. It was the Security Council, he stressed, that would decide on implementation of commission recommendations. He thereby sought to set safeguards against the Atomic Commission's decisions unsuitable for Washington, above all those regarding exchange of information on atomic energy.

On January 24, 1946 the General Assembly considered the report of the First Committee and the draft resolution on setting up a UN Atomic Commission. The discussion was brief. Andrei Vyshinsky, by that time in London, said: "This is the first important act in the joint efforts of the United Nations to ensure peace and security throughout the world. May this noble act be a total and genuine success." The report was unanimously endorsed. This was the General Assembly's first political decision. It brought forth no polemics. Meanwhile, other political, economic and organisational issues, as a rule, caused endless discussions and serious differences between the Western powers, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its friends, on the other.

However, the adoption of the essentially procedural decision on the UN Atomic Commission did not eliminate serious differences between the USSR and the USA on the atomic problem. The commission became the stage of a protracted struggle between the Soviet and the American sides.

OTHER ISSUES AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A part from the Atomic Commission issue, the First Committee considered the Soviet proposal that representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the largest international non-governmental organisation, should be involved in the work of the ECOSOC as consultants. The Soviet Union had raised the question back at the conference in San Francisco. However, it was decided that the matter be left to the General Assembly. The USA and other Western representatives were against distinguishing the WFTU from among other non-governmental organisations. On US proposal, it was decided that the WFTU, the International Cooperative Alliance, the American Federation of Labour and other international non-governmental organisations be involved in ECOSOC matters as need may be in cooperation and consultations.

On the initiative of the Byelorussian Republic, the question of extra-

dition and punishment of war criminals was discussed. It was resolved to recommend all states to arrest such criminals and extradite them to the countries where they had committed crimes for trial and punishment under the laws of the country concerned.

Administration and budgeting were important points of discussion. As planned by preparatory bodies, the General Assembly endorsed the UN budget for 1946 at \$22 million. Replying to my remark about the expenditures for 1946 being too high, American financial experts explained that this took in the costs of initial arrangements and facilities the organisation needed and that subsequently the budget level would lower. This, however, did not happen; none of the subsequent budgets was reduced. The UN financial system proved to be rather imperfect, which resulted, ultimately, in considerable difficulties in the mid-1980s. At the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation opposed excessive expenditures, but the USA and other Western countries supported the budget as it had been earmarked, and it was adopted despite the objections by the Soviet and some other delegations.

The General Assembly also endorsed the recommendations of the Preparatory Commission for setting up the UN Headquarters on the US East Coast. Yet choosing the exact location was not that easy. A number of East Coast states—New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Jersey—sent in their invitations. An inspection group formed by the Assembly toured the area and finally settled for a place on the border of New York and Connecticut in the vicinity of Greenwich and Stamford. It turned out, however, that there and in many other places the group visited a considerable part of the population were against having the UN headquarters. The final decision was thus postponed till the second part of the Assembly session.

All recommendations by the committees were endorsed at the Assembly plenary meeting. The last, 33rd meeting of the London stage of the First Session of the UN General Assembly ended in the night of February 15, 1946.

THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL STARTS OFF

The Security Council, in session soon after the opening of the First Session General Assembly, had to deal with a number of political questions—on Iran, Greece, Indonesia and on the withdrawal of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon. It also had to pass recommendations on the election of the Secretary General and international justices.

The first meeting of the Security Council took place on January 17, 1946. It was opened by the Australian representative, Secretary for the Navy N. Makin. He was an elderly man with little knowledge of either international legal issues or the complex patterns of international political discussion. He strictly, at times bluntly, followed the line of the British Foreign Office. It was decided that representatives of the Security Council member countries would take turns chairing the meetings according to their countries in alphabetical order, each for a month. Gladwyn Jebb, acting as Secretary General, took the seat beside the chairman.

In the London period, the Security Council had its offices in Church House, not far from the Central Hall. In effect, Church House was the first UN headquarters, with the committees and the secretariat located there. A large horseshoe-shaped table stood in the main hall. The chairman sat in the centre and the 10 representatives of the member countries were on either side of him. Each representative had his deputy, ad-

visors and secretaries seated behind him. A throng of guests, journalists and the public were in the hall itself and in the gallery.

The organisational matters took two meetings, and next the Council went over to political questions. One of the meetings (a closed one) was devoted to nominating the Secretary General. Since this required consensus among the permanent members, they held consultations. The Western powers were insisting on Paul Henri Spaak, then Lester Pearson as the nominees. The Soviet Union proposed the Yugoslav Ambassador to the USA Stanoje Simic. The two sides finally settled on Trygve Lie, and he was unanimously recommended by the Security Council to the General Assembly.

There was a complaint by Iran that Soviet armed forces stationed temporarily in the country interfered in its internal affairs. The complaint had been instigated by American and British circles hostile to the Soviet Union in order to launch an anti-Soviet campaign. Even the very formulation of the complaint to be submitted to the Security Council had been worked out by a New York law firm. Iran's Ambassador to Britain Hassan Taqui-Zadeh, was invited to the discussion.

The USSR representative, Vyshinsky, declared that Soviet Union was ready for the talks and there was therefore no need to consider the issue in the Council. After a long discussion, the unanimous decision was that since both parties were ready to reach a settlement through bilateral negotiations, the Council was satisfied and asked the parties to inform it on the progress. Western powers, however, kept the issue on the agenda and activated the debate later in March and April.

The Greek and the Indonesian questions took up effectively most of the time in the London period of the Security Council. The Greek question was raised by the Soviet Union. British troops stationed in Greece and London's interference in the country's internal affairs created a tense situation in the Balkans. British troops gave every type of support to reactionary forces, thereby preventing settlement by the people themselves. The situation in Greece was fraught with international conflicts and threatened security of the neighbouring countries, Bulgaria and Albania. The USSR demanded withdrawal of British troops from Greece.

Seeking to embellish the British position, Bevin averred that the troops were in Greece to maintain order in the country. That is, without them, a civil war would have erupted causing great losses for the population. He argued against the Soviet view that the situation created by the British presence in Greece threatened security of its neighbours.

The debate was rather acrimonious. As was to be expected, the Western countries—the USA, Britain, France, Holland and Australia—came out against British withdrawal. A lot of noise came from the public in the hall, the debate spreading there too. In a husky voice, chairman Malik called for order. No unanimous decision was reached. A closed meeting was convened where the Soviet proposal failed to gain the required 7 votes. The Council resolved not to go beyond the discussion.

Although the Soviet proposal was not passed, it was evidence of the USSR's persistent support of the fundamental interests of the popular masses and its stand against the designs of imperialist powers. The proposal had a highly positive response in the countries fighting against British colonialism for their independence. Syria and Lebanon, when submitting their proposal on foreign troop withdrawal to the Security Council, made extensive references to the debate over the Greek question.

In presenting the Indonesian question, Manuilsky cited convincing facts indicating deterioration of the situation in Indonesia. The British occupation forces had launched large-scale action against the national liberation movement. To suppress the movement, the British authorities

used Japanese troops, halting their disarmament in contravention of the armistice agreement with Japan. Taken together, it was in essence a drive to preserve the colonial regime.

The Ukrainian representative was insisting that a fact-finding commission be set up by the Security Council comprising Soviet, US, British, Chinese and Dutch representatives, which was to present a report on its findings to the Council. This proposal also failed to get the necessary vote, with only the USSR, Poland and Mexico supporting it.

The composition of the Security Council was patently pro-Western at the time. The representatives of China, Egypt and Brazil were in the US-British boat. Characteristically, H. Makin, in the chair, obstructed the Ukrainian proposal on the fact-finding commission on the grounds that the Ukraine was not a member of the Council. In a word, there was no hope for an objective, let alone progressive, approach by the Council to the problems it faced.

The last point on the agenda in the London stage was withdrawal of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon. The demands of independent states, members of the United Nations, Syria and Lebanon, for evacuation of foreign troops which, moreover, interfered in their affairs was absolutely legitimate. The war was over. There was no more problem of protection of Allied military communications in the two countries. Nor were there any requests from the Syrian and Lebanese governments for a continued stay of British and French troops. Their neighbours were all friendly countries, members of the United Nations, so that there was no threat to their independence.

All these arguments were expounded by representatives of the two countries invited to the session. Syria's case was presented by the chairman of Syrian Parliament Faris El-Khoury, a short, grey-haired man in national Arab clothing. The Lebanese Foreign Minister Hamid Frangibei, a seasoned diplomat of French school, spoke on behalf of his country.

The British and French representatives, Alexander Cadogan and Georges Bidault, tried to defend their troops' presence by the "instability" in the Middle East. As soon as the situation "normalised", they declared, the troops would be withdrawn; yet they specified no schedules. Despite the obvious insolvency of the British and French stand, the Council was unable to arrive at any decision. Since the US proposal for the troop withdrawal as soon as practically possible was both ambiguous and harmful, the USSR resorted to veto when a vote was taken.

Although the position taken by the Western powers prevented a positive solution on any of the three issues, the Greek, the Indonesian and the Syrian-Lebanese, the debate in the Security Council had a considerable influence on public opinion in many countries. Criticism of the Western powers' imperialist policies spread beyond the UN framework and finally forced London and Paris to withdraw their troops from Syria and Lebanon. The same year, 1946, Indonesia proclaimed its independence, and a long war began against Dutch colonialists aided by London and Washington. In 1946-1949, the Indonesian question was permanently on the Security Council's agenda. The Soviet Union and a number of other UN members advocated the right to independence for Indonesia, which was universally recognised in 1950. British withdrawal from Greece was on a Ukrainian proposal brought again before the Security Council in 1946.

The arrival of a large number of the mass media men to the opening of the General Assembly and the Security Council in London indicated the immense interest in the UN in many countries. Opinions, however, were different concerning its prospects. Part of the press, conservative especially, was very sceptical. The Liberal and Labour media

abounded in optimistic commentaries. The obvious thing was that the overall international situation had deteriorated, above all the relations between the Soviet Union and its former allies, the USA and Britain. This was borne out by the outcome of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council meeting in London. The question that arose was what impact the new organisation for international security would have on international developments, on the relations between the USSR and the Anglo-American group of countries and between the socialist world and the capitalist countries as a whole.

The Royal Court also displayed interest in the UN. King George VI visited Church House, and in mid-February a royal reception was made in the Buckingham Palace for the delegates of the General Assembly.

With the London stage of the First Session of the General Assembly and the Security Council concluded, Secretary General Trygve Lie and the UN Secretariat moved to New York. There they were temporarily accommodated in the readjusted Sperry instrument plant in Lake Success, Long Island, 30 km from New York. Plenary sessions of the General Assembly were held in a sports club at Flushing Meadow, halfway between New York and Lake Success. The Security Council resumed its work in New York, and then also moved to Lake Success.

THE CONCLUDING STAGE OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The second stage of the First Session of the General Assembly opened in October 23, 1946. After a brief introduction of Chairman Spaak US President Harry Truman made a statement of welcome and then UN Secretary General Trygve Lie reported on the situation in the organisation. He said, in particular, that the UN personnel had reached 2,992 persons. By the beginning of October a number of UN specialised agencies had begun functioning—the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agricultural Organisation, UNESCO, the International Civil Aviation Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The World Health Organisation, the International Trade Organisation and some others were planned to be established. The UN employees were mostly citizens of Western countries, those from socialist countries were very few.

Obviously, this situation had a negative impact on the functioning of the UN. Throughout the subsequent years, Western countries, above all the USA, tried to use the numerical preponderance of their citizens in the UN system to control the international leverage. They even claimed the right to determine the size of the personnel of the permanent missions to the UN. One of the more recent examples is the unwarranted demand by the US government that the personnel of the Soviet Mission to the UN in New York be reduced, which caused strong protests from the international community.

The First Session of the General Assembly proceeded in a tense international situation. No peace treaties with the former hostile states had yet been concluded. Several territorial and other postwar problems had not yet been settled. The General Assembly in New York coincided with the Third Session of Foreign Ministers which was discussing the recommendations of the Paris Peace Conference and finalising the peace treaties with Italy, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland. Although the Session did reach accord on the treaties, relations between the socialist and the Western countries did not ease up.

The General Assembly gave a great deal of attention to the Soviet proposal concerning the UN member states' troop deployment in what was known as non-hostile territories. The USSR suggested that the UN

members report to the Security Council without delay on the strength and whereabouts of their forces in non-hostile countries. Apart from other things, the information was essential in discussing formation of UN forces as stipulated by the Charter. Soviet troops had already been withdrawn from non-hostile territories, while that was not the case with American and British forces, in defiance of the will of the governments concerned.

In the course of the debate, the USSR acceded to a US suggestion that it report on all its troops abroad, including those on the territory of the former enemy countries, and also on all its armed forces so as to help progress in the overall arms reduction. The delegations of France, Poland, India, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia supported the Soviet proposal. But the Western powers' majority avoided debating the issue and then shelved it altogether by foisting a recommendation on the General Assembly to request specific details from the Security Council concerning the kind of information it needed to consider universal and complete arms reduction. Nevertheless, the Soviet move at the General Assembly exposed the militarist nature of the US and British policies, the two countries having their troops stationed in non-hostile territories, yet declining to report on the matter to the United Nations.

The Soviet proposal on universal arms reduction was in the limelight at the Assembly. The proposal carried a call on the Security Council to speed up the discussion of the issue which also included a ban on the production and use of atomic weapons.

The proposal set off a detailed and heated debate at the Assembly. Representatives of the USA, Britain and its dominions, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and many other member-countries took part. There was no chance for the Western powers to overtly obstruct the proposal. They sought primarily to scrap the points on the atomic weapons ban.

The outcome was a resolution of a general character requesting the Security Council to urgently consider the question of universal arms reduction and the report of the UN Atomic Commission. The resolution placed special emphasis on the problem of establishing control over armaments and the peaceful use of atomic energy. The Security Council, for its part, discussed the issue and instituted a commission for control over conventional weapons reduction, which in the 1950s also took up the atomic problem.

The Soviet move on universal arms reduction to a considerable degree predetermined the work of the United Nations in the decades to come. Disarmament became a central issue.


The General Assembly also considered a number of other important political issues. One of them was the question of Spain then under the Franco regime. The Assembly's recommendation was that Spain should not be accepted into international organisations and that the UN member states should recall their ambassadors and envoys from Madrid.

India raised the important question of discrimination against ethnic Indians in the Union of South Africa. But the Assembly passed an insignificant resolution suggesting that the parties involved be guided by agreements existing between them and the UN Charter. The issue was soon to acquire paramount importance in international affairs, and the struggle of the world's progressive forces against the regime of apartheid in South Africa continues.

To sum up, the United Nations already in the first year of its work became a major international forum mobilising world public opinion. Its members used the UN forum to expound their stand and to set forth and defend their proposals. The UN was also a venue for broad international contacts at various levels.


The Soviet Union and other socialist countries set forth their stands

on the most important international issues, such as arms reduction and an atomic weapons ban, which not only have remained acute but have acquired a special gravity these days.



Forty years have passed. When in 1943 the Moscow Conference decided to set up an international security organisation it was hard to expect that it would work in the conditions of tense, at times hostile relations between its founders. Already in early 1946, less than three weeks after the London stage of the United Nations activities, the British ex-Prime Minister Winston Churchill made his subsequently notorious speech in Fulton. Approved by the US President it contained a call for confrontation with the Soviet Union, the country that had borne the brunt of the Second World War.

Throughout the past decades, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have worked persistently, both within the UN and outside it, to consolidate peace and international security and to prevent nuclear catastrophe. It was on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and often despite the resistance of the USA and its NATO partners, that the UN adopted a number of most important resolutions calling for an end to the arms race and prevention of its spread to outer space, and vigorously condemning preparations for nuclear war. The new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the Party's 27th Congress emphasises that the CPSU comes out for enhancing the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace and expanding international cooperation.



RETRIBUTION

Yevgeni S H A S H K O V

They brought the accused into the courtroom at 8.30 a.m. Accompanied by two guards, he shuffled slowly to the armchair, which was cut off from the public by a bullet-proof glass wall. Short, grey, and wrinkled, he seemed to have not the slightest interest in what was taking place.

"Accused, your Christian name, surname, and year of birth?" asked the judge.

"Andrija Artukovic, year of birth—1899".

That was how the trial began on April 14, 1986 in the Zagreb Court of Andrija Artukovic, ex-Minister of the Interior of the pro-Hitler "Croatian government", better known as the "Balkan Himmler" and the "Balkan butcher". It had taken more than 40 years to bring to justice the man guilty of the massacre of hundreds of thousands of people on Yugoslav territory during the Second World War, the United States of America being fully to blame for the long delay. Washington was well aware all those years of the Californian address of the war criminal, whom Yugoslavia wanted to be extradited, but did everything possible to prevent him from being tried.

Other unpunished Artukovices are still roaming free around the world. Their names are known, negative prescription does not apply to them, and their destiny is not a mere personal matter. They must be punished. That was precisely the call made by the 39th UN General Assembly Session held in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. One of its resolutions noted that it should be an obligation of all states to bring to justice and punish those guilty of war crimes against peace and humanity. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other socialist countries have always consistently demanded the arrest and trial of persons guilty of war crimes against humanity.

USTAS "MINISTER OF DEATH"

The "Balkan butcher's" life circle was closed in Zagreb. It was there that he began a career as a lawyer in the late 1920s, still a young graduate of law faculty. It was there that he first met the lawyer Ante Pavelic, who founded the organisation of ustaši—Croatian fascists—in 1931. Artukovic joined them straightaway and soon became Pavelic's right-hand man. That was how this sinister fascist tandem got its start.

Through sabotage and terrorism on Yugoslav territory they tried to aggravate the situation in the country, strengthen the separatist movement in Croatia, and create favourable conditions for a fascist coup. Pavelic and Artukovic had links with the Italian black shirts, and enjoyed Mussolini's personal favour.

In 1934 Artukovic was tried for terrorism, but the coming to power

in Yugoslavia of the coalition Cvetković-Maček government, which sought to ally with Hitler and Mussolini, saved him from prison. Andrija Artukovic was freed and headed unhindered for Italy. Mussolini saw the ustaši as an instrument for weakening and splitting the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and then carrying out his expansion in the Balkans. Hitler held a similar view of the Croatian fascists.

From the very outset the ustaš organisation was a secret terrorist grouping. Its basic organisational principles and character are best illustrated by the ritual undergone and the oath taken by the Croatian fascists. They swore allegiance to their organisation in a special room with fully blinded windows, before a table covered with a white cloth bearing the three ustaš symbols: a cross, a dagger and a revolver. The oath went like this: "I swear to God Almighty and all saints that I will be guided by the ustaš principles and carry out the instructions and unquestioningly obey the orders of my leaders. I swear that I will strictly keep all secrets entrusted to me. I swear that in the ranks of the ustaši I will fight for an independent state of Croatia and execute all commands of my leaders... If I break this vow, in accordance with the ustaš laws my punishment shall be death."

The ustaš leaders attached extremely great importance to the oath-taking ritual. They often recruited unemployed persons far removed from politics. When these persons realised what they had got themselves into and wanted to leave, the oath would come into effect: the "traitors'" throats would be cut. Discipline and loyalty to the leaders were based on blood in the ustaši.

The Croatian fascists came to power with the help of Hitler's army, which attacked Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, and began to tear the country apart. As soon as on April 10 the Nazi troops took Zagreb, the ustaši, with the consent of Hitler and Mussolini, proclaimed an "independent state of Croatia" on the territory of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Italian Duke Spoleto, a Prince of the Savoy dynasty was proclaimed by the invaders its formal head. But throughout the Second World War he never did dare to appear before his "subjects". The Nazis installed the fully trusted Ante Pavelic as the de facto leader of the "independent state of Croatia", and he, in his turn, appointed his cohort and personal friend Andrija Artukovic Minister of the Interior of his "government".

After coming to power, Pavelic and Artukovic restructured the terrorist ustaš organisation, modelling it on the ideological doctrines and party organisational forms used by the Nazis in Hitlerite Germany. They even passed a "decree on race" which included the Croats among the Aryan nationalities making up the European racial union. The ustaš decree called Goths their ancestors. They thereby falsified the origins of their own people, declaring them non-Slavs.

The Croatian fascists won a section of the Catholic Church, primarily the most influential circles, which were dissatisfied with their position in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, of which Croatia was a part, the Catholic Church was considered a very important state institution, but its influence weakened after independent Yugoslavia was formed in 1918. That is why the clergy supported Pavelic's fascist regime, which imposed Catholicism on the Croatian people. For peoples professing other religions, the cross among the ustaš symbols turned into a symbol of Calvary. The alliance of clericalism and fascism became the ideological base for the policy of genocide against anyone who was not of the "Aryan race", the Yugoslav Communists and anti-fascists in the first place.

That was what led Artukovic to sign the orders for mass terror. His

term as Minister of the Interior of the "state of Croatia" left a trail of blood in Yugoslav history.

UNDER THE CIA WING

On May 5, 1945, Artukovic fled Zagreb with a group of Croatian fascists. But they did not leave empty-handed: they emptied the Croatian national bank of all valuables, including 12,000 gold coins, over 200 kilograms of gold bars, and diamonds with a total weight of 1,715.89 carats.

What they could not take with them they hid under the altar of the Franciscan Church in the capital of Croatia. This hidden treasure consisted of two tons of silver articles and 36 boxes of gold. Artukovic told the Zagreb Cardinal that he would collect it all when he returned with the Anglo-American troops.

From Yugoslavia Artukovic fled to Austria, where he fell into the hands of British troops, but instead of being deported back to his country, the "Balkan butcher" was smuggled into Switzerland. And for a good reason: throughout the war he had deposited the jewels stolen from his victims in Swiss banks.

He later turned up in Ireland. Well-known American lawyer Allan Ryan, who once headed the US Department of Justice's war criminals section, writes in his book *Quiet Neighbours* that in 1948 Artukovic, still in Ireland, applied for and was granted a US visa under the name of Alois Anic. In the spring of 1943, when the visa in his false passport expired, the "Balkan Himmler" was summoned to the Los Angeles immigration department.

Artukovic quickly sized up the situation and realised that in McCarthyian America, and with the cold war at its height, his former "services" should be a boon. He recounted a lot about himself, and the immigration authorities realised that this was no ordinary "refugee from the East". They sent a dispatch to the capital saying that Alois Anic was really Andrija Artukovic, former Minister of the Interior of Croatia, and that he claimed to have fled from communism but the representative was not sure about that. State Department officials checked the archives and found some very curious facts. In 1946 the government of Yugoslavia had informed the United States that on August 13, 1945, based on documentary data and the evidence of numerous former concentration camp inmates, the State Commission to investigate the crimes of the fascist occupationists and their accomplices had declared Artukovic a war criminal and was searching for him.

Therefore, as far back as the late 1940s Washington was aware of two irrefutable facts: first, Artukovic was in the country illegally, having arrived on a false passport; second, the immigration service and the Department of Justice knew that he was a major war criminal and that the State Department held documents concerning the search for him. What is more, in March 1951 Yugoslav representatives informed the Americans of the "Balkan butcher's" precise address in California, a fact which was leaked to the American press, forcing Department of Justice officials to do something.

An aide to the US Under-Secretary of Justice wrote a very remarkable document to the immigration service saying that if it were established that Artukovic was guilty of murdering any American, he should be extradited to a non-communist country that would offer him political asylum; but if his crimes were against Communists he should be offered asylum in the USA. The United States Department of Justice was actually defending a leader of the ustaši, whose "state" had declared war on the USA at the end of 1941.

In the stifling atmosphere of McCarthyism, communism rather than

Nazism was regarded as the main threat to America. It is therefore not surprising that in 1951 the Los Angeles Federal Court soon halted the proceedings which it had started against Artukovic on the Yugoslav demand.

In vain did the Yugoslav side try to show the Federal Court that the 1901 Extradition Treaty between the Kingdom of Serbia and the USA remained valid between socialist Yugoslavia and the USA, and that in every other area the United States had recognised the succession of Serbia and Yugoslavia. The Californian "servant of the Law" did not bother to look into the matter of succession, merely drawing an analogy between the formation of Yugoslavia and the creation of Hitler's Reich. Officials of the Yugoslav Consulate in San Francisco, who were taking part in the investigation, roundly rejected these wild and insulting claims. But an article was then unearthed which prohibited extradition of political criminals. Artukovic was saved.

The Americans staged a trial during which this war criminal of the highest order was all but declared a "martyr of communism", an indulgence that for many years was a reliable guarantee of safety for this unrepentant Nazi.

Who, then, was the "Balkan butcher's" protector on American soil? Perhaps the best answer to this question is given by Branimir Stanojevic, author of the book *Ustaš Minister of Death*. This Yugoslav researcher writes that "because Artukovic was in on all the fascists' secret operations, he merited the protection of the US special services". As Minister of the Interior, Artukovic created a secret network of agents who operated against the Yugoslav partisans and planted provocateurs in the communist anti-fascist underground. It is quite possible that the "Minister" took with him from Yugoslavia a list of his people, and this document ensured that he was given special consideration first from the British special services and then from the US Central Intelligence Agency. His stolen gold and diamonds also played a major role.

For many years Artukovic felt quite safe in a villa in California's Surfside Colony. He made lecture tours of the American West, his topic being... the dangers of communism, and from time to time he gave consultations to the "guys from Langley". The State authorities were very understanding towards his type. Then Californian Governor Ronald Reagan showed his hostility towards socialist Yugoslavia in every way possible, and in 1969 he even signed an order for the State to mark the anniversary of the proclamation of the "independence of Croatia". "Independence" day was to be April 10, the day in 1941 when Nazi tanks invaded Zagreb.

The "Balkan butcher" led a tranquil life in California until the late 1970s when the "human rights campaign" started by President Reagan's predecessor boomeranged, leading to a change in the 1952 immigration law that allowed the extradition of persons accused of political and racial crimes. On Yugoslavia's demand the US authorities had to take up the Artukovic case again. But the butcher's protectors in Washington did everything to impede his extradition.

According to a professor of the Belgrade University, well-known lawyer Voin Dimitrijevic, these actions "seriously complicated Yugoslav-American relations... The continual delay in the extradition made increasingly acute a question of paramount importance: can the present international community, despite all the differences between its sovereign states, uphold the fundamental principles of justice and human dignity and defend the basic interests of the human race? Impeding Artukovic's trial meant being sceptical towards the Nuremberg sentence as well, meant being opposed to the convention on genocide".

Strong world public protest forced Washington to decide to extradite

Artukovic from the USA. On February 12, 1986, a Yugoslav airline plane landed at the Zagreb airport from New York with the "Balkan butcher" on board.

"NOT EVEN DANTE COULD DESCRIBE IT..."

The centre of Zagreb in the Zrin Park region usually has a noisy holiday atmosphere and is filled with pedestrians and automobiles, but in April and May 1986 it had a grim aspect. All roads leading to the city court building had "No Entry" signs on them. The entire Zrin Park area was closed to traffic and patrolled by armed militia details. There was tight security in the court building as well. The 30 correspondents who had been given special passes allowing them to enter the building could not take in cameras, tape recorders, or even metallic ballpoint pens. The other journalists covering the trial watched it on a monitor set up in a wing of the court building.

For a whole month all of Yugoslavia followed the reports from Zagreb with bated breath. It was a trial which brought back painful memories to those who had experienced the horrors of fascism, and recalled the enormous sacrifice made by the peoples of Yugoslavia in the battle against the "brown plague".

The "Balkan Himmler" was found guilty under Articles 142 and 144 of the SFRY's criminal code of war crimes against civilians and against prisoners of war. The regional Croatian commission to investigate the crimes of the occupationists and local quislings revealed over 20 crimes in which Artukovic was directly involved. The case was built on only four specific instances of the ex-Interior Minister's crimes, for they were quite enough to prove that, in breach of international law, Artukovic had ordered the torture and murder of civilians and prisoners of war, and terror and mass shootings.

The bill of indictment said that at the end of 1941 almost 700 civilians were assembled in Kremičirov Square in Zagreb. Artukovic ordered the convoy leader Lachovski to take them to the camp in Kerestinec and himself accompanied the column. In Kerestinec Artukovic gave orders for a part of the column to be separated and annihilated because "the camp can't hold all of them anyway". (This command appears as "order No. 24" in the bill of indictment). About 450 persons were shot dead in the nearby woods. Early in 1942, when Artukovic learned that partisans had routed an ustaš detachment in the Vrgin Most area, he ordered the annihilation of the entire civilian population of neighbouring villages. The residents, mostly women and children, were driven into the valley and machine-gunned. In the winter of 1943 in Sambor several hundred captured partisans were run over by tanks on Artukovic's personal order.

The trial revealed that the scale of the "Balkan butcher's" atrocities and crimes is even greater than was known in 1945 to the Yugoslav Commission to investigate the genocide of the occupationists and their accomplices.

"Not even Dante could describe the horrors which I went through," declared Ruža Rubčićova, the first witness for the prosecution, who told the court about the evil deeds of Artukovic's ustaši in the Jasenovac concentration camp.

...I often visited that area during my years as a journalist in Yugoslavia. The picturesque green hills, the majestic Sava, the elegant riverside poplars and the small lakes where fish splash were probably just the same 45 years ago. It seems incredible that anyone would dare breach the peace and quiet of this rich land. But it was here that the bloody Jasenovac drama took place, a drama on a level with other fascist "death factories" such as Buchenwald and Oswiecim, Maidenek and Mauthausen.

Mounds are where the crematorium and barracks used to be, and above them is a memorial of reinforced concrete in the form of a flower in bloom—a monument to all who died, a symbol of life, which continues and reminds the living to remember the tormented. And the butchers as well...

How many human lives were cut short on this soil? No one knows the exact figures. The State Commission to investigate the crimes of the fascist occupationists and their accomplices on Yugoslav territory established that from 500,000 to 700,000 people were killed in Jasenovac and its temporary offshoots during the war years alone... When the Yugoslav people's army liberated Jasenovac on May 2, 1945, only smoking ruins were left on the concentration camp site. All that could be blown up had been blown up; the approaches to the camp had been mined and the archives burned. The ustaš butchers wanted to wipe out all traces of their crimes, but corpse-filled ditches, instruments of death and torture, and live witnesses remained.

At the entrance to the Jasenovac memorial museum hangs a plan of this terrible "death factory"; on the walls are chilling photographs of brutality; in showcases are instruments of torture and murder, and numerous articles found in the ditch graves which once belonged to those who have turned to dust: glasses frames, spoons and forks, combs, scissors and buttons, keys to houses and apartments, simple children's toys—in a word, what the land preserved over the years.

Camp inmate Čedomil Huber could have been among them. Here is his story: "I was taken to Jasenovac in July 1943 when traitors told the ustaši that Čedomil is a Communist, a member of the local committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the town of Osijek... People were thrown in the camp with neither trial nor investigation, as the police decided. The inmates were not given a term for each of them was to be killed sooner or later. In the mornings we were taken to work in the woods, in the fields, to load and unload trucks and freight cars. And no one was sure that he would return to the camp. Usually only a half of the group returned in the evenings, the rest being killed somewhere in the woods or along the road. But even in the camp a person could be killed at any moment for the inmates had no right whatsoever except the 'right' to bear chains and a number. Everything depended on the guard. It was his duty to kill; that is what he was encouraged to do. The more numbers he 'erased', the better was his service record..."

Čedomil Huber survived. In April 1945 he and his communist comrades organised an insurrection in the camp: the inmates attacked the guards and fought their way out. The insurgents numbered 1,073 but only 70 reached freedom—the rest perished.

In the camp museum I saw a photograph of tiny, frightened, crying children with numbers on their chests. The children were photographed for camp cards, and after a while they were murdered en masse before their mothers.

This is what Ruža Rubčićova told the Zagreb Court: "I witnessed the killing of the residents of Kozara (a mount massif in Western Bosnia—*Ye. Sh.*), where the Hitlerites and ustaši used scorched earth tactics, razing all villages in the partisan areas to the ground and taking the residents, mainly old people, women and children, to Jasenovac. At the camp the children were separated from their mothers and then killed in gas chambers. I will never forget the children's shouts and cries, the open eyes of dead children in a pile..."

Dante might truly have been hard put to describe the horrors of this hell on the Earth. Ruža Rubčićova got out of it quite by chance; the fascists exchanged her and two other women for three ustaš army officers who had been captured by Yugoslav partisans.

Jasenovac was the worst but not the only "death factory". Beginning in July 1941 concentration camps appeared on Artukovic's orders in Lepoglava, Jastrebarsko, Kruscika, Kerestinać, Djakovo, Stara-Gradiska... 22 in all. But that is not all.

On October 2, 1941 a document numbered SSS XXXI-1620 came from the ustaš minister's office ordering that 10 captured partisans should be shot for every ustaš soldier killed and 50 persons "of communist affiliation" for every ustaš officer. So-called flying courts were established which passed only one sentence—execution. Yes, there is good reason why the ambassador of fascist Germany in Zagreb, Siegfried Kasche, reported to Berlin that Artukovic was "a great friend of the German Reich".

Those present in the Zagreb Court were particularly shaken by 70-year-old Ljuban Ednak's account of the massacre of about 700 Serbs, mainly old people, women and children, in an orthodox church in Glina. The fascists wanted them to convert to Catholicism and when they refused they were mercilessly annihilated. Ljuban escaped only because he was wounded rather than killed during the execution, and ended up in the pile of corpses and was buried in a trench with them. When night came he got out from under the bodies and climbed out of the grave. He then met up with some partisans. Later he got to know the young poet Ivan Kovačić, who immortalised his life drama in the poem "Pit", which became the summit of Yugoslav poetry during the people's liberation struggle.

THE WOMB IS STILL FERTILE

While the Zagreb Court was hearing the astounding evidence of the Glina massacre, one of the prosecutors drew the Court's attention to the fact that the accused had fallen asleep. Artukovic denied it, claiming that he had heard everything and was as innocent as Jesus Christ.

This episode was characteristic of the tactical and strategic line which the defence had recommended to its client. In the course of the trial Artukovic repeatedly used cunning: he dozed open-mouthed, "did not understand simple questions", "got confused" about whether he was in Zagreb or Los Angeles. The "Balkan butcher's" five lawyers were trying to make the Court believe that this was a sick and powerless person who did not understand what was wanted of him.

But the show was a flop. There was not and could not be any pity for this old man when the witnesses gave their evidence. The well thought out and apparently carefully rehearsed "play at being sick" was obviously a pretence, as was also confirmed by the daily medical check-ups conducted by a group of specialists headed by Dr. Karla Pospíšilova. Furthermore, even Artukovic gave himself away sometimes: he would begin out of the blue to give details about events of 40 years ago and to call the numbers of houses in Zagreb streets where he had been, so that those present at the trial certainly did not get the impression that either the accused's health or memory was failing. Artukovic's memory "failed" him only when his crimes began to be discussed, but age had nothing to do with that: both first-time and hardened criminals resort to that tactic.

On May 14, 1986, the fascist butcher Artukovic was sentenced to death. The indictment said that his atrocities had placed him "on a level with the greatest war criminals which freedom-loving humanity had condemned at the Nuremberg and other trials. Their crimes cannot be buried in oblivion".

The sentence passed on Artukovic in Zagreb was a sentence on fascism, which inflicted immeasurable suffering not only on the peoples of Yugoslavia but of many other countries. It was also the trial of the ideology of fascism, which over the decades has, alas, not become a

purely historical concept. Racism, genocide and anti-communism, the three pillars of the Nazi ideology, still underlie the political course of the most reactionary imperialist forces. In our day the heart-rending names and symbols of Khatyn and Lidice, Gernika and Oradour, Oswiecim and Jasenovac, have been increased by new ones—Song My and the Tripoli blocks destroyed by American bombs, desecrated Sabra and Chatila, bloody Soweto.

In Zagreb they tried a Nazi butcher who was an embodiment of the gloomy past, but the spirit and general direction of the trial addressed the present and even the future. Held 40 years after Nuremberg, it was a symbol of inevitable retribution. Let that be remembered not only by the fascist butchers who have managed to escape justice but also by those who plan aggression, invade other countries, and stifle the national liberation movements and their people, by the bloody dictators and revanchists of all stripes, by the South African racists, and the Israeli Zionists.

One cannot close one's eyes to the fact that not only the USA but other capitalist countries as well have been harbouring "ex"-Nazis and conniving at the neo-Nazi rabble. These actions essentially aim to revise the Nuremberg Sentence, whose 40th anniversary is being marked in October this year. Neo-fascists are making themselves felt in 60 countries, and ustaš vestiges are also rearing their ugly heads. Tolerated by the authorities, writes Yugoslav historian Milo Bozkovic in his book *The Sixth Column*, published in Zagreb in 1985, they have been legalised in the USA, Australia, Canada, and a number of South American and West European countries. Prominent among the groupings fiercely hostile to the Yugoslav socialist state is the "Union of European Croatian Societies' Organisations" (ustaši), founded in 1958 in the West and having as its main goal "the creation of an independent Croatian state within the historical borders".

Extremist positions are also held by terrorist organisations of ustaš emigres such as the "Croatian people's resistance", the "movement for a Croatian national state", and the "Croatian revolutionary fraternity". Over the last few years the latter has carried out nearly 120 terrorist acts in Australia and Western Europe, killing 53 persons and seriously wounding 118. The ustaši crimes include the armed attack against Yugoslavia's permanent UN representation in 1977, the bomb blast in the Yugobank building in New York in 1980, and many others.

"The womb which bore the monster is still fertile," Bertolt Brecht wrote in his play "The Career of Arturo Ui". These words of the outstanding writer and anti-fascist are still relevant today. To maintain a stable peace and prevent a revival of the "brown plague" anywhere in the world—such is the main task facing all honest people. The victims of fascism implore us so to do.

"You, traveller from any country of the world, stop at the Jasenovac crossroads not only to bow before the grass that has sprung from the remains of the 700,000 wasted lives of men, women and children, but to listen to the whispers of the ears of grain which grow from their dead hearts. They are telling you that we, the living, must keep a peaceful sky over our children. We, the living, must not permit anyone to threaten their lives again with the rusty knife of hatred and atrocities. Only then will we be able to call ourselves people. Only then will the stars of the future not be ashamed of the name of man...". Those words are inscribed in the Jasenovac memorial museum.

WHO IS DISRUPTING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFLICT?

The following is a letter from Ruben Montedonico, head of international desk of the Mexican bourgeois newspaper El DIA.

Dear Editor,

I would like your journal to print my views on the causes and real culprits which disrupt the settlement of the conflict situation in Central America.

In August 1986, the US House of Representatives approved the allocation of \$100 million to the Somoza contras for expanding armed brigandage against Nicaragua. These actions by Washington signify a new stage in the escalation of aggression. Tensions in Central America continue to mount. The United States does not desire a political settlement of the crisis situation. Moreover, danger is looming not only over Nicaragua. Washington's steps also pose an increasing threat to other nations of the region, which is evidenced by the destiny of the Contradora process.

In January 1983 on the Panamanian island of Contadora four states (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama) formed the Contadora Group, and in 1985, four other countries (Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay) set up the Latin American Contadora support group. These countries pooled their efforts to achieve a peaceful political settlement of the Central American conflict. It should be noted, however, that the Contadora Group deals only with some of the countries and problems of Central America. Thus, it does not seek to facilitate the solution of territorial disputes between Guatemala and Belize, El Salvador and Honduras, or the settlement of the situation in El Salvador.

Nonetheless, the Contadora Group managed not only to pursue dialogue among Central American states, but also to draft a treaty dubbed the Act of Peace and Cooperation in Central America. The draft was presented for final discussion and signing to a meeting of the foreign ministers from 13 Latin American states (the Contadora Group, the Support Group and five Central American countries: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica) held June 6-7, 1986, in the capital of Panama.

In the course of the meeting the Contadora Group countries went on to seek compromise variants of an agreement, put forward new proposals primarily concerning control over armaments in the region and over conducting manoeuvres there with the participation of foreign troops. However, the meeting failed to produce concrete results and the Act of Peace remained unsigned.

But notwithstanding all this, the participants in the conference arrived at important conclusions: first, the Contadora process remains via-

ble and talks are to be continued; and, second, it was decided that the Act of Peace be signed after solving the moot points.

There are still a lot of differences. On top of this, some of the countries that participated in the talks have recently manifestly been seeking, prompted by the USA, to restart discussion on those issues which were considered settled. Thus, attempts are being made to revise the political points of the Act of Peace, which were approved by consensus as early as September 1985. As is known, the form of state rule for the five Central American states was qualified as "democracy". Now, this qualification is being challenged and, to the accompaniment of discussion around it, attempts are being made to discuss once again the whole political plank of the treaty. The aim of this manoeuvre is evident—to prove that in Nicaragua there is allegedly an anti-democratic regime. The demand is also being put forward in favour of holding new elections in Nicaragua. Under the guise of so-called national reunification the thought is being instilled about the necessity of dialogue with all opposition political forces, including the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary hirelings.

On the initiative of Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador, the issue was raised about control over armaments, about the level of armaments to be possessed by the Central American countries and military exercises mounted by the same. And these were the basic provisions of a treaty to be signed.

At the June conference, participants in the Contadora process took a clear-cut position. Specifically, in Panama a statement was published to the effect that no country in Central America is to offer its territory for forming irregular subversive forces for attacking any of the parties to the treaty. It is only natural that such treatment of the question directly concerns Honduras and Costa Rica where the main counter-revolutionary groupings which are waging an armed struggle against Nicaragua are concentrated.

The attempts to revise agreements achieved are, doubtless, to the benefit of the United States, whose very pressure is instrumental in altering the positions of some of the Central American states. Specifically, the fabrications about the incapacity of the Nicaraguan government were put into circulation by Americans, including by US Secretary of State George Shultz.

As a result, owing to a variety of factors, the Contadora Group is still in no position to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Central American crisis. Nevertheless, it intends to execute the request of the Central American states, to continue to seek ways of a global solution to the problems. For that matter, certain results in achieving bilateral agreements among countries of the region have been attained. Thus, the Contadora Group and the support group helped to conclude a partial agreement between Nicaragua and Costa Rica on lessening tensions on the border, including the understandings on control over the level of armaments in the frontier zone. If the Act of Peace is signed, this agreement may serve as the basis for an overall settlement of the situation.

Of course, Honduras will hardly agree to conclude such a treaty, though this version is in principle also possible. Time will tell. For the time being, though, Honduras does not display its readiness to come to terms with Nicaragua. I believe that to adjust the situation on the northern border of Nicaragua it would be expedient to consider the proposal advanced by Managua more than a year ago. Its gist lies in unilaterally demilitarising the frontier zone that could be controlled by multinational armed forces made up of servicemen from member states of the Contadora support group.

All the countries, including Nicaragua, realise that the presence of

multinational forces with the aim of neutralising attacks on the part of foreign hirelings on Nicaraguan territory would be a temporary measure caused by specific circumstances. But for all that, even such a palliative decision is preferable to war.

It is also important to decide who will finance the maintenance of such multinational forces in the North of Nicaragua. For, according to preliminary estimates, their numerical strength is to amount to not less than 5,000 servicemen. In June 1985, in this connection, a sounding was carried out among a number of EEC members. Most of them agreed to shoulder a part of the expenses on the deployment and maintenance of the forces for preserving peace in Central America. How long are they to remain in the region? It is difficult to say now, but, according to preliminary estimates—not less than two years.

I would especially like to dwell on the stance of the USA, which is grossly interfering in the internal affairs of Central American countries and disrupting the process of a political settlement of the conflict. Striving to disrupt the Contadora process, the USA is stepping up its pressure on states in Central America.

When in February 1986 a principled agreement was concluded on settling the conflict between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, representatives of the Contadora Group and the Support Group met with the then President of Costa Rica Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez, as well as with the future President, who gave assurances that the new Costa Rican Administration would honour the agreement. However, after Arias became President, the situation began to change. And at this juncture, we can only say that the government of Costa Rica seemingly intends to honour the understandings reached with Nicaragua, while previously we could safely state that the Contadora Group proposals with regard to the southern border of Nicaragua had been accepted by Costa Rica and would be observed. To all appearances, the party of Arias is far more closely connected with the USA's interests in Central America than the party of his predecessor.

Lately the United States has exerted gross pressure on Mexico. One of the causes of the pressure and attacks on the part of the USA is diametrical divergence of views between the United States and Mexico on the problems of Central America. The US authorities are coming out with slanderous inventions about the political system in Mexico, are criticising high-ranking members of the Mexican government, and so on. In the campaign to discredit our country are the US press, a number of officials and senators—even public hearings were staged in the Senate subcommission on inter-American affairs with the aim of slandering Mexico.

In mid-June US attacks shifted to Panama; a slanderous campaign was mounted in the USA against some rather popular figures in that country, such as the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of Panama, General Manuel Antonio Noriega. It should come as no surprise that the USA exerts pressure on yet another member of the Contadora group, Colombia, by fanning-up the long-forgotten dispute between that country and Nicaragua which both lay claims to several islands in the Caribbean Sea. In this way tension is being artificially created between one of the Contadora Group members and Nicaragua.

In doing so, the US Administration has been exerting pressure not only on Latin American countries. It has to wage a fierce struggle with opponents of its course also within its own country. This struggle reached its peak during the debate in the US Congress on the issue of

rendering aid to the Nicaraguan contras. With the object of exerting pressure on Congressmen the US Administration through the leaders of the Pentagon was selling to the public the idea that it would allegedly be more profitable for the USA to render the rebels help than to resort to intervention. According to data cited by the US President, in fiscal 1986/87 the USA is to give the hirelings \$100 million, whereas an attack upon Nicaragua mounted by the USA itself would cost \$9,200 million and need 100,000 officers and men.

Arguments of this kind are not new. As early as February 1984, similar considerations were voiced by American Professor Thomas Moran—only he cited different figures. Professor Moran held that the strength of US interventionists would be 73,000, and the means needed for the operation was estimated by him at \$1,800-2,300 million. Moran also calculated that interventionist losses will stand at between 200 and 300 men a day. The military regarded these figures as acceptable. As to politicians, they believed that 200-300 persons killed, wounded and missing a day (hence 2,400-3,600 in 12 days) were a too high price.

And though now the contras have been allotted \$100 million, many political analysts in the USA do not rule out a possible direct US military action against Nicaragua, despite all political setbacks entrained.

This is, of course, an extreme variant. However, there exist other ones, to which the Pentagon is now inclined. It is struggle of attrition. This would include: the rendering of aid to the hirelings, the economic blockade of Nicaragua, the exerting of pressure on it by all means until the majority of the people cease to support the Sandinistas.

According to the reports I have about the ongoing debates in the US corridors of power, there is no unity of views among the Washington military leaders. Some of them, mainly representatives of the Air Force and the Navy, favour an attack on Nicaragua. Others, mainly highly placed officers of the Army and the Marine Corps, are not inclined to support intervention. They are predicting that its consequence will be a worsening of relations with Latin America as a whole and, hence, a weakening of the USA's international positions and aggravation of relations with the socialist countries. They also point to possible domestic political snags that will spring up as a result of nylon bags with dead bodies arriving to the United States.

The undeclared war that has been in progress for a number of years has inflicted considerable losses on Nicaragua. But it has not intimidated its inhabitants, who are, as before, resolute for defending their rights, freedom and independence.

Neither can the US Administration ignore world public opinion's increasing condemnation of its course in Central America. Recent evidence of this is the verdict of the International Court of Justice in the Hague, which found the US guilty of a gross violation of international law, manifesting itself in equipping the contras, undermining the sovereignty of Nicaragua, mining the Republic's territorial waters, setting up a trade embargo and other unlawful actions.

The very condemnation of these actions by Washington, which uses every opportunity to dictate to other countries and peoples norms of behaviour and to foist on them its own orders is most indicative. It testifies, above all, to the fact that, while verbally "combating international terrorism", the US Administration itself pretty often resorts to terrorism and has even elevated it to the plane of state policy.

The Leading Force of World Development

The International Influence of Existing Socialism, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 248 pp. (in Russian).

The book under review has been written by a group of authors from the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System under the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is one of the first books in Soviet socio-political literature analysing a broad spectrum of problems showing the impact of existing socialism on modern processes in the world. This lends it a scientific, and ideological and theoretical significance.

On the basis of works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and fundamental party and government documents, the authors give their answer to a number of urgent questions arising in the complex process of struggle and interaction between the two antagonistic systems, the capitalist and the socialist. They support their conclusions and assessments as regard pressing theoretical problems with vivid factual arguments.

Of great interest are, undoubtedly, the definitions of existing socialism offered in the book. Students of Marxism have been discussing this problem for years. The authors stand for a comprehensive definition of the term. In their view, existing socialism "is, at any given moment, a result of the sum-total of processes occurring inside it: both those which constitute its progress, and those which hamper this progress" (p. 8). On the other hand, existing socialism means the establishment of the historical fact that "in the USSR and a large group of other countries the plans of the founders of scientific socialism are being translated into reality, that socialism has been in existence for several decades in practice rather than as a fruit of theoretical foresight" (p. 9). The authors argue against equating the term "existing socialism" and concepts, such as the "world system of socialism", the "socialist community", and "developed socialism".

They emphasise that "existing socialism fuses together the general, internationalist features of socialism as such and its national features and peculiarities, and also the solutions of today's problems engendered by the concrete history of these [socialist] countries' vital activities" (p. 17). Concluding their definition of the term "existing socialism", the authors say: "It is the practical ability of the countries of the world socialist system to move forward along the road of such [socialist] transformations, i. e., along the road of ever fuller translation of the ideas of scientific socialism, as the theoretical expression of the interests of the international working class, into the social practice of the broadest popular masses, that above all gives ground to characterise these countries by using a rather broad scientific concept, such as existing socialism" (p. 17). The above generalisations, it seems, correctly explain the very essence of ongoing processes.

In discussing the place and role of existing socialism in today's world, the authors track down the ways and means of its influence on the course of world developments. This influence is, first, exerted by the very fact of the existence and development of socialism which has drastically changed the alignment of world class forces and is creating ever more favourable conditions for successful anti-imperialist, revolutionary action, for the struggle for social changes. Second, existing socialism affects the world revolutionary process by supporting (politically, economically, and ideologically) today's revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and by opposing the anti-democratic, imperialist and neo-colonialist policies of the capitalist countries, on the other. Third, existing socialism exerts its influence by "force of example"

both in the narrow, the internationalisation of experience gained during the course of socialist transformations, and broad sense, the "demonstration effect" produced on the neo-colonialist policies of the capitalist countries by the achievements of the socialist states in building a just society (pp. 24-27). From this viewpoint, the book analyses in considerable detail the various aspects of the interrelations of existing socialism, the revolutionally working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement.

The monograph shows that the international influence of socialism is a historically logical and irreversible process. This indisputable fact makes untenable all kinds of allegations by bourgeois ideologues ascribing the Communists in the socialist countries a striving to "forcefully impose socialism" on other nations and peoples. It was irrefutably proved long ago that the socialist system is not "exported", it emerges due to the objective needs of social development in the concrete conditions of a particular country. This is the foundation of the historical optimism of the Communists, of their firm belief that eventually socialism will prove its advantages in the conditions of peaceful competition with capitalism.

In discussing the essence of the relations of a new type that have developed between the fraternal countries and their impact on the whole system of inter-state relations, the authors emphasise the class-internationalist and profoundly democratic nature of these relations, whose origin dates back to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the principles of the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, and to other fundamental documents of the world's first socialist country. The ever increasing drawing closer together and unity of the fraternal socialist countries and their coordinated foreign policies are important prerequisites and a condition for further consolidating the positions of forces standing for social progress.

The cooperation of ruling communist and workers' parties is the basis of the close cooperation of the socialist countries. They have been consistently emphasising that their task is to thoroughly consolidate and improve mutual links at all levels, to further strengthen the cohesion of the socialist community, whose international role and influence on world developments are increas-

ing each year. The book discusses some problems pertaining to improving the mechanism of cooperation between the fraternal parties, primarily in the form of bilateral and multilateral meetings of their leaders. In view of the fact that major decisions on key international problems and on socialist construction are made at such meetings, these questions, it seems, should be dealt with in greater detail in the book under review.

An important chapter in the book shows the role of existing socialism as the main force containing the aggressiveness of imperialism. The authors cite concrete examples which prove convincingly that the socialist states oppose all forms of violence in general and the aggressive designs of imperialism in particular. In doing so, they uphold their interests and achievements and contribute to creating conditions favourable for peaceful coexistence. At the same time in international politics socialism consistently defends all which is progressive and positive and stands for detente and peace in the interests of each nation and international community as a whole. This is why progressive and anti-war forces and movements rally around the socialist community.

The monograph also deals with the contribution of existing socialism to the solution of today's global problems, such as finding enough resources for humankind, overcoming backwardness, developing the World Ocean and outer space, preserving the environment. One chapter contains pointed and argumentative criticisms of various anti-communist interpretations of the development of existing socialism.

The authors rightly note that the communist parties and governments of the socialist community base their activities on a scientific analysis of main trends in the development of international relations and essential changes in the correlation and alignment of world forces (p. 105). It seems, however, that they should have dealt in more detail with the fact that the struggle for peace, for averting nuclear war is now in the centre of world politics and has become decisive indeed for the future of humankind. This makes this struggle a top priority task for the Communists, their independent strategic objective.

As to the drawbacks of the book under review, such material, it seems, should have discussed in greater detail the concrete col-

lective foreign policy actions and initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries in recent years and their impact on the international situation. On the whole, however, this is a

book which is useful for a broad spectrum of readers.

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International Positions of the Socialist Community

O. T. Bogomolov, *The Socialist Countries in the International Division of Labour*, Second Edition, revised and supplemented, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1986, 414 pp. (in Russian).

This book comprehensively examines the internationalisation of socialist production, foreign economic ties among the socialist countries and the set of categories and concepts which reveal their substance.

From this angle the research which analyses the vital work of the CPSU and the Soviet state in intensifying the international socialist division of labour is not only interesting for scholars and specialists in the field of international economic relations. This research is undoubtedly of considerable importance for lecturers, propagandists, for everyone studying these issues as a way of increasing their professional and theoretical knowledge.

The book is extremely wide in scope. For example, the author regards the international socialist division of labour as both a scientific category and a specific historical phenomenon. In addition, the book touches on long-term tasks set by the congresses of the communist and workers' parties and by the Economic Summit of the CMEA member countries. The author pays special attention to the elaboration and realisation of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technical Progress of the CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000.

Special sections of the book are devoted to scientific and technological progress and the strategy of acceleration of scientific and technical development of the socialist community as well as their interconnection with problems of relations with capitalist and developing countries.

One of the definite merits of the book is that the reader will find answers in it to practically all the most complicated questions of developing the international socialist di-

vision of labour. For example, issues connected with drawing together the economic mechanisms and issues concerning the structural policy of the CMEA countries are vital today as well as in the foreseeable future.

Summing up the analysis of problems of a structural character the author draws, in our opinion, the just conclusion that economically the most effective structural policy will be that which allows for industrialisation of the economy under the most profitable use of favourable internal conditions of economic development and the advantages offered by the international socialist division of labour (p. 126).

The author examines the complicated problems of mutual adaptation of industrial structures in the process of intensifying socialist economic integration, noting that it consists of not only agreed changes in the distribution of countries' productive forces, in the formation of new economic regions, but also in the corresponding restructuring of the geography of economic ties, in the emergence of new and changes in existing cargo flows (p. 131).

Serving as an example of how the author takes an historical approach to analysing the problems under examination is the investigation of the economic mechanisms for the effectuation of international specialisation and cooperation of production, in particular using the example of appraising the role in these mechanisms of international organisations created by the socialist countries.

The author examines the process of formation of these organisations, the alteration of their functions as well as new spheres for their use in the process of realising the CMEA Comprehensive Programme of Scien-

tific and Technical Progress. By their aims, character and the methods of their activities, these organisations act as a real alternative to the transnational corporations which function in the capitalist world.

A lot of attention in this work is allotted to issues which are of direct interest to the management of enterprises, associations, specialists in the field of foreign economic relations. This concerns, for example, the basic methodological rules for calculating the economic effectiveness of specialisation of production, the methods of economico-statistical analysis of external ties, and so on.

A special section of the book is devoted to the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties (Chapter 17), their significance for this country's economic development; to problems of improving the geographic and export-import structure; and to the peculiarities of foreign trade with certain regions.

In the monograph's final chapter two types of interstate integrational associations in the world economy are examined, socialist and capitalist. It is convincingly shown that socialist integration creates the preconditions for consolidating socialism's position in the world economy, acts as a vehicle of progressive tendencies, aids the development of broad international ties free of any form of discrimination and restrictions, in that way strengthening the material basis of peaceful coexistence.

Revealing the advantages and principal features of the international socialist division of labour, the author convincingly refutes the theses advanced by bourgeois economists and political scientists who try to distort the motives of foreign ties under socialism, present the foreign economic activity of the socialist countries in a false light.

In conclusion the author notes that the imbalance in world trade which is at a perilously high level makes the entire international settlement system extremely unreliable. The discrepancy between the real economic and political weight of the developing states in the non-aligned movement and their participation in world economic decision-making and the unequal economic and political conditions for this participation is becoming ever more intolerable.

The imperialist states are attempting, unsuccessfully, to cordon off socialism, impose on it a subordinate role in the global division of labour. This stands in sharp contrast to the economic and scientific and technical potential of the socialist countries,

to their political weight in international affairs. Without taking into account their experience of planned organisation of international cooperation, it is difficult to count on finding a constructive and democratic decision to the most acute problems in international economic life.

And, naturally, the plans of the socialist community countries for the future are inseparably linked with the intensification of economic cooperation among them. In the area of integrated cooperation as well the intensive economic development puts in the forefront the tasks of raising economic efficiency, the quality and the technological level of production. In connection with this the CPSU Programme underscores the particular importance of the consistent unification of forces of the fraternal countries "in key areas of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technological progress in order to accomplish a task of historical significance, namely, that of advancing to the forefront of science and technology with the aim of further improving the well-being of their peoples and strengthening their security".

It is to the book's advantage that it differs from other works on this topic by its ample use of charts and graphs which help the reader grasp the material, make it much more clear.

Naturally in a work as multifaceted as this one not all problems can be examined in a balanced way. For example, in Chapter 5 the author assesses too highly, in our view, the long-term, goal-oriented programmes of cooperation, while in other sections of the monograph he allots this form a more modest role. The same thing can also be said about the coordinated multilateral plan of integration measures, which, it seems to us in its present appearance does not in all its aspects meet the demands of the moment dictating the necessity of intensifying the mutual cooperation among the CMEA countries.

On the whole the book is written on a good theoretical level, reflects the diversity of those achievements, problems, investigations and decisions, the understanding of which determines today the essence of the activity for CMEA's fundamental improvement, for a sharp rise in the effectiveness of foreign economic ties of the socialist countries.

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THE GDR: NEW GUIDELINES FOR SOCIALIST ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ★ ZIMBABWE ★ THE USA: ELECTIONS WITHOUT A CHOICE ★ THE USSR AND THE PRC: BORDER AREA TRADE

The GDR: New Guidelines for Socialist Economic Development

The German Democratic Republic, the first worker-and-peasant state on German soil, was founded on October 7, 1949. This year the working people of the GDR will mark the 37th anniversary of their state in an atmosphere of great labour enthusiasm inspired by the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) (April 1986). The Congress has outlined the guidelines for the socio-economic development of the country in the current five-year period (1986-1990) and elaborated the party's economic strategy for the period up to the year 2000.

The Congress decisions envisage genuinely revolutionary changes in the structure and quality of the productive forces. The national income is slated to grow by 24-26 per cent and will total 1,300,000 million marks by 1990. As in the previous five-year period, over 90 per cent of the increment of the national income will be ensured by further raising labour productivity. For instance, labour productivity in industry is to go up by 49 to 51 per cent (38 per cent in 1981-1985). This means that the growth of industrial production in the current five-year period is to occur mainly as a result of an increase in labour productivity.

Underlying the high growth rates of labour productivity is the extensive introduction of the so-called key technologies, above all microelectronics, automated design and production management systems, biotechnology, flexible production lines, resource-saving low-waste production, and robotics. Science and the latest technology are decisive factors in solving this task.

The strategy of extensive application of scientific and technological achievements in production is geared to constantly renewing the range of products, which are to amount

on average to annually 30 per cent in the production of the means of production and nearly 40 per cent in the output of consumer goods in the current five-year period. It is planned to design and produce 15,000-16,000 new types of output in the period up to 1990. Moreover, not less than 60 per cent of new types of output will be of top quality, that is, will correspond to or even exceed highest world standards.

A broad set of scientific, technological, organisational and other measures introduced in the past five-year period permitted the specific share of raw materials, fuel and energy consumption to be lowered by 5.3 per cent in industry. This means that at the present stage the economic growth in the GDR is due more and more to resource conservation and lower resource consumption in production thereby becoming a major source of the national income growth. In the past five-year period this source accounted for over 40 per cent of the national income increment as compared to two per cent in 1977-1980. The role of this factor will further grow in the current five-year period. The specific share of raw and other materials consumption is to be decreased on the average by 4 per cent a year, of energy—by 3.3 per cent.

These seemingly small figures imply that in the current five-year period considerable volumes of various types of resources will be saved in absolute terms, considering the specific conditions of the GDR, namely: 2.6 million tons of rolled ferrous metals, 44,000 tons of aluminium, 13,000 tons of copper, 1.8 million tons of cement and conventional fuel equivalent to 80 million tons of brown coal.

The Congress decisions also envisage the considerably expanded application of mic-

roelectronics, above all, in computerised planning and managing production, and comprehensive automation based on using industrial robots. It is planned to increase the number of industrial robots and manipulators by 75,000-80,000 over the five-year period, thus considerably raising the level of production automation, while in 1990 automated equipment output is to increase by 200 per cent over 1985. In addition, 85,000-90,000 computerised workplaces will be created equipped with automated design and production management systems. It has been proven in practice that due to the application of these systems the labour productivity of engineers and technicians is raised 2 to 5 times, whereas the cost of technological preparatory work decreases by 50 per cent and the period of transition to mass production of new types of output is reduced by more than a half.

The GDR's achievements in the effort to intensify the economy and raise its efficiency provide a solid foundation for further improving the people's well-being. The population's real incomes which had doubled in the past 15 years will grow by another 20-23 per cent in the current five-year period. Correspondingly, retail trade turnover will be expanded and its structure improved with a view to increasing the volume of goods that are in great demand and of fashionable items. It should be emphasised that retail prices of the basic necessities have remained stable for the past 25 years, as have rents, public transportation fares and services.

A programme of large-scale housing construction is being successfully implemented. In the past 15 years, 2.4 million flats were built or renovated, and the living conditions of 7.2 million people were improved. The housing question as a social problem is due

to be solved by the year 1990. To achieve this goal, the rates of housing construction are being accelerated in the current five-year period. By 1990, 1,064,000 flats will be built and 3.2 million people will be provided with new dwellings.

It was noted at the Congress, the mutually beneficial trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the GDR and the fraternal socialist community countries, the USSR above all, is making a major contribution to solving the socio-economic tasks facing the country. The guidelines of GDR-USSR cooperation have been defined and agreed upon for the period ending in 1990, and in the key fields, up to the year 2000.

The USSR is the GDR's major trade partner, accounting for 40 per cent of its total foreign trade turnover. The GDR, in its turn, holds the first place among the Soviet Union's trade partners. In 1985, the volume of their mutual deliveries exceeded 15,000 million rubles. In the current five-year period, in accordance with the long-term agreement between the USSR and the GDR on commodity turnover and payments, the trade turnover volume is to go up some 30 per cent against the past five-year period and total more than 80,000 million rubles, the figure which is about 15 per cent than in the last five-year period.

The successes the German Democratic Republic has scored in social and economic development provide convincing evidence of socialism's growing capability to solve the considerably complicated tasks on the path of economic intensification, accelerating scientific and technological progress, raising the efficiency of social production, and further improving the people's well-being.

Vladimir LAZAREV

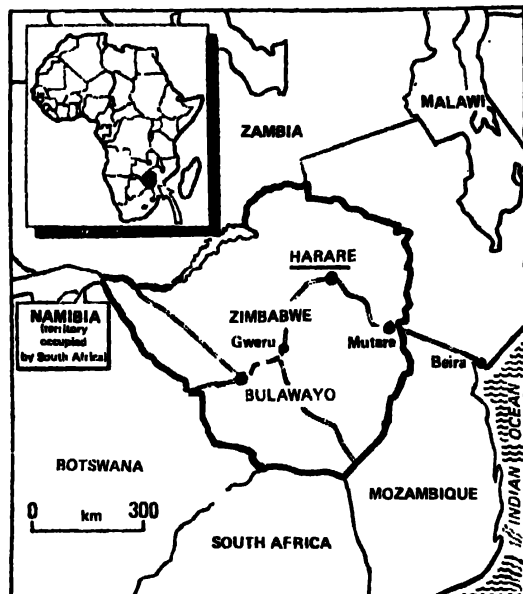
Zimbabwe

The Republic of Zimbabwe is a state in southern Africa which borders on Zambia in the north-west, Mozambique in the east, Namibia and Botswana in the south-west and South Africa in the south. It covers an area of 390,700 sq. km. with a population of 7,500,000 (according to the 1982 census).

Africans constitute 98 per cent of the population, including such nationalities as Shona (80 per cent), Ndebele, Malawi, Tonga, Wenda and others. Approximately 120,000 are of European descent, according to the latest data.

The Republic's capital is Harare, with

633,000 inhabitants. The official languages are Shona, Ndebele and English. The majority of Africans practice traditional beliefs, and about 20 per cent of the population is Christian.



With the proclamation of independence on April 18, 1980, the Republic of Zimbabwe became Africa's 50th young independent state. But this is a country with a long and rich history. In the late 19th century Zimbabwe was occupied by Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company; the British crown granted it a charter ensuring its monopoly of the use of lands and resources in that area. In 1895, Zimbabwe became a British protectorate under the name of Rhodesia. In 1923 it received the status of a self-governing colony, and in 1953-1963 became a member of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Following the Federation's break-up, white racist colonisers came to power, with the connivance of the British and the support from neighbouring racist South Africa and the colonial fascist Portuguese regime. In November 1965 they unilaterally proclaimed the "independence" of South Rhodesia (later the Republic of Rhodesia), brutally crushing the African majority's resistance.

The Rhodesian issue was continually discussed in the UN and its bodies that condemned the seizure of power by the white racists and called on Britain as a metropolis to take effective and resolute measures to do away with the racist minority regime. The UN recognised as legitimate all forms of the Zimbabwean people's struggle for

self-determination. The UN introduced economic sanctions against the colonial regime, but South Africa and Western countries made naught of them by dragging on the discussions of the so-called Rhodesian crisis for almost 15 years. As a result of the growing national liberation movement in Zimbabwe a constitutional conference on Rhodesia was held in London in September-December 1979 attended by patriotic forces, at which an agreement was reached on a ceasefire, on working out the constitution of an independent state, and on general parliamentary elections.

After the independence of Zimbabwe was proclaimed, Robert Mugabe, ZANU-PF leader, became its President, and a government of patriotic forces was formed.

Zimbabwe leaders declared in their policy statements that they set themselves the task of building a socialist state based on Marxism-Leninism, with due account of Zimbabwe's historical, social and cultural experience. This line was reaffirmed at the 2nd ZANU-PF Congress in August 1984, which worked out new basic directions for transformations in the basic economic sectors. These include: the establishment of state control over the means of production; the state's growing share in the economy; implementation of an agrarian reform, and introduction of collective forms of farming.

Zimbabwe's government is well aware of the difficulties it has to face in order to solve these tasks; they stem from specific features of the country's internal political and economic structure, and aggravated by constant military provocations and economic pressure by South Africa and Western countries' policies aimed at keeping Zimbabwe within the framework of the capitalist economic system.

Having adopted as the main principle of its home policy the idea of "national reconciliation" and equality of all citizens irrespective of their race and religion, Zimbabwe's government is carrying out general democratic reforms and measures to consolidate the nation state. Universal minimum wages were introduced along with an 8-hour working day and new labour legislation. The army, state apparatus and legal system are being reorganised; health care and education have been reformed; all the schools have been declared non-racial and primary education compulsory and free; tuition has been cut by 50 per cent in secondary schools.

In 1981 a programme of land development was made public, aimed at reducing the density of the population in the regions inhabited by Africans by resettling part of the African peasant families to the underused fertile lands purchased from European farmers. Plans are being worked out for setting up production cooperatives and state farms there. By 1985, about two per cent of the population were resettled.

In independent Zimbabwe the state sector of the economy is developing on the basis of industries and infrastructures that formerly belonged to the colonial administration. Its material basis is slowly growing due to the changes in the sector's social structure. The government is creating and strengthening new mixed and state corporations despite the sabotage of foreign monopolies, and in some cases buys controlling stocks from private owners. In the years of independence, the State Metal and Minerals Marketing Corporation, the Zimbabwe Industrial Developing Corporation, the National Oil Company, and other companies were set up.

However, on the whole, Zimbabwe's economy remains outside of state control. TNCs, foreign capital and private owners from among the white colonisers sitting on the Mining Board, on the Industrial Union and National Farmers' Union, still control the economy, namely, almost 70 per cent of its industrial capacities.

The Zimbabwean economy is comparatively well developed. In 1983 its GDP comprised 5,81 million Zimbabwean dollars, of which 11.7 per cent comes from farming, and 27.2 and 5.6 per cent from manufacturing and mining industries respectively; per capita income is 678 Zimbabwean dollars. The bulk of agricultural produce is grown on large white settlers' farms that own 14,000,000 hectares, that is, about 50 per cent of all tilled lands. The main crops grown are maize, tobacco, cotton and sugar cane. There were 5,300,000 heads of cattle in the country in 1983. Since the country's independence, Zimbabwean economy has produced more marketable goods.

Zimbabwe extracts chromium and iron ores, coal, gold, nickel and other rare metals. Metallurgical, chemical, mechanical engineering and auto-assembly works represent manufacturing industry. There are some textile, light and food industry enterprises.

Zimbabwe follows a consistent anti-im-

perialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist foreign policy. It energetically joined the struggle for Africa's complete liberation from colonialism and racism supporting in the UN and the OAU South Africa's people's struggle for the elimination of racism and apartheid, Namibia's immediate independence, and demanding a cessation of South Africa's aggressive actions against Angola and Mozambique. It severely criticises Western policy of connivance to South Africa's racists, especially the so-called "constructive engagement" policy pursued by the USA.

The common aims of eliminating vestiges of colonialism and strengthening national sovereignty unite Zimbabwe with the "front-line states" within the framework of the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

In late 1985 Robert Mugabe called for a set of effective sanctions to be taken against South Africa aimed at doing away with apartheid.

Zimbabwe's anti-imperialist and anti-racist policy boosted its prestige throughout the world. The fact that the Republic's capital Harare was chosen as a venue for the 8th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries testifies to the world public's growing respect for that country. Robert Mugabe was elected to head this movement for 1986-1989.

The Republic is invigorating its contacts with socialist countries, justly regarding them as a vital guarantee of Zimbabwe's independent development and as an alternative to excessive economic dependence on the West. Mugabe's government has established relations with all socialist countries (with the USSR on February 18, 1981).

Soviet-Zimbabwean relations are successfully developing. A visit by a Zimbabwean Party and Government delegation headed by Robert Mugabe to Moscow in December 1985 became a milestone in strengthening friendship and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Zimbabwe. A number of agreements on mutually beneficial cooperation have been signed between the two countries, laying the basis for stronger and more extensive bilateral ties. A protocol on cooperation between the CPSU and the ZANU-PF has been signed envisaging concrete steps for developing and strengthening interparty contacts.

Tatyana KRAVTSOVA

The USA: Elections Without a Choice

This has been a hot summer in US political life. The country is anticipating the upcoming biennial Congressional elections in which all 435 Congressmen and one third of the US Senators are up for reelection as are a considerable portion of local government representatives. There are still a few weeks left until November but the political machines of the two leading bourgeois parties—Republican and Democratic—are already working at full speed. The ruling Republican Party is taking the lead in the race for votes. At its disposal is an extensive propaganda apparatus in the country's capital as well as in local areas and multimillion dollar funds provided by "sympathetic" banks and corporations. The Democrats are trying to keep from falling behind the Republicans and their leadership is now taking measures to overcome, finally, the consequences of the defeats suffered in the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections and instill their party's activists and proponents with fresh optimism which had notably withered.

Present political passions are also heating up because the outcome of the 1988 presidential race will depend to a certain extent on the results of the upcoming elections. These will give an indication of what the American public's attitude is to the foreign and domestic policies of the two bourgeois parties. Plenty of high-sounding words and eulogistic phrases are being trumpeted praising the office seekers as well as parties and organisations nominating them. At the same time the candidates themselves, their political "godfathers" as well as the mass media are extolling the US electoral system which, of course, is the "most democratic" one in the world, gives the American citizen "freedom to express his will", guaranteeing him the opportunity to run for office himself, including the presidential office, etc., etc.

Alas, the rights and opportunities widely and obtrusively proclaimed in bourgeois constitutions in practice turn out to be quite modest. Thus, in the USA the very process of nominating a candidate takes a few years. First of all, one must become nominated. Having weighed the chances and deciding to take on the challenge the candidate puts together a staff. This "team" is

made up of specialists in the area of strategy and tactics for the inter- and intra-party struggle, public opinion experts and experienced public relations people who take care of "selling" the candidate to the public and to the mass media.

It takes money to ensure that each of these "machines" functions. "Money is the driving force in American politics" is commonly heard in the USA. This is not simply an empty phrase. Indeed, with funds at his disposal a politician can buy the electors' votes, both in the literal and figurative sense. According to statistics put out by the Federal Election Commission, candidates elected to Congress in 1982 spent in all 344 million dollars on their pre-election campaign which exceeds Congressional election spending in 1980 by 44 per cent. According to calculations by the social organisation "Common Cause" a seat in the American Senate "costs" an average of \$2,106,000. Congressional office seekers spent 136.9 million dollars in 1984, 24 million more than in 1982. The record holder for the amount spent on a pre-election campaign is Senator (R) Jesse Helms, who spent \$16.2 million on his electioneering.

Who has that sum of money? Obviously either millionaires or the spokespeople of the rich and the mighty corporations. It is no accident that many American presidents themselves have been millionaires, including the current chief of the White House.

This applies to the same degree to the overwhelming majority of American legislators who spent millions of dollars to get into Congress.

Here are some curious facts from history: before 1913 senators were appointed by each state's legislative assembly. This led to many accusations that money and big business exerted too great an influence on the nomination of senators. It was namely in order to stop the Senate from looking like a rich man's club that the 17th Amendment to the Constitution was adopted according to which senators are "elected by the people". What was the result? Today millionaires abound in the Senate. In the mid-1970's laws were adopted in the USA which presumably limited the clout which money carried in political affairs. The fat cats' respon-

se was to organize numerous "political action committees" (PAC) which became the American monopolies' main channel for financing the election campaigns of any candidates they favoured. According to Federal Election Commission data, in the period from just January 1, 1983 through June 30, 1984 Congressional candidates collected over \$200 million to finance their pre-election campaigns (in the first place through the PAC's themselves); this is 21 per cent more than in the equivalent period of time during the election campaign in 1982.

In the United States the two bourgeois parties completely dominate political life; they hold essentially the same positions on the majority of issues compelling many Americans to call the electoral process, with good reason, an "election without a choice". The electoral system is quite complicated and confusing—in essence it is aimed at maintaining the domination by these two bourgeois parties; it creates opportunities for manoeuvring, intrigues, for making open as well as behind-the-scenes deals. In order to join one of the two parties it is enough to register oneself as a member or in a few states to simply vote for one or the other party in one of the primary elections. Membership in the party is not permanent, does not require dues payment, offers no rights and entails no responsibilities.

In the 1970's a few changes were made which served the interests of those who control the two major parties. In particular, these parties' presidential candidates were offered the chance to receive up to \$20 million from the treasury. As far as candidates from other parties are concerned they are promised financial assistance only after the campaign is over—they can apply for reimbursement of expenses if they have received no less than five per cent of the vote. Independent candidates get no financial assistance whatever.

In the US Constitution there is no concrete definition of who has the right to vote at elections. For several decades a number of severe restrictive qualifications were in effect in the USA the majority of which were lifted only very recently. Such qualifications included a rather high age requirement, residency requirements, literacy requirements. There was also a special poll tax in a number of states which had to be paid before voting at the federal level.

However, though most of these restrictions were lifted, to this day the voting rights of a considerable portion of the US population are infringed upon. The newsletter *Focus*, a publication of the social organisation, the Joint Center for Political Studies, feels that the deliberately complicated votes registration process in the USA hinders a significant portion of the black population from taking part in elections. Local authorities prohibit registration points from being set up in the main black residential areas. There is often not a single black person in the local election commissions.

As far as the candidates of other parties or independent candidates are concerned there operates a whole set of "laws and rules" which can only be called illegal and discriminatory in as much as they deliberately prevent these candidates from being successful at the polls. The representatives of "third parties" wishing to get their candidates on the presidential ballot must first submit petitions to the state authorities containing the signatures of a certain number of eligible voters. Even then the local authorities often challenge the validity of these signatures.

The Communist Party USA has to carry out its election campaign under especially discriminatory conditions. In addition to the restrictions already mentioned, in a number of states the CPUSA is not allowed to appear on the ballot at all. A bureaucratic procedure exists in some states requiring that the petitions be certified by the City Clerk's Office, which often comes up with some excuse for declaring them invalid. Local merchants also assist the authorities by forbidding Communist Party activists to collect signatures in shopping centres.

It is not surprising that each election sees fewer and fewer Americans taking part in this sham democracy. Over the last years the percentage of those staying away from the polls increased. In 1980, 52 per cent of the population voted. This went up in 1984 just over 53 per cent due primarily to the successful campaign waged by black organisations to register black voters. And in the 1982 biennial Congressional elections only 41 per cent of the eligible voters went to polls. It is no accident that on the eve of every election American newspapers carry headlines invariably containing the words "apathy", and "political lethargy". The *Chicago Tribune* admitted that the only emoti-

on voters felt towards elections was pessimism. The 1986 elections are not likely to

prove an exception to that rule.

Yevgeni MENKES

The USSR and the PRC: Border Area Trade

Sino-Soviet border area trade goes back almost 30 years. In 1957 the Chinese side approached the Soviet government with a proposal to start commodity exchange between the regions of the USSR and the PRC which share common borders.

Trade began immediately after letters dated May 12, 1958 were exchanged between the ministries of foreign trade of both countries. These letters stipulated that border trade of consumer items and goods for industry and agriculture would be carried out by the Soviet Union via trade organisations of the consumer cooperatives of the regions bordering the PRC and by the Chinese side—through trade organisations of the regions sharing borders with the USSR.

In 1958 border area trade began between the Amur Region and the Primorye and Khabarovsk Territories consumer unions and the Trade Company of the Chinese Province of Heilongjiang; in 1960 border trade commenced between the Chita Region consumer union and the trade company of the Hailar District of the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia of the PRC. In that very same year small scale commodity exchange operations were carried out between the Kazakh, Kirghiz and Tadjik consumer unions and the trade companies of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of the PRC.

Border area trade with the PRC took place under the general leadership of Centrysoyuz out of the goods to be sold on the market by local consumer unions and locally produced wares allocated by the executive committees and based on prices and other terms accepted in Sino-Soviet trade. Trade was balanced and carried out in accordance with concluded contracts.

Deliveries from the USSR to the PRC included petrol, kerosine, diesel fuel, lumber, various textiles, bicycles, watches, medicines, hunting guns, photo and electric appliances, agricultural implements, nails and other products. The PRC exported to the USSR knits, ready-made wear, footwear, blankets, furniture, oil paint, brushes, ceramic tiles, china, fruit, vegetables, toys and other consumer items.

The highest volume of border trade between the USSR and the PRC was reached in 1960 when it came to 5.8 million rubles. In 1968, after the settlement of accounts, USSR-PRC border trade was ended.

During the negotiations on trade exchange and payments for 1982 the sides reached an agreement on renewing border area trade between the Soviet Far East regions and the northeast provinces of China and formalised this agreement through an exchange of letters dated April 16, 1982. These letters stipulate that border trade of consumer items and goods for industry and agriculture is to be effected by the Soviet side—via the All-Union Foreign Trade Association "Dalintorg" and by the Chinese side—via the Trade Company of the Heilongjiang Province and the Trade Company of the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia.

The letters provide that the above-named Soviet and Chinese trade organisations coordinate an assortment and quantity of goods for mutual deliveries and upon reaching agreement conclude purchasing and sales contracts proceeding from the principle of balanced foreign trade for the corresponding year. Prices for mutually delivered goods are agreed upon and established on the principle of determining prices as stipulated by trade agreements in force between the USSR and PRC.

The points through which goods from both sides are delivered are, on the Soviet side—Grodokovo and Zabaikalsk; on the Chinese side—Suifenhe and Manchuria.

Based on the letters dated April 16, 1982, in the city of Khabarovsk in November 1983 and in the cities of Harbin and Hailar (PRC) in April-May 1983, negotiations were carried out specifying the range and volume of goods for mutual deliveries within the framework of border trade for 1983 and corresponding contracts were signed. Later on trade negotiations and the signing of contracts were alternated between the territories of the USSR and PRC.

Border trade between the two countries was renewed, at first, on a small scale, and in 1983 amounted to just a little over six million rubles. However, reality demanded

that Soviet-Chinese trade-economic relations in all areas be developed.

Due to joint efforts and mutual interests of both sides, agreement was reached on a further increase in trade between the Soviet Union and China. Thus, in 1984 the trade turnover between the two sides grew five-and-a-half times over the 1981 level and came close to one thousand million rubles. In 1985 the volume of mutual trade came to 1,600 million rubles having increased by 64 per cent as compared with 1984.

Against the background of such significant and rapid development of trade relations between the Soviet Union and China, in the last years border trade between the two countries could not stay where it was and developed as well. In 1984 border trade between the USSR and the PRC increased 2.5 times in comparison with the 1983 level and in 1985—more than 1.5 times over 1984. It is assumed that in the future border trade between the USSR and the PRC will grow at the same rate as "major" trade will.

In accordance with signed contracts, within the framework of border area trade, the USSR exports to the PRC fertilizers, lime, cement, window glass, timber, lumber, automobiles, motorcycles, mopeds, washing machines, vacuume cleaners, frozen fish, agricultural implements and other consumer goods. The USSR purchases from the PRC frozen pork and beef, canned vegetables and meat, sausage, soy beans, peanuts, fruit, knit fabrics, ready-to-wear clothing, fur articles, fabric, shoes, dishes and other wares.

In 1985 in Blagoveshchensk Soviet-Chinese negotiations were held on the river shipment of goods for border trade on the Amur River through the ports of Blagoveshchensk (USSR) and Heihe (PRC). Delegations of the two sides agreed on the range and amount of goods to be transported and discussed a draft agreement between the Amur River Shipping Line of the Ministry of the River Fleet of the RSFSR and the Heilongjiang River Shipping Line of the Ministry of Communications of the PRC on the technical, commercial and general terms for river shipment of border trade goods using the ports of Blagoveshchensk and Heihe. Such deliveries were begun in 1986 with onset of the navigational season.

In 1984 during the negotiations on the trade turnover and payments between the USSR and the PRC for 1985 agreement was reached on starting border trade between the Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tadjik, Turkmen, Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics, Altai, Krasnoyarsk Territories and the Kemerovo Region on the one hand, and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of the PRC—on the other.

On January 23, 1986, this agreement was formalised through an exchange of letters between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties and Foreign Trade of the PRC. The letters stipulate that border trade in this region be carried out by the Soviet side via the All-Union Foreign Trade Association "Vostokintorg" and by the Chinese side—via the Local Trade Import-Export Company of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region.

The letters define that border trade between the USSR and the PRC in this region take place through the border stations, Khorgos and Turugart on the USSR territory and Khorgos and Turugart on the PRC territory. Border trade between the USSR and the PRC in the Xinjiang area as well as in the Far East will be conducted in a balanced way and on terms of agreements on trade and payments between the USSR and the PRC, valid in the period when deliveries of goods are made.

In March 1986 in Peking the first negotiations were carried out between the delegations of the All-Union Association "Vostokintorg" and the Local Trade Import-Export Company SUAR, during which the two sides exchanged lists of goods for mutual delivery along the lines of border area trade. The second stage of negotiations and contract signing will take place in Aima-Ata.

The development of border area trade between the Soviet and Chinese border regions is mutually beneficial; this type of trade expands the range of goods in the retail trading network of the nations-partners, aids the consolidation and normalisation of relations between the two countries, creates conditions for supporting good neighbourliness and mutual understanding between our peoples.

R E P O R T
of the Meeting of Experts on Human Contacts
Representing the Participating States
of the Conference on Security
and Cooperation in Europe,
Foreseen by the Concluding Document
of the Madrid Meeting*

1. In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, including the Chairman's statement of July 15, 1983, annexed to the present document, a Meeting of Experts representing the participating States took place in Bern from April 15, to May 26, 1986 at the invitation of the Swiss government to discuss the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organisations.

2. The Meeting was preceded by Preparatory Consultations starting on April 2, 1986.

3. At the opening session, the participants were addressed by Federal Counsellor Pierre Aubert, Head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government of Switzerland.

4. The formal opening on April 15 and the formal closure on May 26 were held in open plenary meetings. During the formal closure, statements were made by a number of participants.

5. The participants adopted an agenda and had a frank and useful discussion on the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organisations, on the basis of the provisions relating to human contacts in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. They discussed, in particular, measures to be taken for the improvement of such contacts.

6. During the discussion, different and at times contradictory opinions were expressed. The participants, however, reached the following conclusions:

- that the thorough exchange of views constitutes in itself a valuable contribution to the CSCE process;
- that, in order to enhance confidence among their peoples and the participating States, it is necessary to intensify the efforts to fulfil the commitments of the participating States as embodied in the Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. In particular, they underlined the importance of giving full effect to all the principles and provisions of the Final Act and of the Madrid Conclud-

* This is the current draft of the Concluding Document submitted by the group of neutral and non-aligned countries and preliminarily approved by all 35 delegations participating in the meeting. However, it failed to be adopted due to the US refusal to accede to it. For details see the article by Yu. Koshelev "Lessons of Bern: Who is Against

ing Document, thus strengthening security and cooperation in Europe;

- that the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organisations will contribute to broadening cooperation and increase trust among the participating States;
- that measures aimed at simplifying administrative procedures and practices contribute to the improvement of conditions for human contacts.

7. A number of proposals on human contacts were presented and discussed without any prejudice during the Meeting. Although no consensus was reached on some of these proposals, the possibility for delegations of the participating States to present them for further discussion at the Vienna follow-up meeting was noted.

8. Resolving to pursue and expand cooperation in the field of human contacts and to achieve a fuller realisation of the possibilities offered by the Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document, the participants recommend to the governments of the participating States the following, to be taken into account as appropriate, at the Vienna follow-up meeting:

Contacts and Regular Meetings on the Basis of Family Ties, Reunification of Families, and Marriage Between Citizens of Different States

- when dealing with applications for family visits, to take due account of important family events and their significance for the applicant;

- to deal favourably with applications from members of a family to travel together for the purpose of contacts and regular meetings on the basis of family ties, when personal and professional circumstances permit;

- to deal favourably with applications for family contacts without distinction as to the age of the applicant, when personal and professional circumstances permit;

- to facilitate travel for the purpose of family reunification, consider in a humanitarian spirit and give due importance to the wishes of the parties desiring to be reunited;

- to give special attention on humanitarian grounds to cases of reunification of families where minor children are involved;

- to provide that all documents necessary for an application procedure for family visits and family reunification be easily accessible to the applicant, also in case of renewed application, and to prolong the validity of such documents so that they remain valid throughout the application procedure, unless a change of essential significance for the consideration of the application occurs in the circumstances of the applicant;

- to simplify practices and gradually reduce administrative requirements for family visits and to accelerate procedures for applying for, processing of, and deciding on family visits;

- to do their utmost to deal with applications for family visits favourably and in time, taking into account the purpose of the visit, and not to limit unduly the validity of the visas involved;

- in cases of renewed application for family contacts, to take into consideration documents already supplied by the applicant in connection with a previous application, unless a change of essential significance for the consideration of the application occurs in the circumstances of the applicant;

- in implementing the provisions of the Madrid Concluding Document, to deal favourably with, to decide upon, as expeditiously as possible, applications for travel relating to family matters, paying immediate

attention to those of an urgent humanitarian character, including inter alia travel to a seriously ill or dying family member, travel of the aged and those with urgent medical needs on the basis of a medical certificate, which should not be delayed, issued by a medical authority in the country of residence, and travel to attend the funeral of a family member;

— in emergency cases, to intensify efforts by all the authorities concerned, in order to decide upon applications in such cases as expeditiously as possible, using to the fullest possible extent existing modern means of communication so as to ensure the most rapid and effective cooperation among them, ensuring that the charges for priority treatment in emergency cases do not unduly exceed standard charges;

— to ensure, where necessary through bilateral arrangements, that persons who have settled permanently on their territory for the purposes of family reunification or marriages between citizens of different States, enjoy economic and social opportunities equal to those enjoyed by their own citizens, in conformity with the laws and regulations of the participating State in question;

— to consider favourably, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the country of residence, applications by migrant workers, legally resident on their territory, for contacts and regular meetings on the basis of family ties, reunification of families and marriages between citizens of different States and to reaffirm the right of such workers to free access to diplomatic and other official missions and consular posts, as well as their right to maintain contacts with their country of origin;

— to give full effect to the provision of the Madrid Concluding Document that the presentation or renewal of applications for family meetings, family reunification and marriage between citizens of different States will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicants or of members of their families concerning inter alia employment, housing, residence status, family support, access to social, economic and educational benefits, as well as any other rights and obligations flowing from the laws and regulations of the participating State in question;

Travel for Personal or Professional Reasons, and Improvement of Conditions for Tourism on an Individual or Collective Basis

— in order to ensure that the inhabitants of their countries are made widely aware of the fundamentals of their national legislation concerning travel between States, to publish and make easily accessible, where this has not already been done, all laws and administrative regulations relating to travel for family, personal or professional reasons, on a permanent or temporary basis;

— to issue exit visas, where required, for foreigners residing on their territory, as expeditiously as possible, subject to the conditions specified in national legislation;

— in order to ensure better conditions for consular, legal and medical assistance for citizens of participating States travelling in other States

* to consider, if necessary, adhering to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations and concluding, if needed, complementary bilateral agreements;

* to consider adhering to relevant multilateral instruments in the field of legal assistance such as civil and family matters, and concluding, if necessary, bilateral agreements on such questions;

* to consider favourably the solution, inter alia by concluding bilateral agreements, of problems that may arise in connection with medical

assistance, especially in cases of sudden illness or injury resulting from accidents;

— to facilitate the creation of satisfactory conditions, where they do not yet exist, for receiving tourists, as well as persons who are participating in contacts and exchanges in fields such as culture, science, religion, education and sport and the representatives of corresponding institutions and organisations;

Meetings Among Young People, and Sport

— to encourage exchanges and contacts among young people and their organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, as well as the holding in this connection of bilateral and multilateral cultural, educational and other activities and events by and for young people, in the spirit of the recommendations contained in the documents adopted by the United Nations in the framework of the International Youth Year, concerning broadening contacts and exchanges among young people from different States;

— to favour the conclusion between youth or student organisations of bilateral and multilateral agreements or programmes designed to develop contacts among young people and to promote exchanges among them;

— to favour visits and exchanges between universities and other higher educational institutions of different participating States, including direct contacts among their students and teachers, taking into account in that context that an invited person may be replaced when the inviting party agrees;

— to encourage direct sporting exchanges between teams and participants at local, regional and international level on the basis of mutual agreements;

Expansion of Contacts

— to develop the possibilities of contacts on their territory between their citizens and citizens of other participating States, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document;

— to guarantee, in accordance with the Universal Postal Convention and the International Telecommunications Convention, the freedom of transit of postal communications, to ensure the rapid delivery of correspondence, including personal mail, and to ensure the conditions necessary for rapid telephone calls, including the use and development of direct dialing systems wherever it is possible, and to respect the privacy of all such communications;

— to review carefully all applications for travel for the purpose of family reunification and for other purposes related to the aims of the part of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document dealing with human contacts, which have not yet been decided upon or to which a formal answer has not yet been given, with a view to ensuring that all applications are dealt with in a manner consistent with the relevant provisions of those documents;

— to give favourable consideration to the practice of holding—on the basis of mutual agreement—bilateral meetings and round tables between delegations, whose composition is to be determined by each participating State, to deal with questions concerning the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organisations. One of the aims of these meetings and round tables will be to contribute to improving and developing cooperation in the humanitarian field among the participating States, including the discussion of current humanitarian issues;

— to consider widening the practice of inter-governmental agreements, protocols or programmes concerning exchanges in various fields, concluded on a multilateral or bilateral basis, in contributing to the carrying out and development of contacts among persons, institutions and organisations of the participating States;

— in implementing the relevant provisions of the Final Act, and the Madrid Concluding Document, to promote the possibilities of religious faiths, institutions, organisations and their representatives to establish and maintain personal contacts and communication with religious faiths, institutions and organisations and their representatives also in other countries, including travel, pilgrimages, assemblies and postal communications and to allow them, within the field of their activity, to acquire, receive and carry with them religious publications and religious objects for their own use;

— to encourage the setting-up and to facilitate the implementation of town-twinning arrangements between the authorities most directly concerned in order to develop direct contacts between institutions, organisations and citizens of their respective countries.

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SOVIET MORATORIUM: STRATEGY OF PEACE IN ACTION

In a television Statement on August 18, 1986 General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev announced the Soviet decision to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until January 1, 1987. This highly responsible and deeply-thought-out step is another convincing evidence that the main aim of the Soviet foreign policy is to safeguard peace against the threat of thermonuclear holocaust.

Today, when mountains of nuclear weapons have been built up in the world and when the arms race is gathering momentum through the fault of aggressive imperialistic circles in the West threatening the very existence of the human race we are faced with a dangerous situation which can only be remedied by decisive and immediate practical actions.

The new Soviet initiative is part of the general Soviet approach to the problems of eliminating nuclear weapons and creating a comprehensive system of international security as formulated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU and which represents the fullest expression of our country's attitude to the realities of the nuclear age.

This initiative, however, occupies a very special place in our programme to ensure lasting peace on earth. The Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear explosions is an action and not merely a proposal and it could provide a starting point for an advance in the process of curbing the nuclear arms race. If the USA follows the Soviet example a real way would be opened out of the impasse at the current negotiations on various aspects of the disarmament problem and international detente will get another powerful impulse.

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The world has been presented with another opportunity to judge who really wants to put an end to the mad arms race from which only arms manufacturers stand to benefit and who is using peace-making phraseology as a cover for pushing mankind towards the brink of a nuclear abyss.

The Soviet initiative and the way Washington has reacted to it have thrown into high relief the two opposite approaches to the basic problem of our time—the problem of war and peace. People in Washington's corridors of power still view the international situation through the prism of the cold war and entertain dangerous illusions that it is possible to gain "military superiority" over the USSR and its allies. They cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the old ideas about war as a means of achieving political goals have outlived themselves and that pre-nuclear thinking has long become irrelevant.

Ever fresh evidence of this comes to hand and to ignore it would be irresponsible and indeed criminal. Two disasters associated with nuclear space age technology—the crash of the American space craft Challenger and the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident provided harsh reminders of the consequences of malfunctions in technical systems designed to harness powerful forces to man's needs. These events provided an object lesson of what can happen if nuclear weapons are used.

In this qualitatively new situation the task of ensuring international security requires new political thinking. The Soviet Union, in its interna-

tional activity, has always taken due account of the bidding of the time. From the outset of the nuclear era the Soviet Union has persistently sought to eliminate nuclear arsenals. It stated on May 10, 1955, that halting atomic weapons tests was a high priority.

A milestone along that road was the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water signed by the USSR, the USA and Britain in Moscow. Subsequently the same powers worked hard to prepare an agreement on a general and complete ban of nuclear weapons tests. However, in 1982, on the US President's orders, the American side broke off the tripartite negotiations even as they were moving towards a successful conclusion and launched a full-scale programme of nuclear tests to develop still more sophisticated means of mass destruction.

This dangerous turn of events prompted the Soviet Union to further step up its efforts to stop the arms race which threatens to destroy human civilisation. In that same year 1982 it has proved the seriousness of its intent by solemnly declaring that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons and calling on other nuclear powers to follow its example. Needless to say, our country continued to seek an end to nuclear tests with unflagging persistence. For it is in effect the key problem in the matter of material, physical limitation of practical opportunities for the manufacture of new types of nuclear bombs and warheads. Without tests the nuclear arms race would in time become impossible.

The question of an end to tests is also important because their continuation is causing irreparable damage to the environment and disfigures our planet. Finally, the test ban is important not only in itself but as a powerful lever to bring about a breakthrough in nuclear disarmament and start real movement towards averting the nuclear danger. In short, renunciation of tests must provide the starting point for transition towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, which, as the Soviet Union proposed in its programme of January 15, 1986, the international community could achieve before this century is out.

After carefully considering and weighing all these circumstances, the Soviet leadership decided to unilaterally suspend all nuclear explosions as of August 6, 1985, and called on the US government to join the Soviet moratorium. And although the USA did not heed this call the Soviet Union has extended the moratorium more than once, most recently, for the fourth time, last summer.

But should the moratorium be preserved if the United States continues its nuclear tests? Does it not involve unacceptable risk, does it not work against the security of our country and the whole socialist world? The Soviet Union has more than enough grounds for resuming nuclear tests. But the USSR chose not to resume them to give the Washington Administration more time to take the historical opportunity to move towards halting the arms race.

The Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of August 18, 1986 is a model of political realism, an act of great political wisdom based on profound assessment of all the consequences of the decision, the degree of risk involved, its pluses and minuses. In extending the moratorium, the Soviet Union once more exhibited a sense of the highest responsibility that befits a great socialist power whose duty is to do everything to prevent a global catastrophe and safeguard mankind from death in a nuclear conflagration.

What, in this situation, has been the behaviour of the Washington Administration which is trying to convince the public in all countries

of its love of peace and desire for dialogue? Its representative hastened to say that the nuclear test ban is not in the interests of the United States, its friends and allies. And that is where the first hitch occurred. The allies and friends took the floor themselves. Most of them, with the exception of France and Great Britain, welcomed the Soviet decision to extend the moratorium describing it, as did FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher as "useful for achieving agreement on a total ban of nuclear tests." This opinion is shared by other NATO partners of the USA, notably Norway and Denmark, not to speak of Greece which is a member of Delhi Six. The position of these six states was well summed up by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson who said that "the Swedish government has received the Soviet Union's decision to extend its moratorium on nuclear explosions with satisfaction. The government hopes that further contacts between the USSR and the USA on disarmament would result in a multilateral treaty on a total ban of nuclear tests". Similar statements were made, on behalf of their governments, by spokesmen of the foreign ministries of Spain and the Netherlands, both members of the North Atlantic Alliance.

Japan, the Far Eastern ally of the United States, also chose to state, or could not help stating its position. Its government approved the Soviet step along the road to nuclear disarmament and called on Washington to join Moscow in taking measures aimed at complete halt of nuclear tests. The mayor of Nagasaki, Motohima, demanded that the US Administration immediately follow the Soviet example and stop the "factory of nuclear death" operating at the proving range in the state of Nevada.

In short, attempts to justify the negative stand by oblique references to collective security of the West have clearly misfired. Moreover, they have boomeranged on official Washington. In an interview to the Bonn newspaper *General-Anzeiger*, Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, said that the extension of the Soviet moratorium "is hard to overestimate" and expressed his confidence that the US allies would insist that Washington "does not brush off the Moscow initiative."

Yet this is precisely what Washington is doing, resorting to well-known arguments. This is what Donald Reagan, head of the White House staff, declared in the wake of Gorbachev's address on Soviet television (one assumes he said it with the knowledge of the President). He said that the USA was not against a comprehensive test ban treaty but it opposed such a treaty without a proper system of verification. The USA wanted to be able to check what the Soviet Union was doing and thought that the USSR too wanted to know what the USA was doing. And if success was achieved on the issue of verification and it was effective then progress would be ensured towards concluding a treaty, he noted.

What is one to make of this excuse? The Soviet Union too favours an agreement with a proper verification system, as it has made clear on more than one occasion. "The Soviet Union has agreed to the broadest forms of verification—any forms, national and international, including onsite inspections", said Mikhail Gorbachev during his meeting with the members of an International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests. The mounting of American seismic equipment near Semipalatinsk last July was not only a practical proof of our readiness to accept international verification, but it convinced the world public that the last obstacle on the way towards a nuclear test ban treaty has been removed. The keynote of the August report of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuéllar which sums up the replies of states on verification of arms limitation measures and disarmament is that this problem, which has been used by certain quarters as a cover for continuing the mad arms race, has ceased to be an obstacle in the way of achieving mutually acceptable accords.

This opinion is shared by all independent American seismology experts, as Thomas Wicker, an American columnist, attests. Verification of compliance with the test ban, they believe, can be guaranteed and this means that an agreement on a comprehensive test ban would surely be observed because the United States could detect any violations and resume its own tests.

So far, however, Washington has no intention of suspending, let alone totally ending its tests. And the seismographs near Semipalatinsk which clearly recorded some explosions in distant Nevada are no more than an annoying hindrance in the way of continued tests. Assistant White House Press Secretary Edward Djerejian found no better way of getting rid of it than declare: verification problems are too important for the security of any country and too complex technically to be entrusted to the public. However, scientists have never encroached on the competence of governments or claimed to give a final solution to the nuclear problem. They have merely demonstrated once more that effective verification is possible notwithstanding Washington's frequent claims that it is complex and unfeasible.

As a matter of fact not everyone takes the trouble to conceal that verification is not the crux of the problem. US Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle said recently that he was against a comprehensive test ban even if it was verifiable. Such cynical statements expose the Pentagon strategists' real desire to stick to its policy of building up nuclear arms at any cost.

The US Administration proclaims any Soviet attempts to reverse the arms race which Washington is pushing forward and which leads to the self-destruction of mankind to be "Moscow's propaganda ploys". The White House fell back on this well-worn trick in its reply to the Soviet call to join its unilateral moratorium. However, public opinion in the US and the world takes a different view. People of different political persuasions more and more often ask themselves: if an end of nuclear tests as a prologue to their reduction and subsequently complete destruction of nuclear weapons is propaganda what is wrong with such propaganda? As Mikhail Gorbachev said in an interview to the Czechoslovak newspaper *Rudé právo*, the Soviet Union did not pursue the aim to win the propaganda war. "We even do not want to take part in these skirmishes regarding these activities as unworthy of the significance of the subject involved. Our aim is to take a real step towards real disarmament. And we sincerely invite the US Administration to act likewise." If it accepts that invitation, the Americans, the Soviet people and the entire world will breathe with relief.

The unconstructive position of the present US Administration is increasingly perceived as such in the whole world. Commenting on the Soviet Statement Ali Ameir Mohamed, the chief editor of the Tanzanian newspaper *Uhuru*, pointed out: "There is a great difference of approach to the ending of the nuclear arms race on the part of the Soviet and American leadership. When the present US Administration speaks of disarmament it means disarmament of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of American military might. The world believes the Soviet Union when it makes proposals on preventing wars. But each time the USA, the other major big nuclear power, avoids giving a clear answer to the direct and honest Soviet initiatives under various excuses."

The signs are that the White House in its relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries is still inclined to follow the confrontation strategy. It clearly hopes at long last to achieve military superiority over the socialist world and ensure colossal profits for the military industrial tycoons through unbridled arms race, including new areas of the arms race. The White House is committed to wearing down the Soviet

Union economically, weakening it politically and thus securing for the United States command positions in the world, realising its long-time imperial ambitions and facilitating its policy of plundering the developing countries.

No wonder the people who are at the head of the American military industrial complex and exert the decisive influence on the Administration's policy had hoped that the USSR would resume its nuclear explosions. By staging one test after another in Nevada they hoped to provoke us into breaking the moratorium. However, the Soviet Union was not to be provoked. It issued a calm and firm warning: if needed, the Soviet Union would reply to any US challenge including its notorious "star wars" programme. The reply would be found quickly and it would not be of a kind Washington expects. The reply would render the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative valueless. The security of their country is a sacred matter for the Soviet people and they will ensure it.

That the course for military confrontation with the Soviet Union has no future is clear to many American experts and politicians who can hardly be suspected of sympathising with our country. It is significant that the authors of a major study entitled *The Making of America's Soviet Policy* call into question the effectiveness of power strategy. The editor, Joseph Nye, asks the rhetorical questions: are there enough grounds for believing that when faced with a choice the Soviets would choose butter and not guns? Or that they can be prevented from manufacturing the necessary number of guns? In fact, Nye calls on the American leaders to face facts squarely to renounce habitual but false stereotypes and to change their mode of political thinking. American strategy, he stresses, should be not only to cope with the immediate threat of Soviet power but also to try to gradually improve the conditions that make it so difficult for an American-type society to deal with the Soviet Union.

Official Washington has so far turned a deaf ear to such appeals but the Republican Administration finds it more and more difficult to ignore them. Discontent with this short-sighted foreign policy affects large strata of the population in the USA, which cannot but provoke a corresponding reaction on the Capitol Hill. On the eve of the elections to be held last November many representatives and senators, regardless of their party affiliation, had to shape their policy with an eye to the fact that, as a pre-election survey of public opinion revealed, 80 per cent of Americans demanded that the USA join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests as a first step towards improving Soviet-American relations. And it is not by chance that the US Senate has voted by 64 votes against 25 for a start of negotiations with the USSR to conclude a comprehensive test ban treaty. Equally indicative was voting in the House of Representatives where a large majority (234 against 155) spoke for banning nuclear explosions above 1 kiloton during the course of the year. Summing up the results of the voting after the Soviet Union extended its unilateral moratorium Senator Edward Kennedy pointed out that the bill makes it clear to the Reagan Administration that the time has come for a comprehensive nuclear test ban. And he went on to call on the US President to take this unprecedented opportunity and immediately start along the road towards negotiating a verifiable agreement that would ban nuclear weapons tests for all time.

The Soviet decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests is fresh and incontestable evidence of the Soviet Union's good will and sincere desire to achieve disarmament. This decision, like the other Soviet initiatives, gives a new strong impulse to peace action all over the planet. Against the background of responsible Soviet moves the harmful character

of the foreign policy pursued by the present US Administration is revealed. And more and more Americans are aware of it.

Edith Villastrigo, a leadership member of the American organisation Women, Strike for Peace voiced her organisation's approval of the Soviet foreign policy on arms control and hailed the decision to extend its moratorium on nuclear tests. She said her organisation intended to start a national campaign to make the Administration join the moratorium. Similar actions are being planned by other peace supporters in the United States. According to D. Cox, National Coordinator of American Peace Test, a public organisation, the wise move of the Soviet leadership would undoubtedly give a boost to the movement for general and complete ban of nuclear tests in the USA.

Curbing the nuclear arms race, however, is a problem not only of the Soviet and the American peoples. The governments and peoples of all countries, large and small, can and must contribute towards a healthier political climate on the planet and the overwhelming majority of the international community has, beginning from 1980, voted several times for the UN General Assembly resolutions on ending nuclear tests. The position of the non-aligned movement which unites more than 100 states with regard to the Soviet initiative is also indicative.

The Harare Appeal to the leadership of the USA and the USSR adopted in early September by the 8th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries said that these countries hoped that both parties would participate in the next top-level meeting with the aim of reaching accord as regards the permanent moratorium on nuclear tests and that the nations of the world would welcome such a step which would make a tangible contribution to mitigating the danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons and would facilitate progress in other fields of disarmament.

The Delhi Six is playing an increasingly active role in the struggle against the nuclear menace. In their Mexican Declaration adopted in early August, the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden have renewed their call to the leading nuclear powers to stop nuclear tests as a first step towards achieving mutually acceptable agreements.

In his reply to a message from the Delhi Six Mikhail Gorbachev expressed confidence that "our common efforts to curb the arms race and halt nuclear tests would eventually translate themselves into concrete measures leading towards this important goal". The Indian newspaper *Patriot* described the Soviet decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests as a fitting answer to the appeal from Mexico. This foreign policy act, wrote the newspaper, deserved sincere appreciation of all the peace forces in the world.

The forces of peace, democracy and social progress are spearheaded by the socialist countries which have expressed unanimous support for the Soviet initiative. This is confirmed by the statements made by the leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal states. Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the PRB State Council said the following: "We wholly support the ideas and provisions further elaborated in the Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev on August 18 and in his interview to the editor-in-chief of *Rudé právo*. These ideas and provisions found a broad response in Bulgaria. The workers in towns and in the countryside regard them as an embodiment of their own aspirations and interests.... We agree with the Statement for it once again has convincingly showed the only reasonable way allowing to stop the arms race and the production of qualitatively new types of mass destruction weapons."

The Soviet people are fully aware of their historical responsibility.

They firmly believe that changes for the better in the international field can be achieved. What grounds are there for this confidence? It is the policy pursued by the Soviet Union, a policy of bold and resolute change in the socio-economic sphere, culture, the minds of people, in the life of society as a whole. As for foreign policy, today it involves all Soviet people. They contribute to its potential and effectiveness by their dedicated effort in their work places, for only a strong and dynamic economy can ensure the success of a peace foreign policy.

The whole Soviet people takes part in the struggle for peace. The extension of the moratorium expresses the will of all the Soviet people, as highlighted by the powerful anti-war manifestations and meetings that are sweeping the Soviet Union. Their participants declare that today it is not enough to want peace—it is necessary to work for peace. The Soviet people, the party and government are for their part doing everything in order to beat swords into ploughshares on the whole planet and thus bring to fruition a long-term and cherished dream of mankind.

And yet, however important and significant the Soviet proposals are, and however dedicated the Soviet people are, they realise that they cannot accomplish everything alone. The problem of international security is a common problem, hence a common concern and a common responsibility. Nobody can doubt that peace is the chief concern for the Soviet people. And they want other peoples to become imbued with this concern. They want millions and millions of people to work for the sake of life on earth shoulder to shoulder with them. Such an important task as making a unilateral nuclear moratorium bilateral or universal can only be solved together.

Consequently, all the peace forces, all the contingents of the anti-war movement must commit all their potential and step up their action in order to expose the US Administration which persists in its militaristic policy to a powerful peace pressure on the part of all the people of good will. No further delay is possible. To search, to find and use every opportunity in order to reverse the trend of growing nuclear menace before it is too late—this is the only reply that people concerned about the future of our planet can give to the challenge of our time.

By extending unilateral moratorium the USSR has made a tangible contribution towards a healthier political climate on the planet and another important step to ensure that the International Year of Peace lives up to its name and goes down as such in history books. The US government and people must not miss another historical chance to stop the arms race. The Soviet Union, stresses the Statement of 18 August, 1986, is confident that a nuclear test ban agreement can be reached quickly and signed before the end of this year at the Soviet-American summit meeting which is only possible if a proper political atmosphere is created and the summit is assured of results. In his interview to *Rude Pravo* Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the atmosphere of "the feverish arms race and exacerbated tensions and disregard of the existing treaties it would hardly be of any use". The attempts of some circles in the West to deceive people and to soothe the public with a semblance of well-being, while continuing the dangerous policy, are totally untenable.

The wide resonance of the Soviet moratorium attests that, to use Lenin's words, "our peace policy is approved by the vast majority of people all over the world".¹ The people of the planet have associated their hopes for a peaceful future with this policy.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 390

PRINCIPLES OF A COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

Pyotr V L A D I M I R S K Y

The 27th CPSU Congress advanced a concept for establishing a comprehensive international security system and a concrete programme for laying the groundwork for such a system in every sphere of international relations. Its initiatives were backed by the other socialist community countries and drew world public attention. They become a topic for dialogue between states. All this is only logical, since it is a question of meeting the need, becoming particularly urgent in late years, for states to evolve a way of political thinking and a line of action in keeping with the realities of our times, which have brought humanity face to face with choosing between survival and self-annihilation. The concept of a comprehensive international security system as formulated in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee is a succinct exposition of the principles of the new political thinking and conduct needed by states at the international level.

This original, truly innovative concept contains all that has been new and advanced in socio-political thought since the beginning of the nuclear and space age. It is, in effect, a response to the appeal of Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Bertrand Russel and Albert Einstein to humanity to realise that, having mastered atomic energy, man must remould his thinking to spare civilisation an irreparable catastrophe. The socialist countries' concept fully takes account of the idea of security for all, a position contained in the reports of the Palme Commission, a group of noted public figures and scientists, in documents of the non-aligned movement, in appeals of six countries of four continents for an end to nuclear weapons tests and for a freeze on the nuclear armories and, lastly, in UN General Assembly resolutions and decisions of other international forums.

The concept of establishing a comprehensive international security system was advanced by the CPSU. It continues the Leninist tradition of the Soviet state, which submits to public opinion and the governments of all countries far-reaching proposals of a fundamental character offering a realistic alternative to the disastrous policy that aggressive imperialist forces want nations to follow. Lenin's Decree on Peace indicated real ways of ending the imperialist war, of stopping senseless bloodshed and bringing about just, democratic peace. The idea of peaceful coexistence running through this document and invariably upheld by the Soviet Union has now gained new dynamism and taken still more concrete and substantive forms corresponding to the current stage in international development and with a view towards the future. The principles of a comprehensive international security system formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress pave the way for making peaceful coexistence the main universal guideline of international relations.

The new concept of security and the new political philosophy are something more than an achievement of theoretical thought. They are inseparable from political practice and geared to concrete action. In other words, they are but a call-out for effort to ensure that new political thinking serves as a guide to making concrete decisions, solving the international problems that have accumulated, ending the impasse into which the imperialist policy of strength has driven them, and in the final count thoroughly restructuring international relations in order to bring into being a safe, reliable and just world.

Realistic consideration of the time factor is part of the new concept of security. The development of weapons sufficient to wipe out all life on earth, the accelerated pace of the arms race, which now threatens to spill over into outer space, the fact that many global problems likewise fraught with disastrous consequences for humanity are still unsolved—all show that civilisation is quickly nearing a very dangerous juncture.

To think in a new way means realising how little time history has left for attaining political accords and how very pressing is the need to take constructive, tangible steps towards remedying the situation. A way of thinking and acting is needed which can meet the challenge facing humanity and provide optimum solutions.

It is important to note that the crucial character of the present stage in the evolution of international relations is due to both objective process and, to a large degree, to the subjective factor in politics. By its very nature imperialism resists the positive changes taking place in the world. This is particularly true of the people that have come to power in the United States and of its main partners in NATO, who at the turn of the 1980s switched from detente to a policy banking on military strength. They have adopted doctrines rejecting good-neighbourly relations and cooperation as principles of world progress and a political philosophy of international relations. Well-informed American political scientists believe that what Ronald Reagan considers most important is nuclear superiority. He says he has no intention of endangering US security but actually equates superiority with adequate security, which is unrealistic¹. Not surprisingly, the USA has long turned a deaf ear to the Soviet appeals to end the arms race and for steps to improve international climate.

There is every reason to affirm that a restructuring of political thinking and conduct at the global level will not come automatically. It requires sustained effort. The concept of establishing a comprehensive international security system gives a scientific and realistic answer to the question of whether the ruling centres of present-day capitalism can face up to realities and make a sober, constructive assessment of developments. The Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress points out that history does not allow us to accept *no* for an answer. Social progress and development of civilisation must and will continue. The need to solve pressing universal problems should ultimately awaken responsible Western politicians as well to the necessity for cooperation and not confrontation or preparations for an armed conflict, should rouse to action unprecedented forces seeking the preservation of humanity. Solutions commensurate to realities can and must be found. For all that today's world is complex and contradictory, there is no problem such as cannot be settled by negotiation. Conversely, the fundamental fact of the nuclear and space age is that no dispute or problem can be settled through a nuclear war, a war that would bring about "zero security" for humanity, i. e., its self-destruction.

¹ See W. Anderson, S. Kernek, "How 'Realistic' Is Reagan's Diplomacy?", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 100, No. 3, 1985, p. 406.

A key aspect of the concept of universal security is that it describes the contemporary world as multiform and dynamic, full of opposing trends. But though contradictory, it is also an interdependent and largely integral world. In view of the destructive potential of modern arms, all the inhabitants of the planet must choose between living together or dying together.

Military and civilian experts and authoritative scientists from various countries have demonstrated in recent years that there is no defence against nuclear weapons nor can there be. "We are faced with a simple and implacable reality: human civilisation will never survive nuclear war"², said the International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests held in Moscow in July 1986.

Recognition of this reality is a key issue and a subject of controversy in connection with the moulding of a new political thinking. Clashes occur between two concepts of security, between two forecasts of the course of development in the military and political spheres. The new concept, which is consonant with the philosophy of a secure world, proceeds from the assumption that no state, however developed and powerful, can defend itself solely by military means even if it sets up defences in space. The inference is that security is indivisible. It can only be achieved by the joint efforts of all countries, by reducing armaments and by disarming to the point of eliminating all weapons of mass destruction. The main propositions of this concept are that today there can be no security for the Soviet Union without security for the United States, any more than there can be security for the Warsaw Treaty countries without security for the NATO countries. Less security for one side is also detrimental to the other side, for it involves destabilisation of the strategic situation and adds to suspicion and fear. There can be no universal security without security for both poles of military, political and economic power.

The present rough parity between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO objectively serves to maintain peace by curbing imperialist attempts at aggression. However, the balance of nuclear potentials has reached too high a level. The only thing it assures the two sides is equal danger. In essence, peace is based on an amoral situation making it a hostage of nuclear destruction. Man's morality and conscience cannot be reconciled to this state of affairs as we approach the close of the century. Besides, security based on fear of retaliation, on the balance of terror in the face of universal extermination, is a most precarious, constantly changing structure. At the root of this situation are the doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence" invented by Western militarists, who have been using them for decades as an excuse for the arms race. In line with them, the United States has imposed a continuous buildup and modernisation of nuclear arms on the world. According to the perverse logic of these doctrines, the more weapons there are and the greater and more real the threat of their being used, the more durable peace is.

Washington's "star wars" programme, or the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, may be described as a continuation of this logic. It is prompted by the illusory aspiration of procuring an absolute weapon, which generates the nuclear arms race. The SDI is seen as a complement to the nuclear first-strike capability being developed by the United States. One indication of this is that on announcing its intention to create an anti-missile "space shield", the Pentagon did not stop designing and deploying new strategic offensive weapons systems but pressed forward with both. As regards the "space shield", its purpose is only to make it possible to resort to nuclear aggression with impunity. The term "Strate-

² *Pravda*, July 15, 1986.

gic Defence Initiative" is simply used by Washington to hide its long-standing, maniac plans for assuring US domination on Earth and in space.

The concept based on the doctrine of "deterrence" favours modernisation and building up armaments and seeking breakthroughs in military technology. This is at odds with the concept of universal security. The scientific and technological revolution has reached a stage where new discoveries may lead to escalating the arms race and make it far more difficult to keep developments under control, so that not even parity will serve as a factor for military and political deterrence. The world situation may assume a character no longer determined by the wisdom or will of politicians. The fate of humanity may find itself in bondage to technology and military technocratic logic. Today's missilery depends to a tremendous degree on the performance of the computer systems controlling it. This dependence is bound to grow as new generations of such weapons are deployed. But it would become particularly dangerous if the arms race spreads to space.

Humanity has repeatedly found itself in extraordinary contingencies having to do with space technology, including tragic ones. The recent explosion of the US Challenger spaceshuttle and the accidents that befell the Titan and Delta missiles, which would seem to have been tested many times and to be dependable, showed that no technological system is safe from malfunctioning. Should computer-controlled assault weapons systems be deployed in space, the fate and very lives of millions would hang on decisions made at the technological and not the political level, so that the whole of civilisation would become a hostage of technology.

Anyone who analyses the situation will agree that in this age real and equal security can be guaranteed by the lowest and not the highest threshold of the strategic balance, from which nuclear and other mass destruction weapons must be excluded. Notions such as military superiority; the calculations to win a nuclear war and global hegemony are chimeras presenting a deadly hazard to the whole of mankind. They must give way to an awareness that to end the arms race is commensurate to survival.

The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies consider that military potentials must be reduced to the limit of reasonable adequacy. This level of armaments is the minimum which the defenders of a country need if they are to avoid destruction by the enemy in case of aggression, as Lenin put it. In other words, it is dictated by defence requirements and not by an illusory aspiration to outmatch the other side in all weapons, to provide oneself with an absolute nuclear or space weapon.

The concept of comprehensive security is complex. What it calls for is not balancing on the brink of nuclear war, known in the West as negative peace, but, for creating conditions that would exclude preparations for such a war and would help to eliminate its very threat. It maintains that today's world is too small and fragile for war or a policy of strength. The only way to save and preserve the world is to reject the very idea of the permissibility of either nuclear or conventional wars or armed conflicts.

The concept of a comprehensive international security system implies reorganisation of all international contacts in a way which excludes the use of force or diktat. The task is to elaborate, agree and put into practice a security system for all, with solely political and not military means of maintaining peace as the chief component. This is the key to lowering the level of military confrontation between states under mutually acceptable accords, solving global problems, settling regional conflicts, eradicating terrorism and fostering international cooperation in economic and humanitarian fields.

It follows that the new concept is aimed at building positive peace, to use the vocabulary of Western political scientists. This has prompted many realistically-minded scholars in the West to hail the Soviet concept of comprehensive security as an idea meeting the exigencies of today. Geoffrey Pearson, Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, former Canada's ambassador to the Soviet Union, a noted scholar and politician, writes that "the first common interest is clearly mutual survival. Soviet policy has come increasingly to give priority to this goal, with its implication of 'live and let live', both in the military and political sense".³

The Soviet concept of establishing a comprehensive international security system demands that the task of preserving civilisation be put above bloc, national or other narrow interests, above political, economic, ethnic or cultural differences. It considers that ideological contradictions between the two systems must not be allowed to extend to international relations and proceeds from the fundamental conclusion that there are objective conditions for the struggle between capitalism and socialism to go on exclusively in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry.

The Soviet concept is inseparable from the idea of making peaceful coexistence a universal standard of international relations. This implies an international order dominated by good-neighbourly relations and cooperation and not by armed force, with exchanges in science, technology and culture for the good of all nations. Countries that have chosen independent development would be safeguarded against encroachments from without and their national and social progress would therefore be made easier. Opportunities would be offered for the collective solution by all countries of a number of global problems, such as environmental pollution, the depletion of natural resources or the exploration of space and the World Ocean. These, too, are imperatives of our times and a further argument in favour of the assertion that peaceful coexistence, positive peace and a comprehensive security system meet the objective interests of all nations.

Naturally, the military and political aspects of the problem were also taken into account in plans for international security advanced in the prewar period. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was primarily as a result of the Soviet initiatives aimed at preserving peace and organising collective resistance to aggression that various projects were worked out to safeguard security both by banning war and limiting armaments. The Western powers' refusal to join in efforts to this end cost millions of lives and caused terrible suffering during the Second World War. But while this historical mistake had to be paid for so dearly, it would stand no comparison with a repetition of it in today's context, for this time the disaster would be irreparable.

The problem of military and political security has been under discussion throughout the postwar years. Various efforts have been made at the regional level. It is more and more evident, however, that the concept of security transcends these spheres. There is a need for a comprehensive, all-inclusive approach. The time has come to advance to a safe world all along the line.

The concept of establishing a comprehensive international security system necessarily involves the economic sphere. This is needed primarily in order to eliminate from international economic relations dangerous elements likely to seriously sharpen the atmosphere of confrontation, un-

³ *Points of View*, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, No. 1, March 1986, p. 6.

dermine confidence and understanding between countries. The more aggressive policy-makers of the United States resort to economic sanctions and boycotting, which they used widely against socialist countries in the 1980s as an instrument of destroying sound principles of international relations. Washington adopts such measures to make its allies toe the line, to reduce their competitive capacity on the world market and orientate them to economic, scientific and technological ties serving US interests.

Imperialism shows particular brazenness in using threats, blackmail and often outright interference in internal affairs to preserve the economic dependence of newly free countries. In recent decades the profits wrung by US companies out of developing countries have exceeded US investments there fourfold. The recalcitrant are penalised through sanctions and embargoes, protectionist measures of every kind and arbitrary interest rates. The developing countries' mounting debt to the West and the enormous profits taken out of them every year limit these countries' development prospects, making a further deterioration of their already grave social, economic and other problems inevitable.

This situation cannot persist indefinitely. The United States counts on military strength as a means of maintaining the status quo, defending the interests of monopolies and the military-industrial complex and averting progressive changes in new countries. This policy is likely to merely complicate the situation and breed new conflicts. The bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder, the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out. In other words, the West's neocolonial plunder of developing countries may endanger international peace.

In these circumstances a comprehensive security system should by all means provide for the exclusion of all discrimination from international relations, for renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions. A collective search for ways of settling the debt problem on a fair basis should be one of its most important principles. A new world economic order guaranteeing all countries equal economic security is needed.

This must be emphasised also because militarism has a direct stake in preserving and intensifying neocolonial exploitation. There is a patent causal connection between the trillion of dollars owed by newly free states and the fact that in recent decades US military expenditures have increased by more than a trillion dollars. Payments on that debt are an important source of funds directly spent on stepping up the arms race and paving the way for military confrontation. The most realistic way of releasing resources to aid developing countries is to stop wasting material and intellectual resources on creating the means of mass destruction.

Lastly, security in the economic sphere is intended to clear the decks for judicious utilisation of the resources of the planet as a universal patrimony, for the solution of global problems bearing on the very foundations of civilisation. What is needed to this end is to join efforts, to put together national potentialities at the international level, to work out effective international procedures and mechanisms. International cooperation in the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space could be one of the pillars of comprehensive security in the economic sphere. The Soviet Union has submitted to the world community a specific programme for collective international measures in this area. Its implementation would enable humanity to enter the twenty-first century without the suicidal "star wars" armoury, having provided a dependable material, legal and organisational basis for "star peace".

Lenin saw an indirect guarantee of peace in building up mutually beneficial economic relations between countries on an equal footing. Indirect guarantees of peace include humanitarian measures. The concept of comprehensive security is aimed at enabling man to fulfil his most humane tasks, namely staving off war and assuring his primary natural right to

enjoy peace and freedom. The existence of a reverse connection would hardly be denied by anyone. It is clear that the promotion of proper, truly civilised standards of international relations and cooperation depends on solving acute humanitarian problems. Peace will not be durable for as long as exploitation makes it impossible for millions to exercise their inalienable social rights, for as long as imperialist reaction flouts human rights and basic freedoms, including the rights of whole nations.

Wars are universally recognised to be an outgrowth of definite social class contradictions reflected in people's minds. Hence they may rightly be said to originate in people's minds. And this explains the need to inspire people with a strong aversion to war, to help them realise that any doctrine or action considering the possibility of releasing a chain of nuclear strikes is criminal and impermissible. Besides, reliable security is certainly out of the question unless the stereotype of considering certain nations as potential enemies is discarded. "Images of the enemy" create a moral and psychological atmosphere making elementary mutual confidence impossible in international relations.

Consequently, cooperation in disseminating the ideas of peace, disarmament and international security should become a principle of comprehensive security. In general, it is imperative to extend the area covered by the concept of security by including the economic and humanitarian aspects of the problem in it. These aspects, important as they are, substantially complement the efforts to be made on the main road, leading to a secure world, efforts in the military and political areas.

The concept of comprehensive security is also innovative because it lends the military and political principles of security a new content. Worthy of note first of all is the broad and radical approach to the problem of safeguarding security through disarmament. The paramount purpose of the concept is not so much to slow down the arms race in this or that field or to narrow its scope as to end this disastrous process once and for all, to proceed immediately to real disarmament.

The concept is directed towards speedily laying extensive foundations for comprehensive security in the military sphere. The abolition of nuclear arms should become the bedrock of a safe world. A security system cannot be dependable if there are nuclear explosives left or even accumulating in its foundations.

The new political approach found terse expression in the Statement which the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made on January 15, 1986, formulating an integral programme for the complete deliverance of our planet from weapons of mass destruction before the end of this century. The programme is, in effect, a fusion of the philosophy of shaping a safe world with a plan of action.

The plan, designed to rid the world of nuclear weapons in three stages, put the West in a difficult situation. The US Administration, responding to it, agreed that all nuclear powers should work for the elimination of nuclear arms. It clearly did not expect things to go any further than general statements, as so many times in the past. However, the Soviet Union did all it could to translate the potential of political declarations into concrete negotiating positions.

This country's latest steps at the Geneva talks with the United States on nuclear and space armaments showed that our country means business. The Soviet Union perseveres in its search for a mutually acceptable agreement, and when it saw that the other side was not prepared to accept at once a 50 per cent cut in nuclear armaments capable of reaching the territory of the adversary, it proposed an intermediate variant on the under-

standing that strike space weapons would be banned. The gist of the proposal is that agreement should be reached on respecting the Treaty on ABM for at least 15 years and that work on the SDI should be restricted to laboratory research, that is, to the threshold already reached by the United States. Strategic offensive armaments should be kept at equal levels. According to this variant, the problem of medium-range missiles capable of reaching the territory of the other side should be solved separately.

The Soviet Union has proved that it is striving for the translation of its concept of comprehensive security into reality. It did so by unilaterally introducing a moratorium on all nuclear blasts on August 6, 1985 and extending it four times. As for the United States, it has taken upon itself a most grave responsibility by refusing to stop nuclear tests and join in the Soviet moratorium. The situation in the world today is so serious that much greater efforts are needed to bring about an end to all nuclear testing and do away with nuclear arms.

Showing flexibility while upholding positions of principle, the Soviet Union has signified its readiness to join in the farthest-reaching measures for control over the cessation of tests, including the use of all seismological achievements, the realisation of the initiative of Soviet and US scientists in favour of setting up the requisite equipment and on-site inspection where necessary. Our country takes an equally broad approach to the issue of setting up a mechanism for agreement on prohibiting nuclear tests. The road to this is open. What is lacking is the political will to think in a new way, to make courageous decisions in the interest of universal security.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' collective proposal for the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is likewise intended to bring about tangible results. It involves very important measures relating to all ground forces, primarily those of the member states of the two opposed military alliances. In a matter of one or two years, these forces could be cut by between 100,000 and 150,000 men, and by the early 1990s the reduction could exceed one million. This would be accompanied by the abolition of corresponding nuclear armaments earmarked for operational tactical use. The Soviet Union, aiming above all to lessen the threat of conflict in Europe and to help increase confidence that no surprise attack will occur, has also proposed that components of armed forces such as tactical assault aircraft be reduced from the outset. The proposal covers reliable control measures, including on-site inspection where necessary and exchanges of information both of a general character and on individual aspects.

In an effort to bring about the implementation of every component of the programme for eliminating weapons of mass destruction put forward on January 15, the Soviet Union made specific proposals at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament for an agreement on the abolition of chemical arms and facilities for their production before the end of this century. In this case, too, the Soviet programme provides for the most rigorous and reliable control measures, including on-site verification of the destruction of both chemical weapons and plants. Thus all the components of the Soviet concept of security through disarmament whose principles were set out in the January 15 Statement were translated into negotiating positions and are now operating in the diplomatic sphere.

Arms curbs and disarmament are two key proposals for guaranteeing a comprehensive international security system, primarily because this is a concrete means of preventing war. UN experts investigating the interconnection between disarmament and international security have come to the conclusion that disarmament would reduce and ultimately eliminate the material basis for waging war.

Due to the feverish activities of US and NATO militarists and to lack of real progress in talks, an arms race has not merely outdistanced poli-

tical and diplomatic efforts but outrightly threatens to undermine those existing treaties and agreements which hold us back from the nuclear precipice. Washington's decision to renounce the SALT accords is seen in the world, including many countries allied with the United States, as an irresponsible step incompatible with reality. Marking time at the disarmament talks suits the militarists, who use them for disguising their programmes and more easily securing further appropriations for armaments. This makes a decisive breakthrough in the talks and the achievement of substantive results a priority task in bringing about a shift from increasing confrontation to the formation of a safe world.

The concept of comprehensive security entails placing special responsibility for the destiny of peace and disarmament on the nuclear powers, which are, moreover, permanent members of the Security Council. The leaders of these countries have been invited to hold a round table discussion on what can and must be done to promote peace. This does not mean laying claim to leadership in world affairs or trying to set up an exclusive club. The idea is to reach agreement on abolishing nuclear arms as speedily as possible. This would be a significant concrete step towards democratising international relations. The concept of comprehensive security is virtually an appeal to all socialist and capitalist countries, large and small, to take an active part in the solution of international problems and resist the war menace.

While the elimination of the means of warfare provides the material basis for security, unconditional respects for the right of every nation to sovereignty choose the forms of its development is a requisite for ensuring non-use of force or the threat of force in politics. It is on these lines that a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts could and should be achieved, a solution intended to serve as one of the pillars of a comprehensive international security system.

The West's attempts to peg progress in disarmament to the abolition of seats of war and confidence-building measures or the other way round create a false dilemma. To be sure, one is impossible without the other, but, this can lead to two opposing conclusions. One conclusion is sought by the militarists—they affirm that there is a closed circle which nobody can break out of. It dooms the world community to inaction as it were. The other conclusion, which follows from new political thinking, is that real steps are needed simultaneously in all directions such as would lead to a safe world, both in the military area, through disarmament measures, and in the political sphere, by staving off new conflicts and putting an end to existing ones. With this approach, progress in one direction would evidently make for advance in another producing more and more solutions and generally paving the way for confidence-building and a revival of detente as a requisite for a comprehensive security system.

To settle a conflict by peaceful means and with due regard to the legitimate interests of all sides, it is necessary to have a political basis for settlement which is not disadvantageous to any party. Also needed is an adequate negotiation mechanism for reaching constructive relevant dialogue. It is an important fact that as a result of efforts by the peace forces, joint or parallel actions by socialist countries and the non-aligned movement and certain contributions made by Western governments taking a realistic view of the situation in the world and its various regions, political platforms have been developed in the UN and other international forums for a fair settlement of all or nearly all of today's conflicts. There also exist suitable negotiation mechanisms or the conditions for establishing them.

In order to realise this potential, it is essential, first of all, to change the approach consistently with the philosophy of a safe world. This means giving first preference to using peaceful methods rather than to military ones for solving problems. There are no insolvable political problems, either. A primary condition for eliminating seats of aggression and armed conflict from the world is to stop interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other Central American countries, call a halt to the undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Angola and to aggression against Arab countries, enable the Palestinians to establish their own state and end the unlawful occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime.

It is vital to not only do away with the existing conflicts but to do everything possible to avert new flare-ups of military tensions. To do so it is important to make the generally recognised principles of the civilised behaviour of states on the international scene, such as non-use of force, non-interference in internal affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for sovereignty, genuine laws of international life. The UN has a necessary mechanism to repel any encroachments on these principles. In accordance with the UN Charter the UN Security Council is entrusted with extremely extensive powers allowing it to effectively ensure international security and to maintain and, if necessary, restore peace in any part of the world. It is obvious that as disarmament makes progress and there emerges a nuclear-free world the importance of a collective security mechanism provided for by the UN Charter will grow.

The Soviet Union, which has been doing all in its power to bring about security through disarmament, takes initiatives to encourage the settlement of conflicts by political means. It has proposed beginning preparations for an international conference on the Middle East so as to prevent those who will raise obstacles to a just and durable peace in the region from torpedoing any longer UN decisions in favour of holding such a conference.

This country has also advanced a specific programme for stepping up efforts to solve the Cyprus problem at an early date. The new Soviet initiative is aimed at convening an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the UN. To end the conflict situation there, it is absolutely necessary to demilitarise the island, withdraw all foreign troops and dismantle all foreign bases and other military installations.

The Soviet Union supports the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for achieving speedy and substantive progress towards a political settlement of the situation around that country. It has agreed with the Afghan side on the timetable for a stage-by-stage withdrawal of the Soviet troop contingent, to be effected as soon as a political solution is reached guaranteeing a real end to and non-resumption of armed interference in Afghan affairs from without. The USSR has also been doing a good deal to help create a climate favourable to the success of the UN Secretary General's mission intended to contribute to a settlement.

The Soviet Union backs the proposals of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea which create favourable political conditions for bringing about good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in Southeast Asia, continuing the constructive dialogue between the Indochinese countries and ASEAN, and ending confrontation and normalising the situation in the interests of all the nations of the region.

This country subscribes to the peace initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for speeding up the peaceful democratic unification of Korea and the withdrawal of US troops from the Korean Peninsula, scaling down military confrontation there and turning Korea into a nuclear-free zone.

Lately the Soviet Union has elaborated proposals for normalising the situation and laying the dependable groundwork for security in important regions of the globe, such as the Pacific and the Mediterranean.

The Soviet concept of laying the foundations for a comprehensive international security system in the political sphere includes working out a set of confidence-building measures between nations, providing effective safeguards against attack from without and ensuring the inviolability of their frontiers. It attaches great importance to combatting the abominable international phenomenon of terrorism in any form, including state terrorism, which undercuts peaceful and civilised international relations. Devising effective methods of preventing international terrorism, including the safety of international land, air and sea routes, should be part of a comprehensive security system.

It follows that politically, too, the concept of a comprehensive security system is specific takes into account the legitimate interests of all countries and nations.

The old order based on seeking national security primarily through military technological solutions based on the policy of strength, which has made the world a hostage of nuclear death, must give way to a comprehensive security system covering all countries together and individually. In line with new political thinking, a comprehensive international security system could and should function by relying more and more on political, economic and humanitarian measures, completely renouncing force and destroying nuclear, chemical and space armaments.

The Soviet concept of establishing a comprehensive international security system—a concept exalting confidence and peaceful coexistence to the rank of firm standards of international relations—has all the requisites for becoming the starting point and a framework for a direct dialogue encompassing all countries of the world community. It offers ways and means of reaching specific accords of both a bilateral and a multilateral nature. This is why the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries proposed that the 41th Session of the UN General Assembly put “Establishment of Comprehensive International Security System” on its agenda in order to adopt after careful discussion a fundamental document such as would expedite the remoulding of the political thinking of the entire world community and its translation into a new diplomacy, a new international conduct on the part of states. This would guarantee humanity a peaceful future.

PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Genrikh A P A L I N

Asia, the largest part of the world, a continent accounting for over half the planet's population, is characterised by an immense variety of countries and situations. Some of these countries have made appreciable progress in industry, trade, education, science and technology and some are still hit by poverty, illiteracy and backwardness. Some countries have been developing in conditions of peace and stability for a fairly long period, and others are passing through the ordeals of declared or undeclared wars to this day.

Asia has a vast manpower and natural potential for progress but in order to use it, the continent needs, first and foremost, peace and cooperation like other regions of the globe. Peace is the principal requisite for cooperation and cooperation likewise contributes to peace. But peace is indivisible, and this also applies to Asia. Hence the interest aroused in countries of the Asian-Pacific region (APR) by the Soviet idea of drawing this huge region into the general process of establishing a comprehensive international security system, which the 27th CPSU Congress spoke about.

The Asian-Pacific line of Soviet foreign policy is part of the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The situation in Asia and the Pacific is a matter of national significance to the USSR. It is in Asia that the Soviet Union has its longest frontier. And it is in the Asian, or greater, part of Soviet territory that both economic and security problems relevant to the whole country are and will be solved. We have true friends and reliable allies in Asia ranging from neighbouring Mongolia to socialist Vietnam. Friendly relations with India, growing ties with Indonesia, Japan, Australia and other countries of the region help stabilise the situation both in and outside the region. The state of relations between the two major socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China, conditions many aspects of international development.

The problems of achieving peace and security in Asia are as acute and painful as they are in Europe, if not more so. If political awareness of the need to normalise the situation in Asia and the Pacific were to prevail in the region, this would unquestionably go a long way to improve the general world situation. It is highly important to ensure that this part of our planet ceases to be a source of tension and an area of military confrontation.

The Soviet Union has been concerned with the problem of bringing about a lasting peace and security in the Far East and with promoting peace in Asia and the world throughout its nearly seventy-year history, including the post-war period. This is confirmed by the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the MPR in February 1946, the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the PRC in February 1950, and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the DPRK in July 1961, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the MPR in January 1966, and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the SRV in November

1978. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet Union's political and diplomatic activities and varied aid to victims of aggression were aimed at resisting armed intervention and paving the way for the independent peaceful development of the peoples of Korea and Indochina. The idea of collective security in Asia, advanced in 1969, envisaged a search for ways of solving fundamental problems of strengthening peace and security on the continent.

The present stage, marked by a growing awareness that peace is a universal necessity, calls for new thinking in regard to world development problems and makes it urgent to renounce many habitual approaches to the security of individual countries and to international security generally. The concepts of national and international security are inseparable today and this is the message of the initiatives regarding the Asian-Pacific region taken by the Soviet Union of late:

the idea of a common and comprehensive approach to Asian security and of eventual joint efforts by Asian countries to this end was advanced in May 1985;

in February 1986, the 27th CPSU Congress called for a more active collective search for ways of ending conflict situations, including in Asia;

in April 1986, the Soviet government made a statement on steps to develop cooperation in Asia and the Pacific based on equality and open to all countries;

on July 28, 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev set out in his Vladivostok speech the Soviet Union's ideas and specific proposals concerning a workable process for building up international security and peaceful cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region.

Those who are against solving key problems of the Asian-Pacific region—achieving peace and good-neighbourly relations—often trot out various untenable arguments. One of these is that Asia is not Europe and that the security formula evolved at Helsinki is allegedly inapplicable to Asia.

First of all, they are pushing against an open door, for no one is trying to mechanically transplant the experience of Europe to Asia. As far as Asia is concerned, Helsinki is not a dogmatic pattern but a principle, an approach to the problem of ensuring and furthering peace and cooperation in the region. Second, many of the principles of present-day international relations were proclaimed in Asia as far back as the 1950s and woven into the fabric of the European process after they had come into force internationally. Third, it is wrong in view of the interconnections existing in today's world to oppose some of its regions to others. How can the principle of non-use of force or the threat of force have in Asia a meaning different from the meaning it has in Europe? And mustn't the principle of sovereign equality written into the Helsinki Final Act be respected in Asia? Lastly, opponents ignore the circumstance that Asia, while remaining what it is, could and should contribute to the moulding of a new political thinking, to the solution of problems of universal significance, to a healthier world climate. The destiny of the world will largely depend on how social, economic and political development in the Asian-Pacific region goes on and what processes gain dominance in international relations.

Asia, like other regions of the globe, has enriched world progress with original and varied experience of struggle for freedom, peace and independence. Its experience, past and present, is an important component of political reality in the APR; it comprises experience gained in both

multilateral and bilateral relations. In other words, there are things which Asia can borrow with due regard to its peculiarities and things it can share with other regions.

What has Asia accomplished? There is the positive example of the 1953 armistice in Korea which paved the way for easing tensions in the Far East; the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina which enabled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to achieve independence and peace; the agreement which India and Pakistan signed in Tashkent in 1972, thereby settling a conflict between them; the 1973 Paris agreement on Vietnam which formalised international legal recognition of the Vietnamese people's right to unity and national self-determination.

Pancha Shila, or the five principles of peaceful coexistence proclaimed by two great Asian powers, China and India, in 1954 came into extensive use as a basis for settling international disputes. Countries with different social systems can not only coexist peacefully on these principles but cooperate in the solution of development problems and in the struggle for peace and international security, which is equally important.

Pancha Shila was supplemented and extended to form a harmonious system of political and legal principles of relations between countries with different social systems. This, too, was done in Asia. It took place in 1955 in Bandung, which came to symbolise an important contribution to peace and security in the APR and the possibility of uniting the nations of the continent on a common, collective basis.

A quarter of a century has passed since the concept of non-alignment originated in Asia and a new movement appeared on the world political scene, one striving to respond in its own way to the challenge of the times, championing an end to the division of the world into military blocs and searching for ways of its own to lessen the nuclear threat. India, recognised leader of the movement, has made a tangible contribution to the establishment of equitable standards of coexistence and justice in the international community. Nor is it accidental that the capital of that country has now given life and a name to the Delhi Six, as the standing forum of leaders of countries of four continents—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania—is known.

The 8th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Harare, capital of Zimbabwe, was a major success of the non-aligned movement. It showed that the non-aligned movement is gaining momentum and is acquiring a more pronounced anti-imperialist, antiwar and anticolonial thrust. The participants in the Conference were almost unanimous in their approach to the problems of strengthening peace and international security, disarmament and the discontinuation of the arms race.

The Asian-Pacific region is becoming a region where the idea of creating nuclear-free zones is being put into effect. Two nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and the PRC, are situated in Asia, and both have committed themselves to refrain from first use of nuclear weapons. In Japan "three non-nuclear principles" have originated, although lately there is an increasing tendency there to disregard them. Latin American countries, including countries washed by the Pacific, have signed the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Thirteen states and territories in the southern Pacific have signed a treaty declaring that part of the globe a non-nuclear zone. The DPRK and Indonesia have proposed creating nuclear-free zones on the Korean Peninsula and in Southeast Asia respectively.

Integrational processes are gaining ground in relations between countries of the APR. Cooperation within the framework of the CMEA is developing between Asian members of the Council: the Soviet Union, Mongolia and Vietnam. The activities of ASEAN have many positive

aspects. A regional organisation, the South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), has been formed in South Asia.

This list alone suggests that for all the peculiarity of the situation in Asia at large and in each particular country of the continent Asian nations have a substantial set of principles and methods that can be applied in international relations to settle conflicts and develop equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation.

"Historical experience, the laws of increasing interdependence, and integrational requirements of the economy," Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok, "invite a search for paths to agreement, to the promotion of open ties between countries in and outside the region." The Soviet view of the Asian and Pacific part of the globe is prompted by recognition and appreciation of the region's realities. And it is important to note that the Soviet Union does not aspire to any privileges or a special status, makes no selfish attempts to build up its security at the expense of other countries, seeks no benefits to the detriment of other nations nor is out to impose its ideas. The guiding principle of the Soviet Union is co-operation implying full respect for the legitimate interests of other countries and for the right of peoples to live as they choose. Such peaceful cooperation neither injures nor can injure the independence and sovereignty of nations in solving their problems and shaping their home and foreign policies.

The rulers of the United States and some of the countries allied with it allege that the Soviet peace initiatives concerning regional problems of peace, good-neighbourly relations in the APR or global problems, such as the call for the banning and elimination of nuclear arms by the end of this century, meet solely Soviet interests. They deliberately distort or conceal the fact that Soviet proposals are motivated by deep concern over the destiny of the world and the future of humanity. The Soviet Union, an Asian and Pacific power, is well aware of the difficult problems of the region. It comes into direct contact with them. Their fair solution would be in keeping with the interests of other Asian and Pacific countries as well as with the national interests of the Soviet Union itself.

Surely Rajiv Gandhi's statement on Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok proposals, which the Indian Prime Minister described as positive, indicates approval of the Soviet approach based on recognising and appreciating the realities of the APR. And surely *Shakai Shimbun*, newspaper of the Japan Socialist Party, acknowledged the Soviet Union's reckoning with the opinions of other countries of the region when it commented that "the Soviet proposals for security measures in the Asian-Pacific region are similar to the well-known initiative of the JSP in favour of holding an Asian peace conference".¹

Those who do not relish positive changes in Soviet-Chinese relations insinuate that the Soviet proposals do not reflect China's interests, that they undermine the Asian policy of the PRC and so on. Had it been true, as opponents of better Soviet-Chinese relations assert, would the area of coincidence of the Soviet and Chinese positions on a number of current problems, primarily disarmament problems, be expanding? Had this been true, would China be the only nuclear power to respond favourably and in practice to the Soviet programme for nuclear disarmament dated January 15, 1986, by stating on March 21 that the PRC would no longer carry out nuclear blasts in the atmosphere? "When the government of a state," wrote the Chinese weekly *Shijie jingji daobao* shortly after Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech, "makes a proposal meeting the interests of the general situation (the reference is to the APR.—G. A.) if only to a degree, its proposal should be given the closest attention by other coun-

¹ *Shakai Shimbun*, Aug. 8, 1986.

tries. One should not use the vocabulary of 'propaganda warfare' to deny the need to study diverse proposals."

Along with a manifest trend towards greater efforts by Asian and Pacific countries in favour of easing tensions in the region and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation, there is the confrontational policy of the United States and its closest allies. The United States has important economic and political interests in the region. Nevertheless, Washington shows no readiness as yet to join in solving the problems of security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific in a manner satisfying all countries. The US side shows no constructive approach fit for a great power. Its approach is imperial and is prompted by fist law. What Washington is after is not lowering the level of military confrontation but ending military strategic parity by any means and escalating tensions.

Ever since the mid-1970s, the United States has been intensifying its war preparations in the region, aiming to bring into existence a new military political set-up as a Far Eastern counterpart of NATO. It seeks greater military political collaboration with Japan, which it wants to involve in the militarisation of outer space, foments revanchist trends in Tokyo's policy and is pressing forward with the formation of a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul militarist alliance.

Operating in line with its neoglobalist policy, the United States helps maintain tensions between Asian countries. It tries to exploit conflict situations involving Kampuchea and Afghanistan for harnessing ASEAN to the implementation of the Pentagon's military-strategic plans, for greater interference in the affairs of countries of the region in the form of military and other support for counter-revolutionary, anti-government, separatist forces that have found refuge in neighbouring countries.

Washington openly resorts to discrimination and various "sanctions" against countries which do not suit it for some reason or another. It does not scruple to treat even its ANZUS ally, New Zealand, high-handedly by putting sustained pressure on it to force it to abandon its anti-nuclear stance. The USA's behaviour is particularly provocative and revealing now that there are prospects for improving the situation in the APR.

Characteristically, the United States does not seem to have any intention of discussing problems of the Pacific seriously. In recent decades it has made no explicit proposal conducive to international security and peaceful cooperation in the APR. Unable to propose a peaceful alternative meeting the interests of all countries, the United States is whipping up war hysteria, pushing countries of the region to join military blocs and dragging them into the arms race. It is a policy leading to a dead end. As a consequence of the policy of the United States and its closest allies, militarisation and growth of the war menace in the APR are gaining dangerous momentum, with the Pacific and Indian oceans and vast areas of Asia becoming an area of military and political confrontation.

The US Administration's policy refutes the arguments of those who still look for the sources of tension in the APR in the "two superpowers' rivalry over hegemony", thereby equating the socialist Soviet Union's policy for peace with the imperialist policy of Washington—a view born of ignorance or evil intent.

Bringing the APR into the general process of establishing a comprehensive international security system implies that the system would encompass the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian aspects of the situation in this part of the globe.

What is now needed in the *military sphere* more than ever is a determined effort to reverse the growth of the war menace in the APR, to prevent militarisation from gathering dangerous speed. The long list of measures proposed by the Soviet Union in the recent period alone includes the following: stop the proliferation and stockpiling of nuclear arms in the region; reduce the activity of war fleets in the Pacific, primarily of ships equipped with nuclear weapons; implement the agreements already reached and realise the newly advanced ideas of creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the APR; make the Indian Ocean a peace zone; cut armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia to the limit of reasonable adequacy; move on from discussing confidence-building measures and steps to prevent the use of force to putting them into practice.

Although there are three major nuclear powers situated in the APR, problems of nuclear disarmament have yet to reach the requisite stage of discussion. The United States, unlike the Soviet Union and China, refuses to commit itself to non-first use of nuclear weapons and goes on siting nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads on the Korean Peninsula, a crisis area, as well as nuclear weapons delivery vehicles on Japanese soil.

Mention should be made in this connection of a passage of practical significance in the Joint Communiqué on the talks held by delegations of the CPSU and the Japan Socialist Party in September 1985. It says that, in the opinion of the two parties, the situation in the Far East could also be improved if, in addition to the creation of nuclear-free zones, all the Asian countries lacking nuclear arms adopted the well-known non-nuclear principles (do not own, do not manufacture, do not import nuclear weapons) while the nuclear powers pledged themselves not to use nuclear arms against them and to respect these non-nuclear principles.² The Soviet Union is willing, as everyone knows, to guarantee by treaty non-use of nuclear arms against countries which neither own nor manufacture nuclear weapons, nor have any on their territory. China's attitude is close to this.

The Soviet Union is compelled to take measures meeting its own defence requirements and those of its friends and allies, especially with due regard to US military activities not far from Soviet frontiers. At the same time, it calls for a lower level of confrontation, in particular as concerns medium-range nuclear missiles. In Asia the Soviet Union has as many missiles as are needed to counterbalance the corresponding US potential in the region—neither more nor less. If the United States does not build it up, neither will the Soviet Union. Should the situation change for the better, the Soviet Union would respond accordingly. This country has repeatedly declared its readiness to discuss the problem with Asian and Pacific countries possessing similar weapons, with a view to limiting and subsequently reducing these weapons on a reciprocal basis. The June 1986 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee announced that the Soviet Union was not going to increase the number of its medium-range missiles in Asia.

Lately advocates of a so-called global approach to medium-range missiles have been demanding that the Soviet Union reduce and dismantle its SS-20 missiles in both Europe and Asia, virtually without regard to the missile potential of the United States in the APR. They question the sincerity of the Soviet Union on medium-range missiles by claiming that after reducing and dismantling its missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union may move them to Asia and vice versa. Mikhail Gorbachev gave a fitting answer to that when he said: "We propose to abolish in Europe both US and Soviet medium-range missiles. We mean their abolition and not their

² *Pravda*, Sept. 21, 1985.

transfer to any other place. It is clear that this would serve the interests of Asian countries as well".

The Soviet Union firmly supports dissolving military alignments, renouncing foreign military bases in Asia and the Pacific and withdrawing all troops from foreign soil. It emphatically opposes US attempts to extend the "jurisdiction" of NATO to the whole world, including Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

The proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to set up a mechanism ruling out the use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific countries by drafting and concluding a treaty of non-aggression and non-use of force is still valid in the context of establishing a security system in the military sphere. The intention of the Soviet Union and the MPR to discuss the issue of withdrawing a substantial part of the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia is aimed at building confidence and achieving security in Asia and the Pacific, and good-neighbourly relations in Asia, the Mongolian government stated on July 31, 1986.³

The People's Republic of China pays serious attention to the military political situation in the Asian-Pacific region. Lasting security in the region and the world is unthinkable without the great Chinese people's active participation in its achievement. From statements common in the past about the "special responsibility" of China and the United States for peace and stability in the region, China has moved on to the correct thesis that no power should monopolise the development of the region. "All the states or regions concerned should see a stable international situation in the Asian and Pacific region and the prosperity of the region as their primary concern".⁴

To achieve *political security* in the APR, it is necessary to insist on strictly respecting the right of every nation to shape its destiny on its own, on eliminating tensions, settling international conflicts and disputes on a fair basis and by political means and preventing international terrorism.

Foremost among the problems of achieving security in the APR by political means are those of regional settlement. There is more fighting in this region than anywhere else, with wars going on in the Middle East, between Iran and Iraq, in Afghanistan, and in Kampuchea. A major line of Soviet policy is to help end crisis situations in the world in general and in Asia in particular. Regional problems and crisis situations are catalysts of local and international tensions. For all the diversity of situations, the underlying cause is, in the final analysis, the issue of the right of nations to decide their own future by themselves. These problems should be solved without foreign interference, with due respect for the independence and lawful aspirations of nations, whether the task is to remove tension on the Korean Peninsula and bring about a peaceful, democratic unification of Korea, to normalise Chinese-Vietnamese relations, establish mutually acceptable relations between the countries of Indochina and ASEAN, settle by political means the situation around Kampuchea and Afghanistan by peaceful means or end the Iran-Iraq war.

The Soviet Union considers that there are no Asian problems such as cannot be settled given goodwill and non-interference. This is why it supports, among other things, efforts at the regional level aimed at searching for mutually acceptable solutions to the problems of Southeast Asia, promoting durable and mutually beneficial relations between countries of the region on the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual respect for their national interests and security. The only reasonable alternative is apparently a dialogue in Southeast Asia that would end in

³ See *Novosti Mongolii*, Aug. 1, 1976.

⁴ *Shijie jingji daobao*, Aug. 11, 1986.

establishing a lasting peace and stability there. The Soviet Union is prepared to participate, along with other permanent members of the UN Security Council, in guarantees of such accords as would be reached by ASEAN countries and the countries of Indochina.

Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea invariably advocate an extensive programme for the transformation of Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation. Their attitude in seeking a political settlement in Southeast Asia is marked by principle, flexibility, consistency and efforts to achieve a reasonable compromise. Further evidence of this was furnished by the decisions of the 13th Conference of the foreign ministers of the three states, which sat in Hanoi on August 17 and 18, 1986.

The communique released by the Conference draws a clear dividing line between two opposed approaches to the problem of settling the situation around Kampuchea. The three countries of Indochina demand that the Pol Potists be eliminated as a political and military organisation. Their demand is supported by most countries of the world. They have set a deadline—1990—for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea. As for the opponents of a settlement, they insist on an immediate pull-out of the Vietnamese contingent while refusing to dissociate from the Pol Pot clique and persisting in their demand that it be returned to Kampuchea, which would mean throwing the country back to its tragic past.

More and more people in the world are awakening to the fact that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is an international political reality today. The government of the republic confidently controls the situation all over the country, which is engaged in peaceful construction. As regards the "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" formed abroad, it does not speak for the Khmer people, nor does it control an inch of Kampuchean territory. It is concerned with organising the undeclared war on the PRK and serves as a cover for interference in the affairs of independent Kampuchea.

The proposal of the three Indochinese states that simultaneously with peaceful settlement of the situation around Kampuchea an agreement be signed on the establishment of a zone of peace in Southeast Asia merits most serious attention of those who has unbiased approach to the analysis of the situation in Southeast Asia.

A big step towards improving the situation in the APR could be made by normalising Chinese-Vietnamese relations and removing groundless suspicion and distrust between the two socialist countries. The Soviet Union, without interfering in what comes within the sovereign jurisdiction of the leaderships of the two countries signifies its interest in it. The SRV has long proposed talks with the PRC at any level, place or time. There is no reason why China and Vietnam should not meet at the negotiating table. The 13th Conference of the foreign ministers of the three countries of Indochina stressed again that normalised relations between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, on the one hand, and China, on the other, would be a "very important factor in achieving peace and stability in Southeast Asia".

Constructive proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea make it possible to end the dangerous tension on the Korean Peninsula, a crisis area, and begin advancing towards the solution of the national problem of the Korean people as a whole. Much could be done to improve the overall political atmosphere in the APR by holding a substantive dialogue between the DPRK and South Korea, by declaring the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone and by effecting Korea's peaceful unification. The Soviet Union has repeatedly reaffirmed its solidarity with the policy and peace initiatives of the DPRK. It is important that the

Soviet Union and China as neighbours and allies of the DPRK have a stake in ending all tension in the area.

The decision of the Soviet government to withdraw part of the limited contingent of Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan—a decision adopted after consultations with the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and announced in Vladivostok—was received in the world as a convincing evidence of the desire of the Soviet Union and the DRA to hasten a political settlement.

It was only those behind the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan that were disgruntled at this development. There had been so much talk about the need for the Soviet Union to “do something”, to take “some step”, in order to get the process of settlement off to a start. The step was taken, and the world spoke highly of its political significance. But those who foment, back and finance the undeclared war against the DRA declared the step to be “insufficient” and began to talk about the need to pull out the whole Soviet contingent, as if they had no inkling that both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are likewise in favour of a complete withdrawal. In fact, the two countries have already come to terms on both the time limits and the stages of withdrawal, which can be speeded as soon as a political settlement has been worked out definitively, one capable of really stopping armed interference in the affairs of the DRA and reliably guaranteeing its non-resumption.

The reason why the opponents of a peaceful settlement of problems relating to Afghanistan contradict themselves is that the decision of the Soviet leadership has pulled the ground out from under their feet. After all, they ought to have responded to the decision by calling a halt to interference in Afghan affairs. The Soviet Union has served warning that it will not leave its neighbour in the lurch if interference continues. This is something which our international solidarity with the Afghan people as well as our security interests rule out.

The interests of security in the APR require durable and mutually beneficial *trade and economic, scientific and technological cooperation* between the countries concerned based on equality and free of discrimination and a restructuring of international economic relations in the region on democratic lines. The progress of the Asian socialist countries, the development of Japan into a major power, India's tangible achievements and enormous economic potentialities, the rise of “new industrial states” in Southeast Asia are all important material prerequisites for developing cooperation open to all countries, without opposing some countries to others, in particular countries with a market economy to countries with a planned economy.

In solving major problems of accelerating social and economic development, the Soviet Union gives priority to developing its eastern regions, to setting up a highly efficient economic complex there as part of the division of labour at national and international levels. This will enable this country to continue on a new basis taking an active part in trade and economic, scientific and technological cooperation in Asia and the Pacific, which will lend more substance to its existing stable, mutually beneficial relations with many countries of the region in trade, the economy, technology and interchange of advanced experience.

There are those in some countries of the region who argue that the military political aspects of Asian security concern major countries only, while small and medium countries attach importance to economic matters. It is hardly right to oppose diverse aspects of the security problem to one another. Indeed, there is an increasing awareness of the significance of trade and economic relations as a factor for security and stability in Asia and the Pacific. “The formation and realisation of the idea of economic cooperation”, wrote *Guoji wenti yanjiu*, a Chinese journal spe-

cialising in international studies, "are bound to further to a considerable degree the cause of peace, friendship and development in the Asian and Pacific region".⁵ Chinese scholars see Japan, Korea, Mongolia, the Soviet Far East and Northeast China as the centre of gravity of the APR. Co-operation between their economic forces would cause an unprecedented upturn in foreign economic activities and trade in this part of the APR as well as for the creation of a major international market.

The positive changes that have come about in Soviet-Chinese economic ties are well known. The two countries are concerned with accelerating socio-economic development and have similar priorities in this sphere. Their economies have long been mutually complementary. Speaking in Vladivostok, Mikhail Gorbachev listed major problems of cooperation, such as utilisation of the water resources of the Amur or assistance in building a railway from the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region to Kazakhstan or joint research in outer space. The problem of extending relations between the two countries was discussed during the recent visit of Nikolai Talyzin, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to China.

Various quarters in the PRC are searching for lines on which ties could be established between, say, Northeast China and the Asian part of the Soviet Union. The options include joint utilisation of the Amur, on which from five to seven large and medium hydroelectric plants could be built, according to Chinese estimates; joint construction of a railway bridge over the Amur between the cities of Blagoveshchensk and Heihe, which would bring into being a Europe-Asia transcontinental line; co-operation in agriculture, joint utilisation of natural resources, resumption and extension of border trade with the Soviet Union as well as with Mongolia and the DPRK.

In short, ideas and proposals are evidently not lacking. They can be translated into reality given mutual political goodwill.

During the friendly meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and the Vietnamese and Mongolian leaders, Truong Ching and Jambyn Batmönh, last August, steps were discussed for making Soviet-Vietnamese trade, economic, scientific and technological relations more effective and problems of extensive Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in various fields, especially under the Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the USSR and the MPR till the Year 2000. During the visit in July this year to the Soviet Union of the Party and government delegation of the DPRK headed by Kim Hwan the exchange of opinion took place on further extending bilateral ties between the USSR and the DPRK and enhancing interaction in all fields.


There are many openings for mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan. Joint economic projects would benefit both countries. Now is the time to discuss measures for establishing joint enterprises in adjoining or nearby areas of the Soviet Union and Japan. Long-term cooperation in the investigation and comprehensive utilisation of oceanic resources and the peaceful exploration and utilisation of outer space are further possibilities.

The Soviet Union intends to continue developing mutually beneficial and durable relations with ASEAN countries on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis. It takes into account the growing leverage of ASEAN in world and regional politics, the increasing role of this alignment in international economic relations, including those in the APR, and other realities. In turn, ASEAN countries show growing interest in developing relations with this country. This is an objective process.

With a view to achieving economic security in the APR, the Soviet Union proposes an exchange of views between all the countries concerned on cooperation in the development of the productive forces, personnel training, the utilisation of new sources of energy, including nuclear energy, the adoption of measures for environmental protection, judicious utilisation of the biological and mineral resources of seas and oceans, joint medical and health care projects, measures to combat natural calamities and remove their effects, and so on. Every country of the region has a vital stake in the solution of all these problems. But no country can cope with them single-handedly. Formidable problems like these require collective efforts by all the countries concerned. The Soviet Union is ready to use to this end the economic, scientific and technological potential at its disposal.

There is a further reason—an economic one—why developing countries of the APR want the arms race to stop. They would expect to use part of the funds to be released as a result of cuts in military budgets for the solution of the extremely acute social and economic problems facing them.

The security of countries of the APR is also inseparable from cooperation in the *humanitarian sphere*. It implies full guarantees of human rights in every sphere, particularly the right to life in conditions of peace and freedom, without infringing on the sovereignty and independence of any country. A matter of considerable importance to a region where deep-rooted prejudice plus inherited ethnic and religious strife are fertile ground for distrust and enmity is to increase the supply of objective general information, acquainting nations with one another's life, fostering mutual understanding and concord between them, eliminating genocide and refuting concepts of ethnic or religious exclusiveness.



Bringing about a new approach to the realities of the APR and gaining insight into the contemporary stage in the evolution of international relations is a difficult and in some respects a painful process that will take time. Much of what the Soviet Union and other countries of the region have proposed are projected into the future. It is essential that a stop be put to inventing obstacles. What is needed today is effort by all peace-loving and realistically-minded forces plus sober political will if the Asian-Pacific region is to be transformed step by step into a zone of peace and security and an area of equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation.

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE BINARY PROGRAMME?

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The decision taken by NATO political and military authorities to support stepped-up production in the USA of a new generation of weapons of mass destruction, namely the binary chemical weapons, has evoked extreme concern among the European and world public. In effect, the decision adds another spiral to the race in chemical weapons whose scope and danger are of truly global dimension. The existing arsenal of three million units of chemical weapons is already more than enough to destroy all life on Earth, and the USA intends in the near future to bring it up to five million units, with a qualitatively new combat mode at that.

According to Washington's plans, the production of binary weapons in the USA is closely tied up with their subsequent deployment first in Western Europe and later in other regions of the world. Such actions of the US Administration run counter to the Soviet-US agreements, reached at Geneva, on intensifying efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on the complete and general prohibition of chemical weapons and their destruction. They also challenge and erode the large-scale and consistent programme proposed by the Soviet Union to rid mankind of all weapons of mass destruction by the end of the twentieth century.

Thus, blatantly relying on crude force in international relations, Washington intends, apart from escalating the nuclear arms race and in defiance of the demands voiced by the peace-loving public, to develop a type of mass-destruction weapons as barbaric as chemical arms, and in its most sophisticated—binary—form at that.

Chemical weapons were first used for mass annihilation 70-odd years ago when in the spring of 1915 the supreme military command in Kaiser Germany ordered a massive gas attack, using chlorine from canisters, near the Belgian town of Ypres. In a matter of a few minutes over 15,000 men were poisoned, with 5,000 of them dead over the next two days. That attack marked the onset of the first chemical warfare on our planet.

In the First World War, US troops were attacked with chemical weapons on February 25, 1918, when their positions were bombarded with phosgene-filled shells. The Americans then reciprocated by also resorting to chemical munitions.

All in all, at least 45 types of chemical agents (CW)—among them, 18 lethal substances and 27 irritants—were used in the First World War. The lethal agents included asphyxiating gases such as chlorine, phosgene, di-phosgene and others; systemic poisons—hydrocyanic acid and cyanogen chloride; and blister agents such as mustard gas and others. Benzilbromide, bromoacetone, and ethyl iodineacetate were used as irritants.

Mustard gas, or yperite, was acknowledged to be the superpoisonous chemical weapon of the First World War period. It was used in drop-liquid, aerosol or vaporised form and caused damage not only to the eyes and lungs but also, even with gas masks, to the skin. As a result, total casualties from mustard gas were quite heavy. The protection of the skin of men and animals alike against that chemical agent developed into a complex scientific and technological problem.

In total, about 9 million mustard gas filled shells were used during the First World War as against some 50,000 million containing ordinary explosives. Experts rate WWI chemical shells at least 5 times as effective as ordinary explosives.

This factor dramatically changed the attitudes to chemical weapons held by the military commands of the warring sides, which found its immediate reflection in the volume of chemical munition orders. By the end of the war chemical weapons accounted for more than a half of all shells manufactured by Germany. In fact, American forces brought the magnitude of chemical munition orders in 1918 up to 20-30 per cent of all the battle munitions produced.

Huge orders for chemical weapons required a powerful specialised industry in the US, which was shortly created with plants producing its major components set up in Edgewood, Hastings-on-Hudson and Buffalo. By late 1918, their daily output of mustard gas alone went up to 155 tons.

The overall results of the use of chemical weapons in the First World War were as follows: some 125,000 tons of chemical agents used (about 58,000 by the Entente countries and some 1,100 by the USA) and about 1.3 million casualties, with almost 100,000 killed.

After the First World War, the devastating effects of chemical weapons continued to rivet the attention of the US brass hats and politicians and accounted for the intensive development of these weapons in subsequent years as well. The end result thereof is too well known today.

At present the Pentagon views chemical weapons as a most "promising" and rapidly evolving type of mass-destruction weapons whose perfection has practically no limits just like there are no limits for unraveling the mysteries of the living organism. This is the reason why in its aggressive plans the USA has always given high priority to this barbaric means of annihilation, which is vividly attested to by the record of development of US chemical weapons and, what is most important, by their practical application by US forces in various wars and conflicts.

As is known, they were extensively used by the USA in Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and have been supplied to the counterrevolutionary gangs in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other countries. The chemical warfare carried on by the USA against the people and biota of Vietnam was undoubtedly the largest in its scope. The Pentagon employed in Indochina mainly antipersonnel poison gases such as CS, chloroacetophenon, adam-site, chloropicrin, and bromoacetone which have a lethal effect when used in large concentrations (doses).

Apart from the antipersonnel and antianimal agents, the Americans employed—the first such case in history—defoliants in Vietnam. During the Ranch Hand operation in the south of the country the United States field-tested 15 various chemical substances and formulas to destroy fields under crop, cultivated plantations, forests and bushes. The total amount of defoliants used by the US armed forces from 1961 to 1971 was 90,000 tons, or 72.4 million litres.

As a result, mangrove forests on 500,000 hectares were all but totally wiped out and 60 per cent of the rain forests (about 4 million hectares) together with 30 per cent of plains forests (over 100,000 hectares) were damaged. The yields on caoutchouc plantations plummeted by 75 per cent since 1960. From 40 to 100 per cent of the acreage under bananas, rice,

yams, papayas, and tomatoes were totally ruined, together with 70 per cent of coconut plantations and 60 per cent of rubber trees.

The destruction of plants gravely affected the ecological balance of Vietnam. In the impact areas, only 18 out of 150 varieties of birds survived while amphibia, and even insects practically disappeared. Fish in rivers dwindled and soil composition changed. The variety pattern of mites was deformed; in particular, mites conveying dangerous diseases appeared in the area. The types of mosquitoes changed, with the varieties typical of maritime mangrove-type forests replacing harmless endemic mosquitoes. They are the chief vectors of malaria in Vietnam and neighbouring countries. The disruption of the stable ecobalance of the tropical forests, triggered by poisonous chemicals, increases the danger of penetration into the area of other animal vectors and media of epidemic diseases.

Chemical substances were used not only against nature but also against human beings. Particularly harmful effects were produced by dioxin included, "by mistake" as the Americans alleged, in Agent Orange and known to be poisonous for man even in less-than-milligram quantities. US experts could not be unaware of its lethal characteristics (there were well-known cases of dioxin casualties at chemical enterprises, including the 1963 accident at a chemical plant in Amsterdam).

Dioxin as a persistent substance has been found to date, both in surface and underground (down to 2 metres) samples of soil, in the areas of Vietnam where Agent Orange was used. Penetrating the human organism through water and foodstuffs, this poison causes cancer, especially of the liver and blood, wide-spread congenital child abnormalities and numerous pregnancy disorders. Medical statistics obtained by Vietnamese physicians indicate that the consequences of the US-pursued chemical warfare will continue to affect Vietnam for many years to come.

The results of the herbicide application were meticulously studied. To this end, the Pentagon kept setting up throughout the chemical war numerous commissions made up, as a rule, of developers of those agents. In its 1968 findings, the inter-departmental commission to evaluate combat effectiveness of the chemical defoliants, set up in 1967 under the US military mission in Saigon, noted that the programme of using those substances had been successfully fulfilled.

At the first international scientific conference on the aftereffects of the chemical war in Vietnam, held in 1970 in Paris, the United States was accused of having placed an ecological delayed-action fuse in Vietnam. It will influence the chain of life, widely destroying the forms of existence of the flora, fauna and underwater life, which will never be restored, and will also cause damage to people living there that can be evaluated only after a long while.

Having tested individual types of chemical weapons in South Vietnam, the US imperialist quarters have hatched plans for their further intensive improvement and use.

What is, then, the current chemical potential of the United States and its NATO allies?

The bulk of the US chemical weapons is made up of poison substances, i. e. chemical munitions of the ground, air and naval forces designed for respective chemical delivery vehicles. At present, the US Army boasts of three groups of chemical agents—lethal, temporarily incapacitating, and irritating agents. The latter type has been placed by Pentagon experts into a special group of "police agents" in a bid to portray them merely as substances, even though available to the armed forces, but allegedly intended only for riot control. It should be stressed that the concentrations of those

standard agents, capable of incapacitating for about one minute, are merely from several tenths to several thousandths of one milligram. The record of the US chemical war in Indochina also gives every ground to speak about the fourth group of chemical agents, i. e. defoliants.

Various types of chemical munitions have been developed by the USA for propelling chemical warfare (CW) agents, with some 100 types of chemical charges in the ground and air forces constituting the backbone of the US offensive arsenal. For instance, chemical warheads for missiles, chemical shells for tube and rocket artillery, chemical mines and fougasses as well as hand grenades and blocks have been developed for the ground troops, with the effectiveness and reliability of those weapons largely hinging on delivery systems used to project them towards the target.

In the 1960s, tactical missiles of the US Army received three sarin-filled cluster warheads capable of delivering 30 to 200 kilograms of sarin to distances of 20 to 140 kilometres. Salvo-fire rocket systems, tube artillery and mortars, capable of projecting to 7 kilograms of sarin, mustard gas or CS per munition to distances of 5 to 25 kilometres, can be used against dispersed targets.

The US Air Force also boasts of various chemical offensive weapons such as air bombs, chemical cluster bombs and spraying devices containing from 200 to 800 kilograms of poison substances. Some of them can also be used by the US Navy aviation and the US Marine Corps.

The US ground troops are armed with a broad range of chemical grenades, aerosol sprayers, chemical bullets and cartridges filled both with short-lived incapacitants and irritants.

About 90 state-owned and private enterprises in the USA are engaged in developing and manufacturing chemical weapons, including 20 plants producing poison gases, 10 facilities specialising in herbicides and defoliants used for military purposes, and 9 plants turning out chemical munitions. The mobilisation chemical production capacities amount to 127,000 tons, i. e. 50,000 tons of sarin, 5,000 tons of VX, 62,000 tons of mustard gas, and so on. The chemical weapons munition filling potential equals 50 million pieces a year.

It goes without saying that information about the US chemical arsenal is kept under wraps. Yet, according to foreign experts and authoritative international organisations, today the Pentagon possesses 55,000 tons of nerve agents. Those reserves alone are more than enough for the multiple annihilation of all humankind.

Every tenth weapon out of the US arsenal is stationed in Europe, mostly stored in West German warehouses. Apart from the town of Fischbach, two other towns most frequently mentioned in the press as US chemical weapon storage centres are Hanum and Mannheim. Chemical weapons are also stored at US military bases in Britain and aboard aircraft carriers in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. There are reasons to believe that there are still some American chemical weapons left in Japan, in spite of the Pentagon's official declarations that they have been totally withdrawn to the Johnson Island following the well-known 1969 nerve-gas leakage incident at the US military base on Okinawa. At least, many Japanese do not rule out such a possibility.

Besides, according to press reports in many countries, the USA is hatching plans to station chemical weapons also in Spain, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan, on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, in South Korea and the Philippines. Such designs organically stem from the US policy to arbitrarily declare any region of the globe a "sphere of vital interests".

In order to effect a qualitative breakthrough in the battle effectiveness of its military chemical arsenal, the USA makes vigorous use of the scientific, technological and industrial capacities of its NATO allies.

Britain is the principal partner of the USA in developing chemical weapons; its government provides every possible incentive to work on new and more efficient CW agents. According to press reports, the Thatcher government is very interested in an early development of highly effective chemical weapons, with the Chemical Protection Center in Porton Down being the main research facility engaged in their study and manufacture. It is there that VX was created. The Porton Down research is closely coordinated with development efforts carried out in the USA.

Notwithstanding the FRG officially declared renunciation of chemical weapons development, the press has carried reports about CW agents-related research in the country. Bayer AG, known for its efforts in developing chemical weapons since the Second World War, continues research in organic-phosphorus agents.

Yet, the existing NATO military-chemical potential no longer satisfies the growing demands of the US military. Contrary to the obvious facts, the USA has been fanning a high-powered campaign intended to prove the alleged "complete obsolescence" of chemical weapon stockpiles and its "lagging behind the Soviet Union". On the initiative of the current US Administration, a new impetus to the large-scale race in manufacturing chemical weapons of mass destruction was given in 1982, with the main emphasis on putting into effect the new "chemical rearmament" programme with some \$10,000 million going towards developing binary agents.

The history of binary chemical munitions dates back to the late 1930s when the US Air Force set about creating a binary air bomb using arsenic hydrogen. When used in ordinary chemical weapons, because of its high volatility, the chemical agent in question evaporated very quickly without producing the required battle effect. The task was set to develop a munition with a controllable rate of the agents' generation. Despite substantial efforts, the desired result was never achieved. The issue of binary chemical weapons was kept on the backburner for a long time. The USA stepped up the process of equipping its army with new nerve agents which were dozens and hundreds times as effective as the WWI poison gases. An industrial production base was established and chemical munitions were stockpiled at an accelerated pace both in the USA and in Europe.

In the early 1960s, however, American experts returned to the idea of developing binary chemical munitions. They were forced to do so by many circumstances, the most important being the lack of substantial headway in their search for supertoxic substances, i. e. third-generation chemical agents. In 1962, the Pentagon drew up a special programme for developing binary chemical weapons, which was accorded high priority together with other strategic programmes. The programme envisaged a meticulous search for chemical components of the binary systems which, while possessing sufficient persistency in storage, would be able to quickly react on each other, forming in the process a chemical agent of high toxicity.

The idea behind binary (or dual) chemical munitions is to fill them with two or more initial components, each of which can be of relatively low toxicity. During the flight to the target, the munition's components intermingle to generate, as an end product of the chemical reaction, a highly toxic chemical substance capable of destroying life in any form.

Initially, the programme provided for developing VX and sarin binary compounds. By the late 1960s, the efforts to create binary sarin scored a success, with difluoroanhydride and isopropyl alcohol used as initial components for obtaining this chemical agent. Shortly thereafter, the binary reaction of VX synthesis was attained. According to American experts, the reaction between ethyl 2-diisopropylaminoethyl-methylphosphonite and dimethylpolysulphide is a most promising one for generating that CW agent.

Much attention was given to a search for more effective substances—binary agents with a so-called intermediate volatility. Tests were carried

out with a good many compounds, including soman. Intensive efforts have been undertaken to develop a substance for genetic and ethnic chemical weapons. On the whole, the work done within the binary programme is top secret and one can only make guesses about its results.

An important stage in creating binary munitions covers direct engineering development of shells, mines, bombs, missile warheads and other delivery vehicles. The main task in that process is to ensure a fast and complete mixing of the components, possibly without using any special devices that would substantially complicate the design and reduce the payload for the initial components. In artillery shells, the mixing is done through the high velocity of the shell's rotation in flight, while in bombs and spraying tanks a mixer is needed.

The very first binary munition in the inventory of the US Army since 1977 is the 155-mm howitzer shell (M 687) charged with binary sarin. At present, work is coming to completion on a Big Eye air bomb filled with binary VX. As has become known, the military chemical plant in Pine Bluff (Arkansas) is all set to turn out binary munitions such as artillery shells and air bombs. In the future, other facilities are scheduled to join in the manufacture of such charges.

What new military and political aspects arise in connection with the emergence of binary chemical weapons?

First, in the coming years, the binary program is slated to increase the existing stockpiles of chemical weapons. Due to the relatively lower toxicity of the binary system components, they will be much easier to transport and store, which would drastically enhance US capabilities for deploying chemical weapons near the European borders of the USSR and its allies and would permit the USA, if necessary, to conceal the very fact of their stationing in the territories of West European countries from their populations, which would, in the final analysis, render the process of saturating the Old World with chemical weapons all but uncontrollable. It is also necessary to take into account that binary weapons expand opportunities for deploying chemical weapons aboard the US Navy aircraft carriers, warships and submarines. This is fraught with a threat of the US military unleashing a chemical war in any region of our planet, which is fully in keeping with the goals of the "neoglobalism" concept adopted of late by the current US Administration.

Second, the binary principle of chemical weapons by far complicates identification of a CW agent employed and, consequently, medical assistance, treatment and the elimination of the aftereffects. Furthermore, variations of binary system components would sharply diminish the effectiveness of such protective arrangements as the preventive dispensing of antidotes. Thus, in certain conditions the entire chemical weapons protection system can end up all but ineffective, which, ultimately, would acutely increase the number of casualties in the case of their employment and, consequently, the "safety" of binary chemical weapons, broadly advertised in the West, turns into a superdanger for millions of people.

The notorious notion of the "safety" of binary chemical weapons appears to be doubtful for other reasons as well. In particular, it should be borne in mind that in terms of their design characteristics those munitions are by far more complex and, consequently, fraught with an enhanced risk of a component malfunction. This could trigger an emergency situation due to either initiation of the formation and emission of a chemical agent or the release of the binary system components some of which, in terms of their toxicity, are on a par with WWI poison gases. With incidents occurring to such super-reliable systems as the Challenger space shuttle, there can

be no counting on the reliability of each and every one of the millions of binary munitions. The consequences of such emergencies can be judged by the scope of Bhopal tragedy when an intermediate product of herbicide production with a relatively low toxicity was released into the atmosphere. Bearing in mind the high density of the population on the European continent where those weapons are planned to be stationed, it would become only self-evident what kind of "safety" the USA has prepared for its West European NATO allies.

Third, it should be taken into account that while the modern large-scale production of sarin, soman, VX and other similar CW agents requires a highly developed chemical industry, knowhow and a high level of safety, the manufacture of the binary system components can be accomplished in simpler conditions, which creates prerequisites for an uncontrollable "spreading" of chemical weapons throughout the planet and their unauthorised use by any country, especially in a local conflict, with all the unpredictable consequences ensuing from such actions.

And finally, the grave peril of binary weapons for the cause of peace consists in opening up loopholes for circumventing a future convention banning chemical weapons. Should some areas be found for using binary chemical system components for industrial peaceful purposes, the possibility would arise of manufacturing and stockpiling them in sufficiently large quantities under the guise of commercial production although in fact those would be stocks of chemical weapons. Thus, the creation of binary chemical weapons dramatically complicates verification issues which the US delegation at the Geneva talks has been constantly speculating on in a bid to justify its own passivity in advancing towards a ban on chemical weapons.

Apart from that, the binary programme permits deployment of weapon components without requesting allies' consent and introduction into the territory of various states binary munitions under the guise of smoke or some other shells, that is, it allows maximal camouflaging of preparations for launching a chemical war.

There can be but one conclusion, i. e. binary weapons enormously increase the danger of mankind's chemical annihilation. It is symptomatic that the US Administration, aided by some other NATO members and primarily by the FRG, railroaded the decision to begin production of binary chemical weapons precisely at the time when there were real chances for concluding a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction.

Consistently following the policy of peace and disarmament and abiding by the Soviet-US agreements reached at Geneva on intensifying efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable convention banning chemical weapons, the Soviet Union has advanced a series of major initiatives which were set forth in the Statement of January 15, 1986, and later, in April of this year, proposed in a more detailed form at the Disarmament Conference. As is envisaged in them, each participating country should begin destroying chemical weapon stockpiles not later than in 6 months (with one year allotted to this by the USA) and destroying or dismantling facilities not later than one year after the convention's entry into force. Furthermore, as early as 30 days after the instrument becomes valid, the exact location of each facility manufacturing chemical weapons, including binary weapon components, should be declared. This applies to all facilities, whether state-owned or private.

Interested in an early ban on chemical weapons and desiring to activate negotiations, the Soviet Union has put forward bold and far-reaching verification proposals. The USSR has proposed that the discontinuation of operation of every chemical weapon production facility be ensured by means of strict verification, including systematic international on-site inspections. In this context, the correctness of the declarations made would be

checked; inspectors would impress seals on a facility to be closed, and the seals would be periodically checked for integrity till the beginning of a facility's destruction or dismantling.

In order to ensure effective monitoring of the process, the Soviet Union has proposed arranging for systematic international on-site inspections and working out a procedure for the international inspectors' visits to a facility that would ensure their presence at all major operations related to its destruction or dismantling. A concluding international inspection would be conducted after the completion of the entire process of the facility's destruction or dismantling.

These proposals, as was stressed in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Soviet television (August 18, 1986), "in our view, make it possible to sign before the year's end, or next year a convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles, as well as the industrial base for their manufacture."

The USSR has always come out in support of the proposals moved by the fraternal socialist countries concerning the establishment of chemical weapons-free zones in Central Europe and in the Balkans, viewing them as interim steps towards a complete and general ban on chemical weapons.

Strongly advocating the non-proliferation of chemical weapons, the Soviet Union had unilaterally adopted regulations concerning the export of chemicals which are intended for peaceful purposes but can be used for manufacturing chemical weapons.

The above-listed concrete and constructive proposals vividly prove that there is no disparity between the Soviet Union's words and deeds, which cannot as yet be said about the USA and its NATO allies. The comprehensive analysis of the binary programme leads to but one conclusion, namely that the US plans for a binary chemical rearmament are aimed at reaching the aggressive military-strategic and political goals of the USA and whipping up the arms race in a new direction and at a qualitatively higher level. The programme is part and parcel of Washington's overall efforts to change the balance of forces existing in the world and to gain military and technological supremacy over the USSR. The dangers inherent in a course as aggressive as that of the USA are self-evident and the consequences of such a policy can be disastrous.

This is precisely why the peoples of our planet vigorously support the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and ever more strongly oppose Washington's insanity which is fraught, among other things, with the risk of chemical annihilation of all life on Earth.

WAR BUSINESS ADVOCATES AND THE ECONOMIC REALITIES OF DISARMAMENT

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The CPSU Programme points out: "Contemporary science and technology make it possible to ensure abundance on Earth and to create material conditions for the flourishing of society and the development of the individual. These creations of the human mind and human hands, however, are being turned against humanity itself owing to class selfishness, for the sake of the enrichment of the elite, which dominates the capitalist world. This is a glaring contradiction which confronts mankind as it approaches the threshold of the 21st century."

Naturally, it is not scientific and technological progress which poses a threat to peace. It is the imperialist policy which reflects the interests of more reactionary, militarist and aggressive forces of our time, the policy of whipping up the arms race, mad as it is, the policy fraught with catastrophic consequences for the entire human race.

Realising the impending disaster, the Soviet Union offers the only reasonable and acceptable way out: peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Such an international order implies, in particular, not only the absence of wars, but rather the discontinuation of the unbridled arms race and saving mankind from squandering tremendous resources on military needs.

The struggle to end the arms race and achieve disarmament has become the focal issue in the present-day international relations. Those who are active proponents of a further buildup of weaponry are bent on protecting the interests of the military-industrial complex and are zealous opponents of any proposals, to say nothing of any practical steps, intended to reduce military potential. And sometimes these people bolster their actions with arguments which seem at times convincing. For instance, they assert that requests from the army for weapons stimulate economic, scientific and technological progress. While capitalising on the general decline of production growth rates and the rise in unemployment in the capitalist countries in the 1980s, the adherents of the militaristic course are striving to prove that these problems are easily resolved by expanding military production, i. e., by escalating the arms race.

As an American economist Barry Bosworth wrote, "the big defense-spending surge is creating jobs—real jobs and very good, highly paid ones—in nearly everybody's district. And it's doing so at a time of great economic distress."¹ Caspar Weinberger, US Defense Secretary, and other statesmen often intimidate their audiences by asserting that any cuts in the US military budget would inevitably entail job losses. In its white paper on defence the British government regards the development of the military industry as a blessing for the nation and as an instrument for ensuring employment.

¹ *Newsweek*, May 9, 1983, p. 37.

True, some segments of the working people and trade union functionaries in the capitalist countries also stake on the growing military budgets which would, they hope, cut down unemployment.

On the surface this point of view looks quite tenable: indeed, during the Second World War the rapid growth of weapons production and huge armies reduced mass unemployment that had been plaguing most capitalist countries in the 1930s. In particular, many Americans associate the 1939-1945 period with industrial boom and prosperity. However, even if one neglects to see that the aim behind the militarisation of the economy was not to do away with unemployment and cost the world 50 million of human lives, one cannot disregard the qualitative differences between modern weapons and those of more than forty years ago, when relatively unsophisticated arms were rolling off the lines, and their relatively low capital input made it possible to provide jobs to a lot of unskilled workers.

The present-day arms race is a dog-eat-dog competition in the elaboration and production of ever more sophisticated mass-destruction weapons on which billions upon billions of dollars are squandered. Besides, these death-dealing systems become obsolete quite quickly and need to be replaced by new and more costly systems. Naturally, all this requires tremendous R & D input, huge investments and a relatively small input of skilled labour. In other words, modern military production is capital-intensive with this indice exceeding by far the corresponding indicator in the civilian sectors of the industry. Therefore, to set up new jobs in the military industry it is necessary to invest much more money (as American economists estimate, four times more)² than in civilian industries.

High capital inputs in modern military hardware production explains the fact that despite a considerable growth of military expenditure in major capitalist countries employment in the war and related industries is growing at a relatively slow pace and, as before, these industries absorb an insignificant part of the labour force. In the USA, according to official data, 5,067,000 people were working in arms production in 1974; and in 1981—5,862,000, which is just 5.7 per cent of all gainfully-employed. Simultaneously, over the same period the military budget had been climbing more rapidly, from \$79,300 million to \$157,500 million.³ According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, the growth of employment engendered by the production of missiles and other outer space hardware will be relatively small despite the ambitious US space programme—from 155,000 in 1984 to 196,000 jobs in 1995.⁴

As can be seen from the above, expenditures on the arms race create relatively few additional jobs if one looks at that process in the context of the entire economy. And this growth of employment in the military sector leads to job losses in the civilian branches.

To evaluate the ratio of additional jobs created in the military sector and those lost in the civilian branches it is necessary that the changing pattern of the eventual demand, production and inter-sectoral relationships be taken into account. Prominent economic organisations and individual scientists from the capitalist countries have amassed enough experience in the elaboration of this problem. In its major research paper *The Structure of the U. S. Economy in 1980 and 1985* the Bureau of Labor Statistics attempted to examine the impact of different options in

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1984*, Washington, 1983, p. 345.

⁴ *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1985, p. 37.

changing the pattern of the eventual demand on employment by applying the inter-sectoral balancing method. Estimates show that the transfer of \$1,000 million from the military sector to health care and social security or education would give new jobs to 24,500 to 52,000 people correspondingly.⁵

The Institute of Economic Studies of West Berlin carried out a similar study for West Germany about ten years ago. Its authors have established that the allocation of DM 10,000 million (in 1976 prices) from the state budget would create 180,000 jobs in the military sector; 196,000 in agriculture; 205,000 in health care; 211,000 in state management; 215,000 in transport and construction; and 269,000 in social security.⁶ So, the transfer of DM 10,000 million from the military sector to social security would create 89,000 jobs.

The appraisal of the impact made by the transfer, or conversion, to peaceful production on employment cannot be reduced to estimating only the effect of a simple redeployment of resources from the military sector to the civilian branches. This method is quite graphic. However, it registers only a transient, superfluous effect and does not allow for fully taking into account all economic benefits accruing from reduced military spending. The point is that the arms race not only robs the civilian sector of the sum equalling allocations on military purposes: it also has a negative cumulative effect, for the accumulation of the negative consequences ensuing from the unrestrained growth of the military budget seriously erodes the basis of economic development in the future. American Professor Wassily Leontief, Nobel Prize winner in economics, in appraising the possible negative consequences of the militaristic programme of the present US Administration, stated that it would result in a sharp rise in the federal debt, the reduction of industrial investments, lowered competitiveness of American goods on the world market and, consequently, to a further slow-down of the economic growth rates and mounting unemployment. Another prominent scientist, Columbia University Professor Seymour Melman believes that the channeling of tremendous scientific and material resources to meet the needs of the military-industrial complex substantially undermines the cumulative economic effect of R & D, slows down the retooling of civilian production and impedes the growth of labour productivity.

In S. Melman's opinion special relationship between the monopolies and the state as a buyer of their lethal wares affects price-formation in military production. The lack of competition in obtaining contracts, huge state subsidies to private corporations and the ability to cover all additional costs from the state budget are behind the sky-rocketing prices on military output. Besides, many militaristic programmes are not brought to fruition since frequently the weapons systems which are just in the making become morally obsolete and are replaced by new ones, and this ties down additional tremendous resources resulting in a general rise in expenses. In other words, expenditures are being dramatically increased, and this fully accords with the private companies' drive to maximise profits. However, it brings about a minimal growth of economic efficiency and lower labour productivity. Melman estimates that the potential average per annum growth rates of labour productivity would have been three to four per cent higher had it not been for the militarisation of the US economy.⁷

⁵ Calculated from *The Structure of the U.S. Economy in 1980 and 1985*, Washington, 1975, pp. 108—111.

⁶ *Rüstungs-oder Sozialstaat?* Cologne, 1981, p. 39.

⁷ See *Armed Forces and Society*, August 1975, p. 496.

According to official US data, the following correlation existed between the share of military spending in the GNP and the average annual growth rates of labour productivity in the five major capitalist countries in the 1970s: (see Table below).

	USA	Great Britain	West Germany	France	Japan
Share of spending on weapons in the GNP (per cent)	6.1	4.9	3.9	3.9	0.9
Average per annum labour productivity growth rates (per cent)	1.1	2.0	3.4	3.4	4.5

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1984, p. 345.

The above comparison shows that the more money goes to meet military needs, the slower is the growth of the social productivity of labour. In the USA, which is the uncontested leader in the arms race, the average annual growth of labour productivity over the 1977-1984 period was, as estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, only 0.5 per cent.⁸

The slower growth rates of labour productivity in the USA and Great Britain, as compared to their main rivals—Japan and the continental countries of Western Europe—weaken the positions of the American and British firms on the world market. The overseas economists calculated that if in 1972 the American auto industry accounted for 31.7 per cent of car sales on the world market, in 1982 it shrunk to only 19.2 per cent. Over the same period the share of civil aircraft equipment sold by the American producers diminished from 78.3 per cent to 66.8 per cent; semiconductor output—from 58.1 to 55.4; that of steel from 19.6 to 11.6; the total share of US production in the world capitalist economy has dwindled from 26.1 to 24.4 per cent.⁹ Even on the domestic market the positions of American companies have become seriously eroded by the competition of goods made elsewhere. As a result, businessmen engaged in peace-time production sustain considerable losses, while the chances for increasing employment are becoming bleaker, and unemployment is on the rise.

One of the most acute problems engendered by the militarisation of the economy is the deficit run by the state budget. The elimination of that deficit was declared to be one of the basic goals in the economic policy of the Reagan Administration. The reduction of allocations for social needs, of all expenses, was selected as the main means of balancing the budget. However, the simultaneous increase in military allocations has not allowed the deficit to decrease. On the contrary, that policy only sharply increased the deficit. While in 1980 the deficit ran into \$59,600 million, now, according to the US Budget Office, it exceeds \$200,000 million and in 1989 it may reach \$263,000 million. By that time the US federal debt will have grown to \$2.5 trillion, and only the interest paid to the creditors will amount to about \$214,000 million, or about one-sixth of all state expenditures.

All this is a drag on the economy and is a matter of serious concern for the US business community. A poll conducted among 600 managers of the major US corporations by *Business Week* revealed that 85 per cent

⁸ *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1985, p. 3.

⁹ *U.S. News & World Report*, Sept. 10, 1984, p. 61.

of all those polled believed that in order to reduce the budget deficit it was necessary that military expenditures be cut.

The stand taken by prominent statesmen of former US Administrations such as McGeorge Bundy, Robert McNamara and Cyrus Vance, who are strong advocates of curtailing the growth of the US military budget in favour of developing the American economy, reflects the views held by that segment of the American business community. The Brookings Institution, which shared that opinion, proposed reducing the US military allocations by \$155,000 million.

The above examples indicate that the civilian industries will only benefit if the arms race is brought to a standstill. And what about the military sectors? The destiny of highly skilled workers, engineers and designers presently employed in the military sphere is an acute socio-political aspect of disarmament. Indeed, as people connected with the military-industrial complex assert, their corporations have made such deep inroads into arms production that for them disarmament would spell economic ruin which, in its turn, would make them close enterprises and dismiss their workers en masse.

However, it is not so much a matter of closing down plants that turn out military wares. Rather it is a problem of switching their production to civilian goods with maintaining or even expanding their workforce. Possessing a sound scientific and technological basis and highly skilled personnel, these plants could make a tangible contribution to the development of the civilian economy and the humanisation of scientific and technological progress, for instance, the upgrading of health care and education, environmental protection, and the creation of new technology improving working conditions.

There exists a number of objective factors which can facilitate this conversion. As a rule, corporations producing arms have a diversified output, including the production of civilian goods. For instance, in the Lockheed corporation, leading the other US companies in war-related contracts, military hardware accounted for 44 per cent of all sales, and in Rockwell International for only 16 per cent. Even for arms-oriented firms it is no obstacle to convert their production since it is based on technology used in the civilian sectors of the industry as well. Inga Thorsson, a Swedish government expert on disarmament problems, stressed that the application of new technology (flexible automation, microprocessor techniques, and the use of new composite materials) brings the military and civilian production closer technologically and makes conversion easier.¹⁰

The new stage in the scientific and technological revolution and the resultant intensive restructuring of production, when the elaboration of totally new types of products plays the key role, facilitates conversion. As was noted in a special study carried out by UN experts and dealing with the long-term trends in the development of the world economy and disarmament, "Disarmament would be a complex process, involving major conversion or redeployment of resources from the production of military goods and services to the production of others. However, conversion and redeployment are not phenomena associated uniquely with disarmament. Any form of economic and social development represents a continuous process of conversion. Particularly in modern, industrial economies, the factors of production must respond continuously to the development of new products and the phasing out of old ones. In addition, as the process of

¹⁰ See *In Pursuit of Disarmament. Report by the Special Expert Inga Thorsson*, Vol. 11, Stockholm, 1985, p. 157.

disarmament is certain to be gradual, even large-scale conversion could be a much smaller problem than is sometimes assumed."¹¹

Moreover, with the rapidly replaced weapons systems, the elaboration of new ones and the scrapping of old systems, the war industry itself is going through a process of constant restructuring which is not a 100-per-cent guarantee of steady employment. Therefore, it is not by chance that some trade unions representing workers engaged in military production initiate the elaboration of the alternative plans for the conversion of military production to the production of civilian goods so as to avert large-scale lay-offs. The programme for conversion drawn up in 1976 by the committee of shop stewards of the British Lucas Aerospace Corporation, which manufactures war planes, has become known elsewhere. The programme provided for the transition to production of more than 100 types of civilian goods. In the USA the aerospace trade union also advanced its own plan of conversion. Naturally, these initiatives were bluntly rejected by the owners of these corporations who had a stake in the war business. State bodies in the USA and Britain also refused to give the trade unions a helping hand.

Meanwhile, as was repeatedly stated in the UN reports on disarmament, it is the state which supplies contracts for military production that has to play the key role in such conversion. UN experts insist that it is necessary to elaborate long-term disarmament programmes at the national scale, programmes that would receive active assistance from the central and local authorities.

The proponents of a continuing arms race usually refer to the military contracts provided by the government as the main stabilising force in the economy. In particular, in the USA the thesis is advanced that with the uncertain situation in the economy most firms are reluctant to make large-scale investments to expand their production when they are not sure that there will be a stable market. As a result, the only major investor which can thereby create new jobs is the Pentagon. In other words, an ultimatum is posed: either an increase in the military sphere or no increase in employment at all.

Such a dilemma is totally unwarranted and is geared to misleading the American working people. The means at the disposal of the Pentagon is the money from the US state budget and accumulated through the taxes paid by the Americans. The fact that most of these resources are squandered on the arms race is totally unrelated to any economic considerations and is determined exclusively by the military and political ambitions of the Washington ruling quarters. If the political orientation is tipped in favour of stopping the arms race the state budget will be redistributed. In that case hundreds of billions of dollars presently apportioned for military purposes would be used to finance the civilian sectors of the industry, and that would create many additional jobs.

According to the multi-option model of the development of the US economy elaborated by the Center for Future Studies of the Illinois University, the option of "social development" involving the reduction of military spending allows for creating within five years 6.7 million more jobs than the option of "military development" of the economy.¹²

¹¹ *Disarmament*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1983, p. 47.

¹² *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1973.

Among the most important arguments adduced by those who support the continuation of the arms race are the special-purpose military research programmes, which, as their advocates allege, are the prime movers of scientific and technological progress nowadays. That is exactly how they present the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) put forward by the Reagan Administration which asserts that participation in that programme is the only tangible opportunity for the private firms and entire states to make breakthrough in their technological development and advance towards 21st century technology. The basic trait here is the huge allocations from the US federal budget which, as the SDI managers estimate, will amount to \$26,000 million by 1990 and, according to the data of an official inter-departmental commission, these allocations will reach almost \$95,000 million by the year 2000. However, even that figure is an obvious underestimation. In the opinion of the former US Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, which is shared by many experts, the total sum of the Star Wars programme may rise to \$1 trillion.

All this implies a radical restructuring of federal allocations for R & D in favour of an unprecedented rise in the share of military projects. According to the US Budget Office \$7,500 million was apportioned for the military and civilian R & D in 1970. As is estimated, in 1987 military research will devour \$45,000 million, while only \$17,000 million will be allocated for civilian R & D.

It would be wrong to underestimate the opportunities offered by the concentration of tremendous material and intellectual resources for the solution of individual scientific and technological problems in laser technology, information science and telemechanics. However, the SDI advocates argue that it would be totally impossible to elaborate new technologies without that programme. In their interpretation the Pentagon is the chief organiser and the driving force behind all scientific and technological progress. Actually, what is involved is a large-scale programme of militarising scientific research in the USA and a number of other NATO countries which will divert the bulk of material and intellectual resources from peaceful uses and channel them to the creation of outer space weapons.

It is not by chance that the SDI programme evoked a wave of indignation in the USA, as well as in other countries. Some 6,500 American scientists, including 15 Nobel Prize winners, announced their refusal to take part in Star Wars preparations. They justified their appeal by their opposition to participating in a further escalation of the arms race. Particularly passionate discussions are raging over the SDI in the main centres of fundamental research in the USA such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the California Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, the John Hopkins University, and Cornell University. James Melcher, Director of MIT's Laboratory of Electromagnetic and Electronic Systems, stressed that the SDI programme impedes research and development which is necessary to maintain the competitiveness of US industry. Former MIT Provost, physicist Francis Low voiced his concern over the growing state allocations for military research that are apportioned to the detriment of non-military sectors.

There is also strong opposition to the Star Wars plans among the scientific community in Western Europe. In October 1985 a group of professors from the Imperial College of Science and Technology in Britain sent a letter to Margaret Thatcher with a request to abandon participation in the SDI space programme since, as they believed, that programme was unviable and diverted the available scarce resources from more important tasks in the development of production.¹³

¹³ *New Scientist*, Nov. 7, 1985, p. 17.

At the same time, billion-dollar infusions into the SDI attract some scientists and engineers who encounter difficulties in getting finances for their research, or are just striving to fill their pockets with the money from that programme. Some of them who have agreed to participate in the SDI programme say that it opens up wide opportunities for conducting fundamental research, irrespective of whether it is military or not, and that it may bring important practical results which can be used in the economy. In particular, Professor James Jonson supervising the department of prospective research and development within the SDI points out to possible ore extraction from asteroids and the possibility of obtaining super-pure alloys in outer space, the creation of optical computers and to the extensive use of laser technology in medicine. However, it is absolutely clear that the extraction of raw materials on asteroids does not require a giant network of military stations in outer space, while the development of a new generation of computers and laser surgery can easily do without superpowerful laser weapons fused by the hydrogen bomb. The staggering costs involved in the attainment of purely military goals reflected in the SDI programme are incommensurate with its hypothetical use for peaceful purposes.

At the July meeting with the participants in the International Forum of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests Mikhail Gorbachev stated: "It is said that the SDI is the way to the advance of science, to new heights in scientific and technological progress. But I will tell you that this is perverse thinking, with everything turned upside down. Can we not advance science, technology, every component of scientific knowledge including the development of new materials, radio electronics, computer technology, mathematics, etc. through peaceful projects? The Vega programme is a fresh and convincing example.... The argument that science and technology can be developed only through an arms race is an absurd argument."

Many American scientists engaged in shaping the US economic, scientific, and technological policy adhere to the same viewpoint. The Council on Economic Priorities published a special report in 1985 appraising a possible impact of the SDI programme on the US economy. The report notes that the Star Wars preparations can inflict heavy damage on the development of the civilian sectors by diverting enormous quantities of intellectual and material resources to the military sphere. The secrecy surrounding this R & D seriously impedes the application of some results, for instance, new technology in the civilian sectors. On the whole, the financing and fundamental research transgressing the narrow bounds of their military expediency would bring much more tangible results for the entire scientific and technological progress. According to one of the leading American experts on military economy, Simon Ramo, if the USA had used the money it had spent for the last three decades on military R & D and invested that money in the most promising fields of science and technology the USA would have already attained the technological level it hoped to reach by the year 2000.¹⁴

The postulate on the fatal inevitability of the arms race alleging that it contributes to, and even invigorates, economic development, is totally untenable. Moreover, the realities indicate that it is imperative to rechannel R & D so as to be able to resolve the pressing global problems challenging mankind. First of all it is vital that food be provided to the Earth's growing population, that new energy and raw materials sources

¹⁴ *The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup*, New York, 1982, p. 22.

for the world economy be found, that an end be put to pollution of the environment which is a hazard to the health and even life of future generations, that the most dangerous and wide-spread diseases be eliminated, that the dangerous and widening gap in the socio-economic development levels between the developed and the developing countries be bridged. These problems can be resolved provided there is lasting peace and all countries with different socio-political systems work together for the attainment of common goals.

The key task of our time is to resolve the problem of war and peace and to eliminate the nuclear threat hanging over humanity. The aversion of that threat would ultimately open the way for tackling all other global problems. As far as the *political* aspect of the problem is concerned, only detente can make it possible to re-establish trust between states and to pool their efforts and means at their disposal. As regards the *economic* side of the issues involved, the discontinuation of the senseless squandering of tremendous material and intellectual resources on the arms race would allow for their use in radically solving problems of energy, raw materials, food, poverty and backwardness. And, finally, as a necessary prerequisite it is vital that *scientific and technological* development be turned from the militaristic course towards attaining creative goals and towards tackling urgent socio-economic problems so as to be able to overcome the crisis situation in the world. Such an approach would be also a pledge that no such situation would arise in the future.

A RESPECTABLE WORLD BODY

[The 40th Anniversary of UNESCO]

Gennadi U R A N O V

UNESCO is one of the most prominent organisations within the UN system. Having emerged on the ruins of the Second World War, which ended in the defeat of Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism, it has passed through a succession of important stages in its evolution and development during the 40 years of its existence. This evolution has reflected the sweeping changes that have taken place on this planet in the post-war period. UNESCO has been directly or indirectly affected by the revolutionary political shifts in the life of humanity which have come as a sequel to the victory over fascism in the Second World War. The rise of a world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism, and the unprecedented upsurge of mass struggles around the globe have, naturally, all had their effect on UNESCO, too.

It may be worth recalling that this Organisation's Constituent Conference in London, in November 1945, was attended by only 44 nations. Most of them were capitalist states or those of North Africa, Latin America, and Asia which were, as a matter of fact, virtually dependent on the West. But the elation inspired by the victory over fascism and militarism and the spirit of the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco decisions could not fail to be reflected in the UNESCO Constitution adopted in London.

It said that the Organisation was being established "for the purpose of advancing through the educational, scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind". The Constitution underscored that "the purpose of UNESCO is to contribute to peace and security" in the spirit of UN ideals and principles. However, far from all of the major parties to it actually strove at the time to effectuate the main objectives formulated in the UNESCO Constitution.

Nevertheless, the very atmosphere of those days when the Constituent Conference was going on, made the decision to create UNESCO sound as an important positive fact of the post-war realities, while many of the founding members saw the Organisation itself not only as an instrument of cooperation in the cultural and intellectual field but also as a major forum of the struggle for peace and extensive international understanding. Here is what an American delegate, Director of the Congressional Library, Archibald MacLeish, a noted poet, said at the closing session of the Conference: "I think, speaking in all frankness, that some of us who came to this Conference came with narrower ideas of what this Organisation was going to be than the ideas with which we leave it. Some of us thought it was to be an international organisation for this or that or the other piece of the whole objective, but I think not one of us knew we should be constructing here a great and powerful instrument for the broadest possible purpose, which is the purpose of the common understanding of men for peace".

In accordance with the decisions of the Constituent Conference, the UNESCO Constitution was to enter into force upon ratification by the

first 20 member-states. That occurred on November 4, 1946, which has since been observed as UNESCO's founding date.

As years rolled by, the world's political map changed, with more states coming into existence and joining the United Nations, resulting in UNESCO's growing membership, and in positive shifts in the Organisation's activities and a widening scope of its work. By the mid-1950s UNESCO already had 73 states in it, by the mid-1960s it had 120, and by the mid-1970s—136. In the early 1980s, UNESCO had 161 member-states.

The numerical growth brought with it essential qualitative changes. Fresh blood was injected into the Organisation, by common consent, when the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR joined UNESCO in the spring of 1954. That could be seen, first of all, from the fact that, upon the initiative of the socialist countries, there was a growing trend for UNESCO to be more consistent and more effective in meeting its statutory commitments and priorities in its actual performance. It meant, in plain terms, that the UNESCO plans and programmes began to include such activities as attested to its increased contribution towards resolving the most pressing and urgent problems of the day. UNESCO sessions developed into more active and intensive debates on the issues relating to the struggle for peace, the ending of the cold war, confidence building, promotion of understanding among the peoples, and containment of the arms race.

With virtually all the socialist states, eventually joining UNESCO and with its membership growing, particularly since the 1960s, due to the admission of newly free states that had thrown off the colonial yoke, the West lost its monopoly of strategic decision-making in this Organisation. UNESCO came to be more of a natural mirror reflecting the pressing needs of humanity as a whole. That applied, incidentally, not only to the specific areas of its competence, such as international cooperation in the field of education, natural and social sciences, culture and mass information, but also to the Organisation's general course in international affairs and its more adequate reflection of the will of the overwhelming majority of the member states for promoting detente and peace, and world-wide security and cooperation.

UNESCO's universality as an inter-governmental world Organisation, the very spectrum of its interests and forms of activity, and the wide range of areas within its competence, have all made UNESCO a unique specialised United Nations agency. UNESCO's actual contribution towards broader and closer international cooperation in what are areas of vital concern to humanity led to its increased international prestige and its growing role as a major factor in international affairs.

During the past 40 years, many of the parameters of UNESCO's activities have essentially changed. What has remained unchanged, however, is the tendency to look for a reasonable and mutually acceptable balance of interests of all groups of states represented in the Organisation. In this context, one has every right to maintain that UNESCO's activities have acquired new quantitative and qualitative characteristics since it came into existence.

Today it is a multi-disciplinary world Organisation. One of its most distinguishing features is extensive analytical and research work or, as it is often said, UNESCO's intellectual function. UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar had grounds to term it the "brains" of the UN system. UNESCO research, because of the manifold competence of this

Organisation, embraces many important aspects of modern society's international life.

In the latter half of the 1970s, UNESCO, perhaps, one of the first in the UN system to do so, started to operate under a long-term plan. Such practice was introduced upon the launching of the First Medium-Term Plan for 1977-1982. This tendency was carried forward in the course of the elaboration and endorsement of the Second Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989 in 1982. Methodologically, both plans came to be based on UNESCO research studies which were carried out with the active participation of a whole series of international non-governmental and inter-governmental organisations. The strategy of UNESCO's activities with respect to education, science, culture, and communication was worked out with due regard for those studies and the influence produced on the planet's political climate by the problems of war and peace, militarism and detente, the struggle against information, cultural and intellectual imperialism with a view to promoting the development of the newly free states and peoples.

One of the important and positive results of UNESCO's 40 years of activity has been the fact that, along with extending the work it has been doing in the traditional areas of its competence, it has concerned itself with the most advanced and promising directions of development of mankind's intellectual and material life. The point is that the Organisation has, by and large, fairly accurately zeroed in on the urgent requirements of broad international cooperation in such areas where it was particularly necessary to take an innovative approach, and a truly universal character of interaction and full-scale use of the well-run machinery of cooperation. It was not by chance, of course, that UNESCO took on global problems like oceanography, hydrology, power engineering, comprehensive investigation of sea and land resources, and man's relationship with the environment. The information explosion has also found expression in the Organisation's activities. It has responded to it by establishing a world information system. Sweeping progress in cybernetics and computerisation in science, education, culture, and information have led to UNESCO setting up an International Informatics Programme in 1985.

Thus there is every reason to say that this international body is making a tangible contribution, on the one hand, to assisting the development of the newly free states and peoples, and, on the other, to general progress throughout the planet since it is a major forum for exchange of the most advanced scientific, technological, cultural and intellectual experience.

Since the latter half of the 1960s UNESCO has been paying more and more attention to studying the impact of detente on resolving urgent problems and the negative effect on them of the arms race. The Organisation has been doing its work in this field in a wide range of directions and forms, notably, by organising all kinds of international conferences and meetings, scientific symposiums, various research studies and publications. It should be noted that UNESCO was active in the First and Second Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. At these sessions its positive role in moulding public opinion in favour of peace, for curbing the arms race, for disarmament and for detente was acknowledged. The resolutions of both sessions called on UNESCO to extend this effort.

This range of problems also figured prominently in the Second Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989. In particular, such major programmes as

I. Reflection on World Problems and Future-Oriented Studies and XIII. Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples contained not only an analysis of the significance of these issues for the state of, and prospect for the development of the Earth's civilisation, but outlined the specific directions of the Organisation's activities in this field. Working on that range of problems, UNESCO relied on its own vast positive experience, on the appropriate UN documents, and also on the decisions and recommendations it has adopted over the years. In particular, one document that has played and continues to play a great role is the Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, endorsed by the UNESCO General Conference on November 19, 1974. The Inter-Governmental Conference in Paris in 1983 was one of great importance for putting it into effect.

The forum that met in Paris decided, notably, on drafting a Plan for the Development of Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace. That document, intended for a term of 10 years, was approved by the 23rd Session of the UNESCO General Conference (Sofia, October-November, 1985). It provided for a wide range of activities to bring up the rising generation in the spirit of friendship and peace.

UNESCO's activities are, naturally, a factor in maintaining and strengthening peace. This is why the Organisation was so active in implementing the UN General Assembly decision to designate 1986 as the International Year of Peace. Numerous activities were carried out and a number of manifestations in defence of peace organised at the UNESCO headquarters in this context. The activities conducted by UNESCO in 1985 as part of the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the Victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War were closely coordinated with the Peace Year actions (in particular, it shared in organising and holding the International Meeting of War Veterans in Moscow).

The Session of the UNESCO General Conference in Sofia passed the important resolutions, Peace, Development and International Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and UNESCO's Contribution to the International Year of Peace. A major meeting of UNESCO experts, prominent scientists and personalities in the cultural field from 20 countries, including the USSR, was organised in Athens in January, 1986, to discuss the role of people engaged in education, science, culture, and mass information in curbing the arms race and removing the threat of a nuclear holocaust. UNESCO annual awards for education in the spirit of peace have earned wide-spread reputation. In 1984 this award was presented to the Co-Chairmen of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Soviet Academician Yevgeni Chazov and American Professor Bernard Lown.

Elaboration within the UNESCO framework of the moral and ethical aspects of the issue of war and peace is consonant, as it were, with many points of the concept of the all-embracing system of international security, advanced by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, particularly in respect to the humanitarian field. In this sense, UNESCO could have much to say and contribute to converting the new mode of political thinking into an everyday reality.

In its activities, UNESCO has been prominently concerned with the issues involved in the struggle against colonialism and its aftermath and against the manifestations of racism and racial discrimination. Under the influence of socialist and newly free states, the Organisation was

vocal in exposing Salazarian colonialist policy thus making a tangible contribution towards the liberation of Portuguese colonies.

It has been just as active in speaking out against apartheid and also against the unlawful occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria racists. It is indicative that South Africa, on leaving UNESCO on April 5, 1955, mentioned as the reason for its act interference in the racial problems of South Africa in the form of UNESCO publications which are propagated and disseminated in South Africa. UNESCO studies and materials on the problems of apartheid have become a legal and political rationale for pronouncements against it from the rostrum of the United Nations and other international forums.

The Soviet Union has been consistently pressing for this international Organisation to become an effective instrument within the UN framework in the struggle for decolonisation. The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the UN General Assembly in 1960 and the admission of scores of newly independent states to UNESCO in the 1960s created quite new conditions and powerfully stimulated its struggle against colonialism.

On November 27, 1978, the Session of the General Conference adopted a Declaration on Race and Race Prejudice, in spite of the fierce resistance put up by a number of Western countries. That document stressed that all the peoples of the world have equal abilities for achieving the highest level of intellectual, technical, social, economic, cultural and political development. Differences in the achievements of different peoples are due only to geographic, historical, political, economic, social and cultural factors. It emphasised that these differences could under no circumstances serve as a pretext for establishing any hierarchical classification of nations and peoples. The adoption of the Declaration, which the Soviet Union, for one, had done much to work out, was a considerably successful feat by UNESCO in the struggle for the eradication of the vestiges of colonialism on this planet.

The struggle against colonialism and racism has become an important component of the UNESCO Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989 (Programme XII. The Elimination of Prejudice, Intolerance, Racism, and Apartheid). Along with research to expose colonialism, racism, and apartheid, UNESCO is rendering substantial practical assistance to the national liberation movements recognised by the OAU, notably in national manpower training. It has been doing an important job of exposing the consequences of Israeli aggression against Arab peoples and an infringement of their inalienable national rights and a damage to their cultural and social development.

The Organisation has been acknowledged as one playing the central role in working out, within the UN system, the principles of a new international information order (NIIO). UNESCO has done an appreciable amount of work in recent years in this field despite opposition from transnationals. The adoption in 1978 of a Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War was the Organisation's important achievement.

A number of specific projects and activities carried out by UNESCO within the framework of the International Programme for the Development of Communication it launched in 1980 with a view to creating communication structures in the newly free countries and national manpower training for them have also been events of great practical value. UNESCO's activities in this field objectively meet the interests of decolonisation of the information media in the developing countries and hinder ideological and information neocolonialism. That is why it has

particularly infuriated the present US Administration and international imperialist circles. UNESCO's activities in this area are conducive to improving international relations in general and normalising the political climate on the planet. The USSR, other socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of developing nations have been pressing for UNESCO to keep on making a sizable contribution towards democratising and restructuring international information relations to meet the call of the times.

UNESCO has been giving more prominence, particularly in the last few years, to issues relating to youth. That is not only promoting a more effective solution of the problems of education, involvement of the rising generations in science and high technology and wider access to cultural values, but also the enhancement of the young people's role in the entire life of modern society. UNESCO was most actively involved in the International Youth Year, as 1985 was designated by the United Nations. It had prepared and staged a World Congress on Youth in Barcelona from July 8 to 15 last year. Apart from that, UNESCO was also active in the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow, in the Goodwill Games, staged in the USSR in 1986, and in other activities undertaken with Soviet youth participation.

The problems of ending sex discrimination have been gaining prominence not only in the theoretical but also in the practical activities of UNESCO in recent years. That has been largely due to the fact that it has been active in the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), which had Equality, Development and Peace as its motto. The analysis of this problem was paramount in drawing up UNESCO's Second Medium-Term Plan. The decision was made to single out a separate large Programme XIV—The Status of Women. Endorsing it, the Fourth Special Session of UNESCO General Conference noted that review of world problems showed that an improvement of the condition of women is connected with social progress as a whole. Based on this conclusion, the plan had it recorded that the issues "relating to the status of women should be placed in a global perspective and examined in relation to the whole range of problems that contemporary societies have to face".

Within The Status of Women programme UNESCO has been carrying on a large amount of research and taking practical steps towards eliminating discrimination against women in the field of education and in other areas. The Organisation has sponsored various conferences and symposiums and a detailed report on UNESCO's contribution to resolving the problems of women to the World Conference in Nairobi in July 1985, which reviewed the United Nations Decade for Women.

Undoubtedly sex discrimination is an acute problem primarily in the newly free countries and in the capitalist states as well. In the socialist world the women's question has been justly resolved. Therefore the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries is invaluable for UNESCO.

Education is one of the major areas of UNESCO's concern. The problems of eradicating illiteracy were a focal point at the 23rd Session of the General Conference. An exhaustive debate led to the passage of two important documents—a resolution on an International Literacy Year and Plan of Action to Eradicate Illiteracy by the Year 2000. By adopting them, UNESCO has taken a major long-term initiative which, in terms of its importance for humanity and for the development of the Earth's civilisation, can hardly be exaggerated.

UNESCO is the first world inter-governmental organisation in the history of humanity to have been entrusted with the mission of mani-

fold assistance to the development of international relations and international politics in the field of science. The problems of science are well to the fore in the Organisation's Second Medium-Term Plan. Natural sciences are present in major programmes such as Programme VI—The Sciences and Their Application to Development; Programme VII—Information Systems and Access to Knowledge; Programme IX—Science, Technology and Society; and Programme X—The Human Environment and Terrestrial and Marine Resources.

Important points of UNESCO's concern in the scientific field are research and practical work on the relationship between the development of science, technological progress and the satisfaction of the needs and requirements of humanity. The Second Medium-Term Plan also called for assisting supervision over the application of scientific achievements by the community on the understanding that technological progress "when poorly controlled, can have extremely disturbing consequences: degradation of the environment, massive migration and uncontrolled urbanisation, threats to employment [for the non-socialist countries.—G. U.] and a calling into question of certain cultural values". It should be noted that the Organisation is the world's major forum for reviewing and exchanging mankind's most advanced experience in the field of science and technology. This has become possible because ever since it came into existence, UNESCO has been active in promoting multilateral scientific cooperation in many areas, including the areas of science and technology which are of the greatest promise and interest to all humanity.

There has been wide-spread international recognition of the Organisation's efforts in preserving the cultural heritage of all peoples, promoting full-scale international cultural exchange and ensuring people's access to cultural values. The major Culture and the Future programme now in progress under its auspices is a whole series of activities geared to broadening the concrete and purposeful cooperation of states in the cultural field on a multilateral basis. UNESCO is working for cooperation in this area to contribute to peace, friendship and mutual understanding among peoples.

It would be quite wrong, naturally, even at the time of anniversary celebrations, to paint UNESCO's activities and evolution in rosy colours only. The Organisation's history has been far from simple. In various years and for various reasons, UNESCO has come up against very complex internal problems and many adverse external factors had an impact on its activities. And so did the cold war.

In the 1950s, the supremacy-seeking ambitions of the United States became obvious, first and foremost, in the attempts Washington made to keep UNESCO under its unchallenged control and politicise it the American way. The USA sought to use this institution, for example, as a channel for intensifying America's spiritual influence on the entire postwar world. In fact, not only spiritual. By brutal pressure, Washington compelled UNESCO to back up its venture in Korea and opposed the Organisation's humanistic efforts in assisting the process of decolonisation in Africa and on other continents.

At a later stage, even in the midst of a radically changed international situation, the US Administration more than once resorted to threats and pressure tactics to force UNESCO "to obey". In the 1974-1975 period, for instance, the USA suspended its contributions to the Organisation's budget in order to punish it for the correct assessment of, and opposition to, Israel's wanton acts of violence in the Middle East.

Relapses of the policy of scare tactics and blackmail against UNESCO have been particularly evident in US actions since the present Administration was installed in the White House. The imperial ambitions and the bid of the most aggressive elements to tilt the strategic parity in the world in their favour and to lash out at anything hampering the projected "crusade" against communism and progress were amply reflected by Washington's moves against UNESCO in the 1980s. Starting out by slanted, quite often just about outspokenly false criticism of UNESCO and then passing on to arm-twisting tactics, barefaced pressure, and sheer blackmail, the United States ended up by using the last resort—it pulled out of UNESCO, slamming the door, on December 31, 1984.

However, in withdrawing from UNESCO, Washington did not at all intend to quit attacking it. Just the other way around. It brought powerful pressure to bear on many newly free states and on its NATO allies in an attempt to set off a chain of defections from UNESCO. Yet the only two of its member states to follow that bad example were Great Britain and Singapore which left the Organisation on December 31, 1985. The 23rd Session of the UNESCO General Conference which met in Sofia in the autumn of the same year demonstrated that, for all the complexity of the situation within and around the Organisation, the US thrust missed the mark. The proceedings and the outcome of the session bore out the viability of this international body and its loyalty to the ideals of the UN and to its statutory commitments. In spite of the damage done to UNESCO's universality by the US and British withdrawal and also the substantial reduction of its financial and material possibilities, it has preserved its general positive orientation in its activities, all of its basic programmes and projects.

Washington's bid to regain strict control over UNESCO, over the shaping of its strategy and of the major aspects of its practical activities ran up against the will of the overwhelming majority of the Organisation's member states for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation on a fair and democratic basis. The US attacks against UNESCO have challenged the entire international community. They have once more laid bare the aggressive essence of Washington's present foreign policy. These attacks were strongly condemned by public opinion in the USA and Britain because their membership of UNESCO was not only a major contribution towards the Organisation's performance, but an effective avenue through which to share in world-wide international cooperation in the extremely important areas of human activity.

While fighting UNESCO and its present course, the White House and its allies are aiming, in effect, at the United Nations, seeking a revision of the entire system and standards of postwar cooperation to their own advantage, and trying to make violence and dictatorial practices all but the basic principle of modern international relations.

However, in spite of the brutal attacks from the most aggressive imperialist circles, UNESCO continues to function as an extremely authoritative forum of international cooperation contributing towards increased understanding and friendship between states and peoples. UNESCO, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed while on a visit to France in October 1985, "rightfully enjoys great prestige on the international arena due to its tireless activity for the benefit of mutual understanding and cooperation between peoples, thereby contributing towards the propagation of the ideas of humanism and peace around the world".

The Soviet Union has been invariably speaking out for the unflinching observance of statutory commitments in UNESCO's activities and for the Organisation to continually increase its contribution to resolving the cardinal problems of humanity. The USSR wants UNESCO to be active in forming world opinion in favour of peace, curbing the arms race, moving towards disarmament, and promoting understanding and effective cooperation among all peoples. The Soviet Union is giving its utmost support to UNESCO efforts for eliminating the consequences of colonialism in the intellectual and material fields, its resolute struggle against neo-colonialism, racism, and apartheid, in defence of the rights of peoples and human rights and for restructuring international economic and information relations on a fair and democratic basis.

This principled position is reflected in all of the Soviet Union's practical activities in UNESCO. The Soviet Union has sponsored many of the Organisation's important initiatives in the field of education, science, culture, and communication. The Soviet Union has been active in drawing up all of its basic documents, plans, programmes, and projects.

It is important to note, incidentally, that Soviet participation is based on the principles of invariable respect for the decisions of the Organisation's governing bodies and on the will of the majority of its members, as exemplified in the decisions of the UNESCO General Conferences. This attests, in particular, to the consistent character of the Leninist foreign policy of the USSR which is upholding the cause of peace and international cooperation, emphatically denouncing the attempts of certain states to act contrary to the standards of international law and impose their own will on international organisations and on other states and peoples.

It is the Soviet Union's strong conviction that UNESCO, a major forum for international cooperation, can do even more to preserve and advance civilisation on the Earth and to resolve the present-day cardinal problems.

BUSINESS TIES OF THE CMEA WITH JAPAN

Stanislav K A L Y U Z H N Y

In developing their mutual relations, the countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance seek no autarchy, but, rather, promote business cooperation with all countries irrespective of their socio-political system. This concept was reaffirmed at the CMEA Economic Summit Conference (Moscow, 1984) which said in its Declaration: "The CMEA countries have always been consistent opponents of economic isolation and have perseveringly advocated broad mutually beneficial cooperation with other states, the normalisation of international economic ties and the removal of all sorts of barriers to their development".

The socialist community states have invariably exerted great efforts to improve the international situation and to ensure international economic security. "To achieve this, socialism need not renounce any of its principles or ideals," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress pointed out. "It has always stood for and continues to stand for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems."

It is from this fundamental stance that the countries of the socialist community approach the expansion of business contacts with Japan, a country which has become one of the three centres of power in the system of capitalist economy.

Some practical results of recent years are a promising indication that the downward trend in trade and economic ties between the CMEA countries and Japan, observed over several years, will be overcome. In the first place, Soviet-Japanese political contacts have been resumed. Speaking about the Soviet Union's relations with Japan Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok: "Here we can see also signs of a turn for the better. It would be good if such a turn takes place. The objective positions in the world of our two countries requires an intensified cooperation on a healthy and realistic basis in a tranquil atmosphere not burdened with the problems of the past."

This positive process was activated by the meeting of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister of Japan Yasuhiro Nakasone in March 1985. Then followed official visits to Japan by the Soviet Minister of Culture and the Minister of Fisheries, and by a delegation of the USSR Parliamentary Group. Japanese parliamentarians paid a return visit.

Reciprocal visits between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze (January 1986) and Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Shintaro Abe (May 1986) were an important development in Soviet-Japanese relations. During the visits, both sides expressed their intention to encourage further expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations. The ministers signed agreements on the trade turnover and payments for the period from 1986 through 1990 and a convention preventing double taxation of incomes.

The committees on economic cooperation of the USSR and Japan, an important instrument of business ties met in Tokyo in December 1984 and in Moscow in April 1986, breaking a six-year interval.

Japan's contacts with other CMEA countries have become more active as well. The year 1984 saw the 13th joint economic conference between the GDR and Japan and the 10th Czechoslovak-Japanese economic conference. There was also a parliamentary exchange between Poland and Japan in May-June, and, in July 1984, a visit to Tokyo by the Hungarian Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Lajos Faluvégi.

These constructive steps aimed at facilitating mutual understanding and goodneighbourliness may play a positive role in invigorating business cooperation between the CMEA countries and Japan, in making it stable and long-term and in overcoming the slump that set in late last decade.

The dynamics of trade is the best illustration of the CMEA-Japan economic exchange in that period. The turnover growth rate had plummeted to 7.3 per cent in the late 1970s as against 29.9 per cent in 1970-1975. Later, only in 1981, an increment of 8.9 per cent was recorded, while in subsequent years the trade turnover was downsliding, from \$6,900 million in 1981 to \$5,300 million in 1984.

The objective reason behind the slump was the overall world economic situation, which was seriously in need of remedy. Its negative consequences told especially on Japan, dependent as it is on the world market and next only to the USA and West Germany in foreign trade volume. The CMEA countries, for their part, involved in the world division of labour, were not immune to the foreign market fluctuations either. Therefore, the situation that formed between the CMEA countries and Japan was to a great degree a reflection of the world trade slump in 1980-1983 and stagnation in the East-West trade turnover. Besides, the dwindling of Japanese imports from the socialist countries in cash value is partly due to the falling prices on raw materials (metallurgical, above all) and mineral fuel on the world market in the first half of the 1980s. This tendency persisted during 1984 and 1985.

Another objective factor influencing the trade and economic relations between the CMEA countries and Japan was its internal economic situation. Japan recovered faster than other capitalist states from the economic crisis of the early 1980s, the worst to hit them since the Second World War. It managed to maintain its leading place in the developed capitalist world in an average GNP growth rate—4.1 per cent annually, and industrial growth—3.9 per cent in 1981-1984. Yet these were still below the respective indices of 1976-1980, when the growth rate was 5.0 per cent and 7.1 per cent.

The business decline in Japan entailed a decline in the imports of raw materials and energy resources. It was only the imports of textile staples that in 1981-1984 exceeded the 1980 level. There was a reduction in other items, the greatest in the imports of industrial timber. And this seems to be a long-term trend for raw materials and fuel. There is a gradual shift to the imports of semi-manufactures, component parts and finished goods, and also new types of raw materials.

On the other hand, the trade and economic cooperation between Japan and the CMEA countries was influenced by processes occurring in the economy of the socialist countries. The transition from the extensive to intensive pattern of economic development involves sizeable problems which the CMEA countries have had to grapple with in recent years. Certain socialist countries have found themselves faced with rather complicated issues associated with declining economic growth rates, fewer export opportunities in trade with the West and hard currency debts to capitalist countries.

The situation began to change in 1983-1984. The CMEA countries managed to reduce their Western debts. As a result of energetic measures they recorded for the first time a positive balance of 1,600 mln rubles in trade with capitalist countries. In 1984 the figure rose to 2,600 million.

Positive changes were felt in the CMEA-Japan trade and economic relations. However, the balance of trade still remains a problem. It can be resolved only by changing the trade pattern and considerably increasing the export share of manufactured goods since export opportunities of raw materials and fuel to Japan will become ever more limited with each passing year. This calls for an expansion in export capacities of CMEA countries, improved quality of output, a study of the Japanese market, strict observance of delivery schedules, etc. But this also requires goodwill on the Japanese side, elimination of the barriers and impediments for imports (of food especially) from the CMEA countries and a more thorough evaluation of the opportunities to purchase manufactured goods from them.

The above objective economic factors have produced a certain impact on the development of trade and economic relations between the CMEA countries and Japan. Yet, the political factor played a significant role as well. By acceding to the policy of economic sanctions initiated by the USA vis-à-vis socialist countries, Japan considerably handicapped its mutually advantageous cooperation with them. The COCOM restrictive lists and the technological blockade measures made purchases of the Japanese engineering commodities a complicated business. The restrictions and harsher credit terms brought about a reduction in Japanese large-scale deliveries of complete plant for industrial enterprises.

This adverse stance stemmed from the assumption obtaining among the ruling circles of Japan and other capitalist countries (above all, the USA) that economic relations may be used as political pressure on the CMEA and an instrument to extort various concessions.

There have been many instances of trade and economic relations between Japan and the CMEA countries being curtailed on political grounds. Japanese-Cuban trade has been more than halved in the past decade. Official Tokyo spokesmen explained this by the deterioration of the market for sugar, Cuba's main export item. This is a flimsy explanation in view of increased Australian and South African sugar imports to Japan accompanying the considerable decline in the Cuban share. This period coincided with the onset of a new anti-Cuban campaign launched by the USA and supported by Tokyo following Cuba's aid to developing countries (especially Angola and Ethiopia) in their economic and social build-up and their struggle for national independence.

A similar situation took shape in the Japanese-Vietnamese relations. From 1978 onwards the trade turnover here recorded a sharply descending scale, and the talks on cooperation in the development of mineral resources in Vietnam and the purchase on credit of Japanese plant for a new steel mill were frozen. Statements by Japanese leaders and commentaries by the bourgeois press make it obvious that the Vietnamese stand on the so-called Kampuchean problem is behind the worsening economic relations between Vietnam and Japan.

Political overtones are also present in Japan's relations with Poland and Mongolia. This approach has had the greatest impact on Japan's economic ties with the USSR which accounts for over 70 per cent of its trade with the CMEA countries. Fanning the myth of a "Soviet threat" and distorting the essence of events in Afghanistan and Poland and of the incident with the South-Korean airliner, certain quarters in Tokyo have stepped up the anti-Soviet campaign for "returning the northern territories" and put up impediments to economic, scientific and technological exchange with the Soviet Union. The result has

been a slow-down in the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries, with talks on a number of advantageous and promising economic projects suspended and artificial barriers created in the availability of new bank credits.

Business circles were alarmed that with every new sanction profitable contracts rejected by Japanese firms under government pressure were being taken over by their West European competitors. According to the estimates of the authoritative Japanese business periodical *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, by the beginning of 1983, the losses by Japanese firms, including the contracts that could have been signed, were close to \$5,000 million.¹

A matter of special concern was the loss of positions in the Soviet market of industrial complete equipment, since the USSR had been one of the chief purchasers of this output from Japan. These imports were almost completely halted, whereas in the 1970s the two countries had 80 agreements for industrial equipment amounting to nearly \$2,000 million. This greatly contributed to the worsening of the Japanese indices in this area of trade, from \$17,500 million in 1981 to \$7,200 million in 1984.² The situation was aggravated by the sluggish complete equipment market owing to the developing countries' growing foreign debt and the political instability in the Middle East. The importance of the markets of the USSR and other CMEA countries became still greater under these circumstances.

The futile attempts to set up a technological and credit blockade of the USSR and its CMEA partners were pinned on the false assertion that East-West economic, scientific and technological exchange was a "one-way street".

Practice, meanwhile, indicated that the contacts were mutually beneficial. It will be relevant to recall that, according to *Financial Times*, beginning in 1965, the CMEA countries had sold to the West (to 24 countries of the OECD) over 1,500 technological licenses, of which at least 500 remain in use. The socialist countries imported 2,400 licenses over the same period and still use some 900.³ Soviet technology is applied on a wide scale by major Japanese steel companies, such as Nippon Steel and Kobe Steel, present leaders in the development of steel industries in the capitalist world; Nisshio Iwai has bought 18 Soviet licenses in fundamental research and applied R & D.

Japanese enterprises extensively use Soviet-designed, fundamentally new metal-working technology, such as melting devices for thin-walled pipes, rotary saws for hot ingot and rolled stock cutting at rolling mills, electronic welding, etc.—all technologically superior to the Western models. Japanese businessmen buy such advanced technologies and latest industrial output as printing and metal-working equipment from Czechoslovakia, vacuum technology and medicines from Hungary, electrical equipment from Bulgaria, etc.

Faced with the discontent among business quarters over the short-sighted policies towards the USSR and other CMEA countries, official Tokyo spokesmen have, since the summer of 1984, made a number of statements in favour of better relations with the USSR. As a practical measure, nine of the leading Japanese trade firms set up a trade subcommittee within the Japanese-Soviet Committee on Economic Cooperation. Mimura, President of the major Mitsubishi Corporation, became its

¹ *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, Aug. 29, 1982.

² *Japan. A Handbook of Economic Statistics*, Moscow, 1985, p. 141 (in Russian).

³ *Financial Times*, Dec. 22, 1983.

chairman. The subcommittee is to deal with questions of reciprocal purchases, participation of the member-firms in large-scale joint projects and mini-projects for modernisation of individual enterprises.

Japan's contacts with other CMEA countries grew more active. In early 1985, four US and Japanese banks decided to form a consortium to grant the GDR a 150-million-dollar credit. The Japanese banks, Tokyo Ginko among them, accounted for \$50 million of the sum.⁴

Nihon Hakuzyo obtained from Bulgarian Technoimport an order for 500 hydraulic shock-absorbers (safeguards against industrial accidents and earthquakes) for the Kozlodui atomic power station, worth some \$4 million.⁵

Toyoda Tsushio representatives announced the decision to import machine-tools from Hungary and to begin their sale to Japanese auto plants in September 1985. Haitekker smallsize vertical universal drilling lathes are among a number of drilling, grinding and other Hungarian lathes that have a good market in Japan.⁶

In assessing the outlook for business cooperation between the CMEA countries and Japan it is important to take into account new conditions in the international economic exchange. New materials and technologies revolutionise production and tangibly influence the world system of economic relations.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the opinion that the "Golden Age" in trade and economic relations with the CMEA had come to an end was widely circulated among Japanese economists. They contended that the progress of the 1960s and the early 1970s had been primarily due to Soviet-Japanese large-scale joint projects in developing natural resources of Siberia and the Far East, and to the purchases of brown coal in Poland and other raw materials and fuel in other CMEA countries during the economic upsurge in Japan. With Japan's shift to new, resource-saving technologies, these economists said, it would have considerably less interest in developing economic relations with the USSR while the prospects of cooperation with other socialist community countries would be considerably curbed by large distances. Today, such predictions look overly pessimistic.

True, it is unlikely that Japanese companies will retain their interest in raw materials and energy imports. Yet, even after the restructuring of the country's economy Japan will hardly be able to get along without purchases of fuel and raw materials. Declarations of Japan's lack of interest in developing imports from the CMEA seem to be more of a political ploy to facilitate the curtailment of ties with the socialist countries.

The interest displayed by the business community in developing cooperation is confirmed by the fact that in late 1984, the Energy Department of the Japanese Foreign Trade and Industry Ministry reaffirmed its participation in the Soviet-Japanese general agreement on cooperation in prospecting, developing and mining Sakhalin off-shore oil and gas deposits.⁷ Under this agreement, signed in 1979, Soviet oil and gas exports on a long-term basis (up to 3 million tons of condensed natural gas within 20 years, or some 20 per cent of Japan's present gas imports) were to begin in the mid-1980s.⁸ Some other projects to tap natural resources are being studied too, covering the Udokan copper, the Molozhnoye asbestos deposit, etc.

⁴ *Nikkan Kogyo*, Feb. 12, 1985.

⁵ *Nikkan Kogyo Shimbun*, Apr. 27, 1985.

⁶ *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, July 28, 1985.

⁷ *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, Sept. 20, 1984.

⁸ *The USSR—Japan: Problems of Trade and Economic Relations*, Moscow, 1984, p. 80 (in Russian).

In order to determine promising areas of Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation, the Japan Association for Trade with the Soviet Union and the Socialist Countries of Europe polled the business community. The companies polled displayed interest in setting up processing enterprises to expand imports of semi-manufactures and components within large-scale projects of development of natural resources. Besides, business ties may be developed along the following lines: agriculture in Siberia and the Far East (on a compensation basis); utilisation of marine resources in the Pacific (the Sea of Japan); construction and modernisation of sea port facilities; construction of metallurgical and petrochemical enterprises; combined waste utilisation; and housing construction.⁹

Japanese businessmen positively assess their experience of cooperation with other CMEA countries too. The GDR designs and builds some of its deluxe hotels in cooperation with Japan. They have already been built in Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden, and yet another one will soon be added in Berlin, an agreement on it signed in March 1985.

Toshiba Corporation has done business with Industrieanlagenimport of the GDR since August 1982. The Japanese corporation supplies equipment and technology for radio and cassette recorder production and imports engineering output. Among the most important bilateral projects has been the construction of a compounds plant at the petrochemical works in Schwedt. Significantly, the business contacts continued after the commissioning, through the scientific and technological cooperation of the GDR with Toyo Engineering and Mitsui, as a follow-up of the project.

Hungarian economic relations with Japanese companies furnish convincing proof that industrial cooperation is possible even in the areas where Japan is the leader in the world. The great distance separating the partners may prove to be a positive factor since the bulky units are assembled close to the marketing area, and hence a chance for joint operation in third countries, for example, in Western Europe. The Hungarian enterprise Videoton cooperates with the Akai radio-electronic company of Japan in the production of powerful amplifiers and audio components for stereo systems exported to Western Europe and also TV sets and car tape players. Japanese Sony experts believe there are good prospects for cooperation with Videoton in joint production of video recorders in Hungary.

The implementation of a 1980 contract between Technoimpex and the Csepel Machine-Tool Factory of Hungary and the Japanese firm Yasuda Industries is another indication of considerable prospects for cooperation. The contract envisaged joint elaboration and Hungarian export of modern metalworking facilities, and also purchases of licenses and knowhow.

A promising area is the creation of joint enterprises between CMEA countries and Japanese firms. An example of success is Fanuk Machinex formed in 1980 by Fujitsu Fanuk, a leading producer of industrial robots in Japan, and three Bulgarian firms—Machinoexport, the machine-tool combine ZMM and the computer-building association, IZOT. This enterprise produces numerical control metal-lathes under Japanese licenses, provides maintenance and accessories for industrial robots and machine centres, designs modernisation projects, handles marketing in third countries and provides post-delivery maintenance.

In early 1981, Kobe Steel, S. Itoh, Mitsui and Toshiba pooled efforts with Bulgarian Machinoexport and Technoimport to set up the mixed firm Atlas Engineering based in Tokyo. It blueprints engineering, metallurgical and power projects for Bulgaria and third countries.

⁹ K. Ogawa, *Trade Relations Among Countries Having Different Economic and Social Systems and All Trade Flows Resulting Therefrom*, UNCTAD/ST TSC/2, 5.8.1985, p. 23.

In late 1981, a mixed enterprise was established by several Bulgarian organisations and the Japanese firms Tokyo Maruichi and Mitsukoshi. This society, Sofia-Mitsukoshi, is charged with joint production and sales of consumer goods, designing and modernising department stores, etc.

A number of mixed enterprises run by CMEA countries and Japan can be cited. The Central European International Bank, financing foreign trade, has been in operation in Hungary since November 1979. Thirty-four per cent of its joint stock, or \$20 million, belongs to the National Bank of Hungary, and 66 per cent to Western banks, with two Japanese banks accounting for 22 per cent. One more joint Hungarian-Japanese enterprise, Poli Foam, dealing with plastics production and marketing, was set up in July 1984. Of its \$1.5 million joint stock 76.6 per cent belongs to the Hungarian side and the rest to two Japanese companies.

From April 1974 to September 1981, the Romanian-Japanese enterprise Roniprot functioned successfully, specialising in the production and marketing of protein made from petroleum.

The trilateral cooperation involving the USSR and Japan in developing countries has to do mainly with mining natural gas deposits and building pipelines. In these projects, Soviet foreign trade organisations act as prime contractors and Japanese companies supply special equipment. As a result of joint endeavours, two gas pipelines have been built in Algeria, mining facilities installed at gas fields in Iraq and Afghanistan and an atomic research centre set up in Libya.

Two Bulgarian foreign trade organisations have a long-term cooperation agreement with several Japan companies, which includes operations in third countries' markets.

Polish and Japanese specialists successfully cooperated in Northern African states in the late 1970s. In Algeria, a Polish and an Algerian construction organisations cooperated with two Japanese companies in building two phosphate fertiliser factories. The Japanese side acted as the prime contractor in the construction of a cement factory in Libya.

These examples are eloquent evidence of the great potential for cooperation between Japan and the CMEA countries. Given goodwill, there are always areas of common interests and joint efforts. Both sides benefit from economic, scientific and technological exchange. CMEA today accounts for a third of the world's industrial, scientific and technological potential, more than any economic group of the West. Experience has shown that the socialist countries can rely on their own capacities in making any technological breakthroughs and launching the production of the most up-to-date commodities.

However, the CMEA countries consistently come out for comprehensive cooperation with Japan and other developed capitalist countries. The underlying premise is that economic ties are mutually advantageous, facilitate relaxation of tensions and help build confidence in East-West relations. Business cooperation of states belonging to differing social systems is an objective necessity of our times, and this trend keeps developing despite the designs of aggressive circles in the West.

"The achievements of the scientific and technological revolution can no longer be made the monopoly of some country or a group of countries," Mikhail Gorbachev said at a meeting with British businessmen. "Broad international cooperation is needed, and, in our opinion, there is scope for that. Only more realism and mutual trust is needed."

The further development of business ties between the CMEA countries and Japan to a great extent depends on whether Tokyo will pursue the policy of discrimination and "sanctions" or will be guided by the

country's objective economic and political interests in mutually advantageous, equitable cooperation.

At the same time, it is hard to expect real progress in the area without an overall improvement of international economic relations. The Soviet Union and other CMEA countries propose constructive measures to these ends. The Soviet government's Memorandum to the UN Secretary-General, *International Economic Security: An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations*, of January 27, 1986, calls on all countries to take steps to stabilise the overall economic and monetary-financial situation and to implement UN decisions concerning the restructuring of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis, above all the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

It is time to take joint action in tackling the problems of the world economy, the international economic exchange on a global scale. The CMEA countries, which have considerable influence on world economic relations, and Japan, one of the three power centres of the capitalist world, can contribute significantly to progress in this area by developing their cooperation, with the interests of all other countries taken into account.

THE NEWLY FREE COUNTRIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

(Continued from page 74)

That session once again showed to the newly free countries that imperialism spares no effort and resorts to any means so as to preserve and consolidate its positions in the Third World and that the struggle against the neo-colonialist strategy of the West requires more concerted efforts.

In the course of their struggle, the developing countries can go on counting on the Soviet Union's support. The Programme of the CPSU said in that context: "The CPSU supports the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for a restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order, and for the deliverance from the burden of debt imposed by the imperialists."

THE NEWLY FREE COUNTRIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

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The growing role in international affairs played by states that have freed themselves from colonial or semi-colonial dependence raises, among others, the question of how that process will affect mankind's major problems. Evidently, much in world development will depend on the future of these countries, on how the developed states structure their relations with them. The vital interests of universal peace and security would be met by an international climate that would do nothing to hinder but, on the contrary, would help strengthen in every way the sovereignty of the newly free countries and promote their economic and social progress.

As the developing countries are being drawn ever deeper (and most rapidly) into international exchange, the need for such a climate is ever more insistent. In 1970 exports came to roughly 15 per cent of their gross product, whereas in the early 1980s the figure exceeded 26 per cent.¹ So, more than one-quarter of their gross product is already being put to the test on the world market. And on that market, as in the system of the world capitalist economy as a whole, these countries are in a most vulnerable and inequitable position, with world imperialism striving to perpetuate and even to worsen that position.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community, on the other hand, have been consistently working to ensure favourable conditions for the development of the newly free countries. Suffice it to say that the effective support of the socialist states enabled the latter, in spite of the negative Western stand, to create an important political framework at the United Nations for restructuring international economic relations in accordance with the progressive provisions of a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

Deep concern over the worsening international economic climate has also led to the adoption at the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly of a Soviet-initiated resolution on international economic security, which accentuates the need for urgently stabilising the general economic and monetary-financial situation without delay and solving the grave economic problems of the developing countries as soon as possible, which would be a fundamental factor of international economic stability and improvement of the political climate.

The Soviet proposal to hold a world congress on problems of economic security meets with ever greater support. As it was emphasised in a Soviet-Angolan communique issued in May 1986, "everything that aggravates world economic ties could be discussed as a complex" at such a congress.

A close examination at the UN of the main provisions of the Soviet government's memorandum, "International Economic Security: An Impor-

tant Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations" will be highly important for putting that idea into effect.

The newly free countries themselves are undoubtedly due to play an immense role in the struggle for progressive changes in world economic relations. The new edition of the CPSU Programme, adopted at the party's 27th Congress, notes: "Collective forms of struggle by those countries for their rights in the international arena have taken shape. Practice has shown, however, that their way to the consolidation of political independence and to economic and social rejuvenation is being seriously hampered by the legacy of their colonial and semi-colonial past and by the actions of imperialism."

THE GROWING THREAT TO THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The capitalist economic crisis of 1980-1983 and the lingering signs of stagnation have thrown a harsh light on the dangers for Asian, African and Latin American countries inherent in their dependence on the world capitalist economy. Their huge losses in the external economic sphere are primarily due to the fact that the "market element" that is beyond their control is ruled by large transnational corporations, with the bulk of the developing world's commodities passing through their channels.

For instance, roughly 40 per cent of world trade in iron ore is of an intra-firm nature, and another 40 per cent is being effected under long-term monopoly contracts. The bauxite and aluminium market is monopolised to an even greater extent, being vertically integrated (from the extraction of bauxites to the output of aluminium) by six major TNCs, which own more than one-half of all the production capacities in the non-socialist world. In the banana trade, only three TNCs account for about 70 per cent of the sales. A single company controls one-quarter of the world trade in cocoa, and another company, 80 per cent of that in diamonds. At the tea, tobacco and other auctions, the monopolies are always in collusion with each other, jointly manipulating the market to the detriment of the producer-countries.²

At a meeting on raw-material prices held in Addis Ababa in October 1983 by the Group of 77, it was noted that TNC activities are still largely directed against the interests of developing countries that produce primary products.³ That is the main reason why the developing countries have failed in their attempts to reach an understanding on inter-state regulation of raw-material markets.

The developing countries find it very difficult to gain access for their manufactures to Western markets. Whereas the Soviet Union has lifted customs duties on all goods from the developing countries (as of January 1, 1965) and the European socialist countries have far surpassed the industrialised capitalist countries in the volume and level of tariff preferences extended to the newly free states, the West has been introducing ever new restrictions.

The tone in that protectionist policy is being set by the USA, which has been raising additional barriers against the products of their nascent industries. The well-known monopoly United States Steel Corporation demanded an end to steel imports from many newly free countries on the "grounds" that in the postwar period 53 countries had "irresponsibly" increased their capacities in metallurgy. In order to accommodate

² *World Development*, January 1984, p. 28-29.

³ *Economic and Technical Cooperation of Developing Countries*, Vol. 1, New York, 1984, p. 162.

Big Business, which has suffered from such "irresponsibility", the US Administration soon introduced tough restrictions on the import of steel and other metals to the USA.

A persistent struggle is under way over the agreement on "voluntary restraints" on the export of textiles and clothes from the developing to the developed capitalist countries, signed in 1974 by 51 countries. At that time, the West assured its partners that the agreement was no more than a temporary departure from the GATT rules on non-discrimination. Nevertheless, under pressure from the developed capitalist states the agreement was prolonged in 1978 and 1982, and yet another prolongation is on the agenda in 1986.

Monetary-financial problems are graver than ever before. Most Asian, African and Latin American countries have been suffering immense losses in international monetary operations. In talks between the leading capitalist states, the interests of the developing countries (most of which are holders of some foreign currency or are "pegged" to it) are not taken into account, so that they are often reduced to a state of bankruptcy.

A report by the UNCTAD Secretariat issued back in 1976 pointed out that, given two international monetary systems (those of the CMEA and the IMF), the international monetary crisis was a crisis of the system grouped around the IMF.⁴ In spite of the Western attempts to redirect the anti-Western criticism against the socialist countries, the UNCTAD Secretariat repeated that the IMF-based system was in a state of crisis,⁵ so reaffirming that the whole responsibility for the developing countries' losses as a result of international monetary upheavals rests with the leading capitalist countries.

As the crisis phenomena in the economy of the capitalist world have taken a graver turn, the developing countries have got increasingly bogged down in their indebtedness, which has reached the astronomical figure of \$1 trillion. Their external debts cost them more than \$100,000 million a year in interest payments alone. On the whole, interest payments by the developing countries come to 20 to 40 per cent of the value of their exports.⁶ No wonder that debt service payments are now the priority problem for most developing countries.

The developing countries became even more vulnerable to Western economic and financial policy, as it was noted above, in view of the general worsening of the state of the world capitalist economy and the crisis of 1980-1983, when economic growth rates in many of these for the first time dropped to zero. Moreover, food and raw-material production per head of the population in the developing world has steadily declined, pushing down living standards and the quality of life, and putting in jeopardy millions of human lives. According to international estimates, 1,300 million people in the developing states are short of safe drinking water, and 1,700 million lack conditions for elementary hygiene, with 25,000 people dying every day as a result.⁷

What makes it worse for the developing countries is that they find themselves in a kind of vicious circle. On the one hand, they suffer huge losses on the world capitalist markets and sink ever deeper into debt. On the other hand, in order to service their debts and compensate their losses, they are obliged to intensify the export of their resources to the very same markets so as to make up for the falling prices and tougher lending terms through greater volume. Since new loans from the Western powers, the IMF and the IBRD are hedged with demands which grossly

⁴ Doc. UNCTAD TD/189, March 11, 1976, p. 3.

⁵ "International Monetary Issues", Doc. UNCTAD TD/233, March 8, 1979, p. 1.

⁶ South, May 1984, p. 69.

⁷ World Commission on Environment and Development, WCED/85/23, Oslo, 1985, p. 7.

violate the sovereignty of the newly free states, the latter can hardly be expected to follow a balanced and well-considered line of economic development. Lawrence Bond, regional director of the US Aid Agency for Western and Central Africa, has admitted in an interview with *African Business* that every aid programme has its political considerations.⁸

The demands that Asian, African and Latin American countries should "open their doors" to the TNCs and other monopolies in exchange for "aid", reduce their appropriations for social purposes, close down the enterprises of the state sector, and switch the economy to private-capitalist lines have a strategic aim in view: to create a situation in which the West would be able to disorganise the entire economy of a developing country in retaliation for any unwelcome step by its government. The US-led imperialist powers have launched a large-scale effort to get the developing states into bondage, whose essence is manipulation of their economic security. The developing states are "conditioned" to live on credit, to produce what the foreign monopolies require, and to depend on the West for a wide range of prime necessities.

Evidently, the new situation that has arisen in connection with the direct threat to the economic security of the developing countries calls for fresh, purposeful and complex lines of approach.

THE OBJECTIVE FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY

The newly free countries respond in different ways to the changes in world economic life, for their positions in the world economy and politics are ever more differentiated. That point is noted, for instance, by the progressive Indian economist A. Chand, who writes that while the NIEO concept continues to take shape, new tendencies emerge and earlier-approved principles have to be altered. He also says that as the concrete demands of the developing countries are being elaborated in detail, conflicts cannot be ruled out, and that the movement for a New International Economic Order could be polarised owing to the continuing differentiation in the Third World.⁹

That is the factor on which diverse Western "think tanks" and many bourgeois theorists pivot their calculations. In a study carried out by the Council for Overseas Development and sponsored by the White House, the well-known US economist and politologist R. Hansen wrote: "What do Brazil and Bourkina Fasso, Sri Lanka and Iraq all have in common? Probably a sense of deprivation in the face of the OECD."¹⁰ He went on to draw the conclusion that the "unnatural alliance" of the developing countries could not last and would be based solely on a coincidence of temporary, short-term interests. R. Hansen is not alone in his "prognostications".

The main flaw of such estimates is that they take into account the visible side of the developing countries' differentiation, while ignoring the dialectics of that process, which engenders not only new contradictions, but also new accords and identity of interests.

Bourgeois theorists give no thought to the phenomenon defined by Marx as a contradiction between the apparent and the actual movement of the system.¹¹ If one considers the "apparent" movement, which is what bourgeois economists and politologists analyse and from which they draw their conclusions, it is evident that the developing countries

⁸ *African Business*, June 1985, p. 12.

⁹ A. Chand, *Non-Aligned States, A Great Leap Forward*, Delhi, 1983, p. 140.

¹⁰ R. Hansen, "Major U.S. Options on North-South Relations", *The US and World Development Agenda*, New York, 1977, p. 25.

¹¹ Karl Marx, *Theory of Surplus-Value*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975, p. 166.

are being drawn into the international capitalist division of labour, and that their economic interests are being modified and set apart to an ever greater extent. If the developing countries' evolution were confined to that "apparent" movement, the West would have had nothing to worry about, waiting for the gradual distribution of the newly free states among the various "cells" of the capitalist system.

The whole point, however, is that the "actual movement" of any system includes the self-movement of its individual parts generated by internal factors. The course of events proves that the developing countries' struggle for their interests, while losing some of its past incentives (in view of diverse socio-economic phenomena: the altered correlation of class forces, the new patterns of economic specialisation, the new economic outlook, and so on), at the same time acquires new incentives, which induce these countries to continue their joint action on the international scene.

Take the latest facts in the matter of indebtedness. In the second half of the 1970s, many developing countries gained broad access to loans and credits owing to the short-lived "raw-material boom", and also to the striving of Western banks to "recycle", that is, to invest the huge amounts of petrodollars at their disposal. At that time, these countries' "incentives" to combat the sway of big finance, as was characteristic of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, were obviously toned down. In answer to the appeals of the more radical states to step up the struggle for restructuring the monetary-financial mechanism of the capitalist system, these countries (in particular, the subsequent major debtors of Latin America) argued that such a stand could only "scare away" the creditors, especially the private banks.

But when the position of most developing countries sharply deteriorated and the financial status of many of them reached a catastrophic point, the appeals for an immediate quest for a concerted stand and its elaboration became a major incentive to unity. The urgent convocation on Ecuador's initiative of a conference of 26 Latin American states in January 1984 to discuss the crisis and growth of indebtedness was indicative in that respect. Here is how that conference was assessed by ECLA Executive Secretary Enrique V. Iglesias: "The Quito Conference is of colossal importance. For one thing, it meant a return of Latin American and Caribbean countries to the path of unity. That is evident from the various unanimously approved measures and the joint Plan of Action, which the governments are resolved to put into effect, mobilising their entire political will for that purpose."¹²

Apparently, there are bound to be repeated "ebbs" and "flows" in the joint activities of the developing countries. That is why it is important not merely to record their "passivity" or "unexpected" outbursts of activity on this or that issue, but also to make a correct assessment of the whole complex of internal and external factors that have a direct influence on their international behaviour from the standpoint of stability, duration and socio-political importance.

In that context, it is extremely important that the objective conditions for joint action by the developing countries on the international scene are ever more favourable in view of the growing role and importance in the world of their natural ally: the world socialist system and especially the Soviet Union, its chief element. In his interview with the Algerian magazine *Révolution Africaine*, Mikhail Gorbachev said in particular, that Soviet foreign trade had a stabilising influence on the markets of many commodities, including those exported by the developing countries. The USSR's economic and technological assistance to these

¹² U.N. CEPAL, January 1984, No. 389/390, p. 1.

countries works in the same direction, helping them to form a national base for science and industry and to modernise agriculture. Soviet credits are repaid from the developing exports of the newly free countries, so that the debt problem is not exacerbated in any way.

There are also some other aspects of the Soviet Union's international influence, which are no less important for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mikhail Gorbachev noted in the above-mentioned interview: "Together with the developing states, we are for restructuring international economic relations along just and democratic lines. Such a restructuring could begin with implementation of the major provisions of the programme for a new international economic order. Our concept for the economic security of states is fully consonant with that programme. It provides for the exclusion from international practice of all forms of discrimination, for a just settlement of the debt problem, and for pooling of the efforts of all countries in the solution of global problems, including, of course, the problem of development."¹³

An important factor helping to bring the developing states closer together in the struggle for their just interests is their striving to put an end to exploitation in the process of international exchange. Such a striving is intrinsic both to socialism-oriented countries and to the progressive social forces in the newly free states following the capitalist way. The very struggle against exploitation in the capitalist economy has a revolutionising impact on the masses which seek equality and justice.

Many representatives of the developing world justly note that whereas liberation from colonial dependence was a result of the national liberation movement in each individual country and was not coordinated with those in other countries, the struggle for economic independence inevitably demands their broadest and closest cooperation. That struggle in the present conditions is the root which keeps putting forth sprouts of unity.

At the same time, the final goals of the struggle for economic liberation are undoubtedly given a host of different readings in the developing countries. There are numerous differences between them in that respect; some of these are essential, while others are perhaps not all that important from a global standpoint, but are most serious from the standpoint of the states concerned. Accordingly, many of them are inclined to withdraw from the process once their local demands are satisfied. History has seen many movements lose their dynamism and disintegrate in their transition to a positive programme.

That factor is always present in multilateral diplomacy and poses a serious threat to the solidarity of the newly free countries. The struggle for continued priority of their common demands, for putting these above the narrowly understood "national" interests is a crucial component of the movement for restructuring international economic relations.

THE FORMS AND FRAMEWORK OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

The whole record of the developing countries' struggle for just and equitable international relations shows that those of them which have followed the most consistent anti-imperialist policy have always energised multilateral diplomacy, raising the most essential problems of economic liberation, whereas right-wing forces and reactionary regimes are always prepared to give in to the West on matters of principle.

That circumstance reduces the potentialities of joint diplomacy, which, as experience shows, should have a consistent programme for a solution of the whole set of problems in restructuring international economic relations and each of these problems in particular. One of its integral elem-

¹³ *Fraudu*, Apr. 3, 1986.

ents is a firm line with regard to the TNCs. As the Latin American researcher C. Furtado wrote on the growing influence of the newly free states, that influence will primarily depend on a mobilisation of political forces able to offset the growth of interests associated with transnational enterprises, and the advance made in organising such forces on an international scale.¹⁴

Naturally, socio-political orientation is the crucial, though by no means the only factor behind the symbiosis of the motive forces of multilateral diplomacy. Each country's economic status, its relations with its neighbours, religious and ethical views—all of that creates a complicated conglomerate of participants, whose interaction is mediated by diverse and often incompatible factors. For instance, a country can simultaneously be a member of the non-aligned movement, the Group of 77, a regional economic body, a group organised on confessional lines (Islamic Conference), one of the associations of raw-material exporters (OPEC, etc.), various credit and financial institutions, and so on.

The non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 are justly seen as the chief "catalysts" of the developing countries' joint diplomacy. That is where the principles of a New International Economic Order have been elaborated and proclaimed, just as all the common documents (declarations, action programmes, etc.), primarily on behalf of Asian, African and Latin American countries. That is why relations between these two major organisations play an especial role. That is hardly surprising, for the non-aligned movement includes the main core of the developing countries, and the membership margin in favour of the Group of 77 is no longer all that significant.

Over the past two decades, the main tendency has been an ever more intensive interpenetration and interaction of these two forms of community of the newly free countries. Carlos Lechuga Gevia, Chairman of the Group of 77 and the Cuban delegate at the Fifth Session of UNCTAD in Manila in 1979, emphasised that the non-aligned movement ensured the political aspect, and that the Group of 77 and the non-aligned movement should go hand in hand.¹⁵ That is also evident from the basic documents adopted by the Group of 77 (Arusha, 1979; Buenos Aires, 1983) and the non-aligned movement (Havana, 1979; Delhi, 1983; Haraire 1986).

"Local mechanisms", which include tens and hundreds of regional, subregional, "functional" (that is, set up for a certain type of economic activity) and other organisations are a most significant and constantly growing factor in the collective activities of the newly free countries. The part played by these organisations in joint action differs widely: from virtually "nominal" associations of tiny islands to such a functional organisation as OPEC, which exerts an influence not only on diplomacy, but also on world economic life as a whole.

The problem of OPEC's role and place in collective action is by no means a simple one. The West has been particularly consistent and persevering in its efforts to "tame" that organisation, seeking to erode it from within and isolate it from the common stand of the developing countries. Throughout the 1970s, the Western powers repeatedly tried to make a separate deal with OPEC, but these attempts were thwarted by the Group of 77 and the non-aligned movement, and also by the more progressive member countries of OPEC itself.

The need to rebuff the Western policy of threats and overtures, however, is not the only difficulty in the interaction between these two organisations and OPEC. Many developing oil-importing countries found

themselves in a difficult situation as a result of the repeated hiking of oil prices and kept urging the need to "find it out with OPEC" so as to establish a "double standard" in prices: one for "rich" and the other for "poor" countries.

These demands reached a peak in 1979 in the course of the Fifth Session of UNCTAD in Manila and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana, where a number of Latin American countries demanded, with the tacit support of some other delegations, that a special debate be held on the question of OPEC's actions. But in both instances, the Group of 77 and the non-aligned movement agreed that the harm done by internal strife would only benefit imperialism and would markedly reduce the efficiency of joint diplomacy. On the whole, OPEC's cooperation with other participants in multilateral diplomacy implied political support by the developing countries for OPEC's activities, whereas that organisation gave the young states considerable financial assistance through its diverse agencies.

The crisis of 1980-1983, the effective energy-saving measures taken by the major energy consumers, the growing differences within OPEC itself, and also the senseless war between Iran and Iraq have seriously undermined the importance of that organisation. Nevertheless, the problem of relations with OPEC remains one of the key problems in the intricate pattern of cooperation among the newly free countries within the framework of multilateral diplomacy because the "oil barrier" draws a sharp dividing line between the interests of a small group of exporters and the vast majority of importers. That is why the need to dovetail and harmonise the mutual political and economic gains and losses inherent in a joint stand is as urgent as ever before.

THE EXPANDING BASE OF STRUGGLE

It is a sign of the times that the ideas of restructuring international economic relations are spreading wide among the masses. Powerful demonstrations and protests by the working people against IMF policy in Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, and in Asian and African countries, statements by mass organisations on the need for resolute action to establish a New International Economic Order—all of that indicates not only quantitative, but also qualitative changes in the social base of the struggle for economic liberation.

An ever more important role in consolidating the working people, the whole of progressive public opinion in order to influence the course of the talks on economic problems is played by the vigorous activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), international regional trade union centres, the World Federation of Youth, the World Peace Council, and other progressive international organisations.

At the 40th session of the UN General Assembly, WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria presented a memorandum demanding immediate measures to prevent militarisation of outer space and to end the arms race, and emphasising the real possibility of allocating the immense funds so released to a solution of socio-economic problems facing the whole world, especially the developing countries. The memorandum forcefully denounced the Western policy of discrimination in international economic relations, which leads to greater social tension in the world.

In a document adopted by the Asian and Oceanic Trade Union Conference on Development and New International Economic Order (New Delhi, February 4-6, 1985), it was emphasised that the struggle for an NIEO is a struggle in which the workers and trade unions of all coun-

tries, regardless of social system or development level, have common interests.¹⁶

At a trade union conference of Latin American and Caribbean countries on matters of external indebtedness (Havana, July 15-18, 1985), angry protest was expressed against the debt-pressure policy followed by the imperialists. The conference recorded "an identity of views on a direct dependence between indebtedness and establishment of NIEO".¹⁷ The Havana Declaration adopted by the conference noted that the organised working class should urge the governments to take resolute measures in order to break the debt noose.

The growing role played by women in the struggle for economic liberation was demonstrated by the UN World Conference to review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women held in Nairobi in (July 1985). The principled and consistent stand of the delegations of the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries was warmly welcomed by the representatives of the developing countries, who demanded that women in the developed capitalist states should put pressure on their governments and fight for equitable trade agreements, and also against coercing the developing countries into the payment of their debts.¹⁸

Past and present experience shows that any advance by the developing countries along the road of economic liberation depends on how adequately their policy reflects the objective interests of their peoples, which strive to put an end to international exploitation. That is why the occasional vacillations and inconsistency on different matters and in different periods cannot be their "last word". As the newly free peoples get to understand the true "workings" of imperialist policy in the monetary-financial sphere, technology transfer, export and import operations, etc., there is a deep-running process that tends to democratise and radicalise their struggle for international economic security.

The extent to which this process will "burst out into the open" and find a reflection in the multilateral economic diplomacy of the developing countries will depend on many factors, primarily the balance of forces on a world scale and on the scale of individual states. There is no doubt, however, that the developing countries' joint economic diplomacy will remain an effective instrument in the struggle to restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis only if it retains and enriches the abiding experience of the national liberation movement in the struggle against all forms of oppression and exploitation.

The large-scale proposals as regards the restructuring and improving international economic relations contained in the Soviet proposals on the establishment of a comprehensive international security system, including international economic security, correspond to the interests of the newly free countries. At the recent XIIIth special session of the UN General Assembly convened to review the critical economic situation in Africa the Soviet Union and other socialist countries advanced a new important initiative for elaborating within the UN a workable comprehensive programme intended to solve Africa's economic problems and to eliminate arbitrariness and illegal embargoes, boycotts, trade, credit and technological blockades and the use of economic ties as a means of exerting economic pressure in international relations.

(Continued on page 65)

¹⁶ *Asian and Oceanic Trade Union Conference on Development and New International Economic Order*, New Delhi, Feb. 4-6, 1985, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Granma Semanal*, July 28, 1985.

¹⁸ *Forum 85*, (Nairobi), July 23, 1985.

ALLIANCE OF MONOPOLISTS AND MILITARISTS AGAINST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Nikolai C H E R N Y S H E V

In the present-day world the socio-economic and political problems of Asian, African and Latin American countries have acquired greater significance for mankind. The backwardness of these countries inherited from the era of colonialism and reproduced by the neocolonialist imperialist exploitation, appalling poverty of hundreds of millions of people, the ever-widening gap between the centres and the periphery of the world capitalist economy represent one of the most serious and constantly sharpening global problems of our time.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out that "the developing countries with a population of more than two billion have, in effect, become a region of wholesale poverty. In the early 1980s, the per capita income in the newly free countries was, on the whole, less than 10 per cent that of the developed capitalist states. And in the past thirty years, far from shrinking, the gap has grown wider. Nor is it a question of just comparative poverty. There is illiteracy and ignorance, chronic undernourishment and hunger, appalling child mortality, and epidemics that afflict hundreds of millions of people".¹

According to the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), today 10 per cent of the world's population are in the grip of hunger, 47 per cent of the urban and 87 per cent of the rural population live in unhygienic conditions, 25 per cent of the urban and 71 per cent of the rural population have no reliable sources of drinking water, 26 per cent live in substandard dwellings, 37 per cent have never received medical care and have a life expectancy of less than 60 years.²

While in 1981 the per capita gross national product (GNP) in the world's industrialised countries was on the average \$11,120, the figure for the poorest countries was 40 times lower (in 1960 the ratio was approximately 26:1). In 34 countries with the lowest income levels which are the home of about half of the world's population (including India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Zaire, Ethiopia, and other countries) per capita GNP amounts to a mere 270 dollars. The number of people below "the absolute poverty" threshold is growing year by year and has now approached the 850 million mark. In the developing countries, 41,000 children die every day because of the lack of medical care.³

The share of developing countries in the world industrial output has remained little changed over the past 25 years. In 1975-1981 it increased by a mere 0.1 per cent, from 10.2 to 10.3 per cent. In 1981 the share of African countries was just 0.92 per cent, Asian countries—3.34 and of Latin American countries—5.98. In the early 1980s the share of these countries in the world industrial exports was under 10 per cent.⁴

¹ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, pp. 21-22.*

² *Cooperation for Development. FAO and AGFUND—U.N. Rome, 1985, p. 11.*

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ Z. Haquani, *Le nouvel ordre commercial international*, Paris, 1984, p. 34.

What are the root causes of the socio-economic backwardness and the critical situation in which the majority of developing countries find themselves? Contrary to bourgeois theories which consider it to be a natural stage through which all developed countries had passed in their time—theories which in effect justify colonial expansion—Marxism-Leninism believes that the main cause is capitalist super-exploitation both in the era of early capitalism and especially in the imperialist period. Colonial trade was one of the main sources of primary capital formation in Western Europe. In the 17-18th centuries the prevailing forms were slave trade and direct plunder of captured territories, which had been thrown centuries back in their historical development. As capitalism evolved into its highest and final stage—imperialism, the colonial system became one of the chief sources of profits for the monopolies. But all that pales by comparison with what has been taking place in the past few decades.

As the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Delhi in March 1983 pointed out, the industrialised capitalist countries have drained their young "partners" of more material values in the 30 years after the collapse of the colonial system than the former colonial powers in the 300 preceding years.

Every year the USA and the other leading capitalist countries siphon off up to \$300,000 million from the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The United States alone is gaining one and a half times greater profits in the young states than the investments that go to these states in so-called "aid". It is not by chance that Fidel Castro pointed out in his interview to the Brazilian newspaper *Fôlha de Sao Paulo* in June 1985 that the economic policy of the developed capitalist countries amounted to "an economic war in which the aggressors are the inflated dollar and interest rates, inequitable trade which doom people to hunger, unemployment, disease and death."

The transnational corporations (TNCs) play the key role in the mechanism of modern neocolonial exploitation. The apologists for the monopoly capital usually describe their activity in the developing countries as being little short of disinterested aid in overcoming social and economic backwardness. They speak of the possibility of "fruitful cooperation" between the TNCs and the Third World countries. In reality the main motive of the TNCs is the pursuit of maximum profits. The Afro-Asian and Latin American regions are of particular interest to them because the rate of profits on capital invested there is twice as high as in the industrialised capitalist countries due to the low wages, minimal expenditure on socio-cultural and ecological needs, comparatively low taxes and absence of customs barriers.

The version about "disinterestedness" of the TNCs is smashed by numerous facts and statistics. The average profits of the US TNCs on foreign investment in 1965-1968 was 7.9 per cent in industrialised capitalist countries and 17.5 per cent in the developing countries, reaching a record 34.7 per cent in Asia. In 1965-1970 the drain of incomes from the developing countries in the shape of profits on direct foreign investments far exceeded new investment. The deficit in 1970 was as follows: \$725 million in Africa, \$802 million in Latin America and \$2,202 million in Asia.⁵

At present the TNCs control about 40 per cent of the industrial output of developing countries and about half of their foreign trade, including about one-third of their exports. In Asia, Africa and Latin America they are chiefly represented by US monopolies which in 1982 accounted for over 50 per cent of all the direct overseas investment of the de-

⁵ *Multinational Corporations in World Development*, New York, 1973.

veloped capitalist countries in the Third World. Between 1971 and 1982 the investments of American TNSs in the developing countries more than doubled to a staggering \$53,000 million. The profits amounted to almost \$63,000 million over the six years between 1977 and 1982.

On the whole the 1970s saw the net influx of direct investments of the TNCs to the developing countries at the level of \$62,600 million while the outflow of profits to the investor countries reached \$139,700 million.⁶ The TNCs gained on the average 2.23 dollars in profits on every dollar invested in the developing countries and managed to export them back to their countries. The profitability level of the TNCs investments was as follows: 1.15 in Latin America, 1.51 in Asia, 1.72 in Oceania, and 2.31 in Africa. This is a measure of the intensive exploitation to which the giant capitalist monopolies are subjecting the working people and the resources in the developing countries.

It has to be noted that the export of industrial profits is not the only way of neocolonialist plunder of the developing countries. Equally as damaging is the control the TNCs have established over their foreign trade. To artificially keep down the profits of the developing countries and deprive them of currency earnings, the TNCs inflate prices for imports to their subsidiaries in the Third World and simultaneously depress export prices. As a result of these manipulations these countries lost at least \$175,000 million in a single decade (1965-1975). The introduction of protectionist measures by most industrialised capitalist countries also affected trade in Asia, Africa and Latin America: in the mid-1970s this caused their volume of trade to decline by an average \$50,000 million a year.

In the early 1980s, 15 major TNCs controlled 75 per cent of the world export of oil, 80-85 per cent of bauxites and copper, 90-95 per cent of iron ore, 90 per cent of timber, 85-90 per cent of tobacco, wheat, cotton, coffee and cocoa, 80 per cent of tea and 70 per cent of rice.⁷ Because the monopolies have inflated their prices for their products in the world market, the developing countries had to be content with only a small share of profits from trade. The resultant situation is paradoxical: backward poor countries are in effect financing the economic growth of the developed capitalist countries. And if one bears in mind that the TNCs dictate the level of world food prices (including rice and wheat, the staple diet of more than 3,300 million people) they take a large share of the blame for the death from starvation of tens of millions of people in the last few years.

The TNCs actively interfere in the internal and external policies of the recipient countries erecting serious barriers in the way of socio-economic change there. Sometimes the TNCs come out in favour of certain reforms but that only happens when these reforms meet their strategic interests. More often than not, however, infiltration in the developing countries' economies of Asia, Africa and Latin America involves backing of conservative and reactionary political forces and big local capital. Furthermore, the activity of the TNCs stimulates the emergence and growth of a neocolonialist stratum which gives them unreserved support and influences the domestic political climate in the country. Among the TNCs most actively involved in the political and economic affairs of developing countries are ITT, IBM, General Motors, Ford Motor, Shell, ICI, Unilever, Lonrho.

Along with the local comprador bourgeoisie and the corrupt civil servants the medium-sized and small foreign companies which penetrate

⁶ UNCTAD. *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics*, Supplement, 1981, pp. 264-265.

⁷ *Trade and Development. An UNCTAD Review*, Winter, 1982, p. 161.

into these countries are also vehicles of the influence of the TNCs. They too get their share from the exploitation of the people and resources in the young Asian, African and Latin American states and contribute to the outflow of part of their national incomes. These companies have no small experience of operating in the developing countries, and, acting very circumspectively, have managed to forge close links with the local entrepreneurs and politicians. So, these companies, when they undertake intermediary operations, become ideal agents of the TNC.

By their activities the transnationals contribute to the growth of the foreign debt, that "sword of Damocles" over the developing countries. Over the past 30 years the foreign indebtedness of the young states has assumed ever more menacing proportions: \$8,000 million in 1955, 16,000 million in 1960, \$35,000 million in 1965, \$322,000 million in 1978, \$569,500 million in 1982,⁸ and almost \$1 trillion in 1985. Between 1976 and 1982 the indebtedness figures grew as follows (in per cent): total indebtedness 17.4 per cent (of which 10.9 per cent on soft-term credits and 19.8 on commercial credits), servicing debts on earlier credits—23.1 per cent (of which soft-term credits accounted for 10.6 per cent and commercial credits—24.3 per cent).⁹ While in 1970 the total indebtedness of the developing countries amounted to 13-18 per cent of the GDP, in the early 1980s the figure was 20-40 per cent.

In 1984 the total payments of the young states towards their debts were well above the 100,000 million dollar mark, \$21,000 million more than the size of new credits. Among the 22 major developing debtor countries there are 10 Latin American, 7 African and 5 Asian countries. The foreign debts of the developing countries reveal a marked upward trend because of the growing bank rates in the US and some other leading capitalist countries that offer foreign credits. In turn, the US decision to raise its discount rate was prompted by the US foreign trade deficit and the need for deficit financing of the US military and strategic programmes.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out: "There is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these countries and the more than trillion-sized growth of US military expenditures in the past ten years. The 200-odd billion dollars that are being annually pumped out of the developing countries and the practically equal size of the US military budget in recent years are no coincidence. That is why militarism has a direct stake in maintaining and tightening the system of neo-colonial super-exploitation."¹⁰

The final formation in the 1960s of the military-industrial complexes of the USA, Britain and France, and the speeded race of strategic nuclear arms, resulted in the fact that the role of developing countries in imperialism's struggle for world domination, far from decreasing, has on the contrary increased. Added to their traditional role as agrarian and raw materials appendages of the capitalist world and military bases for the colonial powers was the new role of buyers and subsequently manufacturers of arms and military hardware and equipment.

It will be seen from the table below that the world's military expenditure has increased by 10 times over the last half a century (in comparable prices). However, while the industrialised countries have registe-

⁸ *World Development*, 1979, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 107; *OECD Development Cooperation Review*, 1979, Paris, p. 94; *World Bank Annual Report*, 1985, p. 155.

⁹ *OECD Development Co-Operation Report 1984*, Paris, p. 83.

¹⁰ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 23.

Growth of World Military Spending¹¹
(in billion dollars, 1978 prices)

	1930	1938	1948	1955	1960	1970	1975	1980
World total	50	130	120	190	250	410	450	500
Industrialised countries	49	127	116	180	230	350	370	380
Developing countries	1	3	4	10	20	60	80	120

red a 7.8 times increase, in the developing countries the expenditure rose by 120 times (sic!). And the ratio of the military expenditure of the two groups of countries changed from 49:1 in 1930 to 3.2:1 in 1980.

Their armed forces have also increased steadily. In the early 1980s the developing countries had more than 15 million regular troops, about 60 per cent of the total regular armed forces in the world.

According to Western experts, by the early 1980s the total number of wage and salary earners in the industrialised countries directly involved in the military industry amounted to over 5 million people, while in the developing countries the figure was over 440,000. If one takes into account the military infrastructure the total number of people diverted to nonproductive needs was 34.7 million in the industrialised countries and 16.8 million people in the developing countries.¹²

Since 1980 the growth of the world's military spending has outstripped that of industrial and agricultural output. In 1980-1984 military expenditure has grown at an average annual 3.6 per cent, this being 50 per cent more than the figure for 1976-1980. In 1981 the world's military budget was only slightly smaller than the total gross domestic product of the Asian, African and Latin American countries (with the exception of major exporters of oil and manufactured goods).

According to SIPRI, the total military expenditure in the world reached \$800,000-820,000 million in 1984 (in current prices) which means about 170 dollars per every inhabitant of the planet. Today military expenditure stands at more than \$1.5 million a minute or \$90 million an hour, or \$2,200 million a day.¹³

The constant growth of military expenditure affects the rate of economic growth, volume of investment and employment and represents a heavy burden for all the world's countries, but especially for the developing countries. Domestic manufacture of armaments or their purchase in the world market influences every aspect of social and economic life in the young states affecting inflationary processes, trade, utilisation of natural resources and social security.

The main political argument in favour of the growing militarisation of developing countries is the need to ensure a high degree of internal and external security. And the leaders of most developing countries proceed from the assumption that by launching their own manufacture of armaments they would become less dependent on the industrial arms-exporting countries politically and militarily. These calculations, however, have been proved to be wrong as the creation of national arms industries in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries further increases the influence of the countries which supply military hardware and technology because the high level of this technology makes it impossible for the developing countries to use their own scientific and industrial potential. In some cases, after many years of manufacturing arms under

¹¹ *International Labour Review*, 1983, Vol. 3, No. 122, p. 265.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

¹³ *UNCTAD Bulletin*, November 1985, No. 216, p. 2.

licences, the assimilation of new technology had to be started from scratch when suppliers changed.

The world's developing countries today spend an annual 5.9 per cent of their GNP on military industry and infrastructure, the purchase of arms and ammunition and only one per cent of the GNP for the health service and 2.8 per cent for education. The least developed countries (with the per capita income under 200 dollars a year) spend on military purposes almost as much as on their agriculture.

A striking conclusion has been drawn by the British study entitled *The World Military Order: the Impact of Military Technology on the Third World*.¹⁴ They have found that the use of Western military technology in developing countries is even today a destabilising factor in their economy causing major upsets in the distribution of the production potential and tends to involve the top military echelons in economic management.

Another instance of the negative influence of militarisation on the developing countries is the use of high technology. The possibilities of applying new technology depend on the concrete social economic conditions in a given country, its scientific and technological potential, the level of engineers and technicians, organisational structures, the ability of governments to determine valid development priorities and the conditions for meeting those priorities. The domestic production of weapons, like import of weapons from abroad, greatly lessens these opportunities, the development of military industry paralysing the scientific and technical efforts of the developing countries.

The manufacture and import of arms result in the emergence of a closed group of highly skilled workers which often includes foreign specialists. Because of the secrecy of the work and differences of social status, a chasm inevitably develops between the members of this group and civilian specialists. Differences in wage and salary levels ultimately make inevitable the drain of the better-trained and more gifted scientists, engineers and technicians and skilled workers from the civilian sphere to that of arms manufactures which slows down economic development as a whole. As a result social and economic prerequisites are created for military industry becoming the leading branch of the economy in the developing countries.

The militarisation of the developing countries' economies tends to aggravate the problem of the rational use of manpower resources. Despite the acute shortage of skilled manpower there is general unemployment in the developing countries which now stands at 350 million. If the present state of unemployment and the population grow at the present rate by the year 2000 the unemployment level in the Third World will rise to a colossal 1.4 billion people. To provide employment and livelihood for an extra billion people vast capital investments must be made in every developing country. In fact, however, the chronic shortage of finance means that the expanding military production and the growing armed forces in the developing countries are the mainbrake on capital accumulation. According to current estimates, the world spends \$19,300 a year for every soldier, compared to a mere 380 dollars spend for the education of every schoolchild (i. e., 50 times less).¹⁵

To buy military hardware, ammunition and equipment in the world capitalist market the developing countries spend huge sums of money and get still deeper into debts. The cost of arms imported by the Third

¹⁴ *The World Military Order: the Impact of Military Technology on the Third World*. London, 1979, pp. 226, 257.

¹⁵ R. Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1982*, Leesburg, 1982, p. 22.

World increased from an estimated \$3,000 million in 1970 to nearly \$9,000 million (in 1975 prices) in 1980, trebling in a single decade.

The growing import of arms has a distinctly negative impact on the developing countries. First, it leads to disproportions in the foreign trade structure. Second, it nearly always weakens the national financial system because most developing countries are short of hard currency to buy costly military products and have to rely on credits with private banks dictating their terms and seeking to dominate the finances of the Third World countries. As the UN Secretary General noted in his report, for some developing countries which face acute problems defraying their debts this expenditure item imposed on all countries by the worldwide arms race and related to the payments balance acquires particular significance.¹⁶ Third, the growing import of arms greatly harms the structure of production in the developing countries, and the need to pay for imports leads to a pattern of economic development in which the industry and agriculture of importer countries are stuck with the role of appendages to those of the leading imperialist powers. As a result the military and imperialistic circles have gained greater control of the economic and socio-political institutions in these countries, including their military institutions.

It is also important that the developing countries which manufacture arms under licences are, to all intents and purposes, subsidising military research and development in the arms-exporting countries. This happens when orders for existing type of weapons include clauses on the development or updating of existing weapons systems. The importing countries thus indirectly help to finance research and development in the developed capitalist countries and consolidate their leading role as arms suppliers to the world market.

The import of military goods, unlike that of civilian goods, is in practical terms a waste of resources because it does not contribute to either consumption or accumulation. Even if weapons and ammunition for them are offered as a "free gift", the cost of maintenance and repairs and of the necessary infrastructure is shouldered by the recipient country.

In general a paradoxical situation exists: as ever more arms flow into the developing countries they become less rather than more secure. Witness the growing number of local conflicts in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries over the past decade from which only the leading capitalist arms exporting countries stand to gain. Because of this there is an urgent need for the developing countries to come up with an alternative security doctrine. Many experts believe that key elements in a new security system could be: the creation of large demilitarised zones in Asia, Africa and Latin America; expanding areas in the developing countries free of mass destruction weapons (nuclear and conventional); an undertaking by all nuclear powers not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states; severe limitations (under UN control) on the supply of arms and ammunition to the developing countries; the democratisation of the armed forces in the developing countries.

However, the strengthening of international security and slowing down of the arms race in the world are prevented by the policy of the imperialist powers led by the USA and the activity of the aggressive NATO bloc. Beginning from 1961, when a NATO Council session first spoke of the need to pay special attention to Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, the NATO leadership made no attempt to hide the bloc's neocolonialist essence. At present there is even talk of developing a single military political strategy to ensure that the transnationals

¹⁶ U.N. *The Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and Military Expenditures*. Renewed Report by the Secretary-General, New York, 1978, p. 64.

take control of the riches of the developing countries. At the December 1984 session of the NATO Military Planning Committee the Pentagon imposed on its European allies a series of additional measures to be taken in the event of American troop movement from Europe to a troublesome spot anywhere on the planet.

A special publication *NATO and Its Future*, prepared by American and West German experts cites data indicating the growing concern among the rulers in the USA and their European allies about the stability of the flow of strategic raw materials from the developing countries. The level of dependence of the West German economy on African raw materials is expressed by the following figures: iron ore 41 per cent, chrome 52 per cent, copper 55 per cent, nickel and vanadium 60 per cent, tungsten 63 per cent, tantalum 80 per cent, aluminium 85 per cent, titanium 99 and tin, manganese and zinc 100 per cent.¹⁷

A major American gold merchant, Douglas Johnson, made a revealing statement referring to the future of South Africa at a conference in New Orleans in October 1977. The West Germans know, he said, that if South Africa falls they too will fall. That is why they built a major missile base in Zaire to secure their lines of communication. He was speaking about the West German concern OTRAG, which is a subsidiary of multinational Dornier and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm which is developing and testing medium-range and cruise missiles at the testing ground in Zaire. Needless to say, this missile range can keep under aim many neighbouring countries, including Angola, the People's Republic of Congo and Tanzania.

The alliance of the TNCs specialising in the extraction of minerals, bourgeois politicians and the professional military has more than once over the past 30 years led to military coups and the fall of progressive regimes whenever the imperialist powers felt that their interests were threatened. Examples in point are the Republic of Congo in 1960, Brazil in 1964, Ghana in 1966, Chile in 1973, Bolivia in 1980 and Grenada in October 1983.

The problem of ensuring strategic raw materials proved to be so serious for the international military industrial complex that the USA, for example, set up a special subcommittee of the House of Representatives for mines and mining. In a report presented in July 1980 the subcommittee said that the USA had no substitutes for many minerals imported from other countries which are at best unstable and at worst hostile. In a rider to the report it stressed that the United States depends on other countries for more than 90 per cent of its supplies of several strategically important minerals, notably cobalt, manganese, chrome and platinum.¹⁸ And special mention was made of South Africa as the supplier of strategic raw materials to the "free world". The capitalist world's direct investments in South Africa now stand at \$28,000 million of which 80 per cent comes from the US, West German and British transnationals. South Africa mines 54 types of minerals and is the capitalist world's leading supplier of manganese ore and chromites, vanadium and platinum, stibium, technical and precious jewelry diamonds. Today South Africa provides 55 per cent of chromites, 31 per cent of manganese ores and about 50 per cent of platinum metals imported by the United States. That is why in spite of the mounting civil war in South Africa the present US Administration is markedly expanding its trade and economic relations with the racist regime in Africa.

¹⁷ *NATO and Its Future: A German-American Roundtable*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 18.

¹⁸ *Sub-Sahara Africa: Its Role in Critical Mineral Needs of the Western World*, US House of Representatives, July 1980, pp. III, VII.

Lenin's words about the insatiable greed of imperialism for the natural resources of other countries and peoples, and ruthless exploitation of mineral resources by the capitalist monopolies are more relevant today than ever before. In his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* he wrote: "Finance capital is interested not only in the already discovered sources of raw materials but also in potential sources, because present-day technical development is extremely rapid, and land which is useless today may be improved tomorrow if new methods are devised..., and if large amounts of capital are invested."¹⁹ And in these conditions extra demands for raw materials presented by the international military-industrial complex represent not just a burden on the developing countries but a crime against mankind.

The above data testify to the active efforts of the Western monopoly circles and the international military-industrial complex to strengthen the harness of neocolonialism, to make the developing countries abandon their progressive policy of deep-going social and economic reforms. This highlights the need for all the freedom-loving peoples of the world to unite against the system of exploitation of man by man—imperialism, for happiness and social progress.

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964, p. 261.

ISLAM AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

(Continued from page 146)

of religious taxes in favour of widows, orphans and other poor people. Even officials admitted that taxes benefited mostly collectors, since they often increased the share due to them under the shari'a, doing it on their own initiative and according to their own calculations.

In interpreting and reinterpreting Islam with an eye to "reorientating, renewing and reorganising the Muslim society", some bourgeois zealots of the "Islamic way of life" go as far as to call for the "Islamisation of Western economic institutions". This explains why lately more and more spokesmen of patriotic Afro-Asian opinion have pointed to the danger posed to national achievements by the fact that domestic reaction operating under the banner of Islam has allied itself with foreign reaction. H. W. Gardezi, a Pakistani commentator, has written with deep concern that notwithstanding the lessons of

history, the ruling classes of certain countries of the "Islamic world" have entered into "client relations" with imperialism. Ashraf Ali, an Indian analyst, has stressed that the formulation of a "special" Muslim course of development today is spurred on above all else by the search for an Islamic alternative to the successful development of socialism against the background of a declining capitalist system.

Reactionaries in the "Islamic world" as a whole are still fairly strong. Indeed, facts show that Islamic reaction, using the "defence of Islam" and "anti-communist solidarity" smoke screen, widely colludes with international imperialism and openly betrays national interests. All this makes it imperative to increase vigilance, expose clerical anti-communism and publicize the ideas of socialist internationalism and scientific atheism.

Alia IONOVA

USSR AND GREECE: WHAT MAKES FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND GOOD-NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS

Boris Y E G O R O V, Viktor Y E V G E N Y E V

It is hard to pinpoint the historical origins of the tradition of friendship and mutual respect between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Greece. Its roots go back into the obscurity of the ages and we learn about them from the writings of ancient Greek historians and philosophers, from Russian chronicles and legends. The greatest source of Soviet-Greek cooperation today is the period of Greek struggle for national liberation.

Beginning from Peter the Great's Prut campaign (1711) and throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, Russia supported the independence struggles of the Balkan peoples with which it had long-standing economic, cultural and religious ties. Russia's wars against Turkey seriously undermined the dominance of the Ottomans in Southeast Europe and thus played an important role in the liberation of Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Romanians and Montenegrans. All this naturally fostered sympathetic feelings among Greeks and other oppressed Balkan peoples towards the Russian people and tended to promote friendly ties and strengthen their hopes for national liberation. According to Engels, nine-tenths of the population of European Turkey saw Russia as "their only support, their liberator, their Messiah."¹

When in 1821 the Greeks rose to fight for their independence Russia was the only country that consistently supported the uprising right up to the end. Having exhausted all political means it rendered military support to the Greek rebels, first in the Battle of Navarino and then in the war with Turkey in 1828-1829. Greater security of the Black Sea, Caucasian and Danube borders and the existence of friendly independent countries along the southern trade routes met the basic national interests of the Russian state. These objective factors behind Russia's Balkans policy played an important role in the liberation of enslaved peoples from the Turkish yoke and the establishment of an independent Greek state.

By the beginning of the 19th century many Greek families had settled in Russia, with many of their members entering Russian civil and military service. Their destinies became closely intertwined with the history of the Russian people. Democratic, revolutionary ideas and views linked many progressive Greeks with great Russians—Pushkin, Griboyedov, leaders of the Decembrist movement, prominent Russian writers, scientists and public figures.

Relations between the Russian and Greek peoples were invested with new content following the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. As early as June 1917 Lenin in an article written for the newspaper *Pravda* voiced support for the sovereignty of Greece, demanded non-interference in its internal affairs and condemned the pressure which Western powers were

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, Moscow, 1979, p. 33.

bringing to bear on it.² From its inception, the Soviet state came out resolutely in favour of broader ties with Greece on the basis of good-neighbourliness, equality and mutual respect. The young Soviet state canceled all the inequitable treaties between Russia and Greece, refused to take part in the commission of the so-called international economic control over Greece imposed on it by the great powers and turned down its share of Greece's foreign debts.

In 1923, when fascist Italy committed an act of aggression by shelling the Greek island of Corfu, the USSR was again the only state that spoke out in defence of Greece's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Greece was among the first European countries to recognise the Soviet Union establishing diplomatic relations with it in March 1924.

The annals of friendship between the two peoples contain many events associated with joint struggle against fascism. The Soviet Union supported Greece when its territory was invaded by Italian troops in October 1940. They were subsequently beaten off by Greek units. Soviet people took part in the mass partisan war against the German fascist troops, a war that was spearheaded by the National Liberation Front (EAM) created at the initiative of the Communist Party of Greece. The military arm of EAM, which brought together scattered units of Greek freedom-fighters, was the National Liberation Army (ELAS) whose important contribution to the common victory of the nations over fascism in the Second World War is well known. In the autumn of 1944, during a powerful Soviet offensive in the Balkans, the fascist invaders had to leave the country in the face of pressure from the Greek Resistance Movement.

In the early post-war decades Soviet-Greek relations had their ups and downs. The Greek civil war of 1946-1949 led to the defeat of the country's progressive forces and the establishment of an anti-democratic regime which unleashed repressions against any Greeks who evinced sympathy for the Soviet Union. Many Greek democrats had to flee from the country to seek refuge in socialist countries.

It was at that period that Greece was drawn into NATO and offered its territory for US military bases with nuclear weapons aimed at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The development of ties between Greece and the USSR was artificially frozen. However, the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries, their deep mutual sympathies and Greece's objective interest in normalising relations with the Soviet Union ultimately prevailed. In 1953, on the initiative of the Soviet government, relations with Greece were restored; trade, economic and cultural ties began to develop; and political contacts were opened.

The centuries-old bonds of friendship between the two peoples could not be weakened by the years of the military dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974). The Soviet Union made resolute international moves and actively took the side of the fighting people of Greece. The principled and consistent stand taken by the USSR and other socialist countries was responsible for preventing a massacre of many thousands of Greek democrats. After the fall of the military dictatorship in July 1974 Soviet-Greek relations have been in steady uptrend. The many-sided cooperation between the two countries remained unaffected by the fluctuations in the international political climate.

In a preface of his *Selected Speeches and Articles* published in Greece in February 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed: "The peoples of our two countries are linked by an enduring friendship which goes back centuries. Our peoples fought many battles together. And today, in spite of our different social systems, we have so much in common... The evolution of Soviet-Greek relations pro-

² See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 573—574.

ves that the foundation for our cooperation is expanding in the fields of politics, economics, culture and science. We would like this process to develop freely, we want to strengthen the cooperation and mutual understanding of our two peoples."³

The most important form of cooperation between the USSR and Greece is the development of political dialogue. The political base for Soviet-Greek relations was undoubtedly consolidated by the 1979 Declaration on the Principles and Further Development of Relations Between the USSR and the Greek Republic which incorporates the bedrock principles of cooperation between states proclaimed by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The commitment of the two countries to further promoting mutual ties and contacts has been reflected in the signing of a consular convention, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation and a number of other joint documents.

The official visit to Greece by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in February 1983 was a milestone in developing the entire range of relations between the two countries. The ten-year programme for economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation signed during the visit laid the foundation for expanded mutually beneficial Soviet-Greek long-term ties.

The record in trade, economic, scientific and technological exchanges between the two countries is fairly good. Between 1980 and 1985 Soviet-Greek trade almost tripled reaching 728 million rubles in 1985. Under an agreement, the USSR will help Greece to build an alumina plant, based on local bauxite deposits, with a sizable portion of its output to be supplied to the USSR. The Soviet Union has helped Greece build and commission a hydroelectric power plant (Purnari) and a thermal power plant (Kardia), is helping to build two more electric power stations (Agios Dimitrios and Amindeon).

The two countries are actively cooperating in ship-building and ship repair. Greece is to increase its exports of staple goods. The Soviet Union for its part supplies Greece with raw materials, fuel, ferrous metals, power equipment, tractors, trolley buses, cars, passenger ships and other products. A start has been made to exchange technology when the USSR bought Greek equipment for the processing of olives.

Exchanges between the two partners in various areas are, without doubt, aided by the work of mixed inter-governmental commissions for economic and industrial cooperation, trade navigation, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural exchanges. More than 1,000 Soviet cargo and passenger vessels call at Greek ports every year and about 600 Greek vessels visit Soviet harbours. The two countries have had air links for many years, with Aeroflot operating regular Moscow-Athens and Leningrad-Athens flights. The two countries have a direct rail link.

Cooperation in the field of culture, science and education, proceeding under long-term agreements, undoubtedly exerts a positive impact on Soviet-Greek relations as a whole. Few capitalist countries have more diverse cultural ties with the Soviet Union than Greece. Wide exchange of performing artists goes a long way towards acquainting the two peoples with the best of each other's culture. Noted cultural workers, theatre companies, ballet troupes of the two countries constantly take part in national and international art festivals. Exchange tours and joint stage productions are organised. Exhibitions of paintings, drawings and applied arts staged in the capitals and major cities of Greece and the Soviet Union invariably attract great public interest. Cinema is an important area of Soviet-Greek cultural ties. The visit to the Soviet Union of Melina Mercouri, the Greek Minister

³ *Rizospastis*, Feb. 16, 1986.

of Culture and Sciences, in June 1985 gave a boost to cultural and scientific ties between the two countries. The first national exhibition of the USSR held in Piraeus in May 1985 was a highlight of Greece's cultural life.

The lively cultural exchanges are complemented by various events initiated by the non-governmental organizations in the two countries, notably the USSR-Greece and Graeco-Soviet societies. The members of both seek to promote friendship and mutual understanding between the two peoples, deeper knowledge of each other's life, the study of Russian and Greek languages, the spread of knowledge about the work of the best national writers and artists.

The high-level dialogue that took place on February 11-14, 1986, gave a tangible impulse to further cooperation between the USSR and Greece. During his official visit to the USSR the Greek Prime Minister Papandreu took part in a thorough and constructive exchange of opinions on bilateral cooperation and topical international problems. The two sides noted the importance of regular meetings between the leaders of the two countries and the protocol signed during the visit recorded the mutual intention to continue Soviet-Greek political consultations.

The bilateral agreements signed in Moscow markedly expanded the legal framework of relations between the two countries (the agreements signed covered international road haulage, settlement of pension and other social security problems of Greek political emigres repatriated from the USSR, a memorandum on the basic directions of cooperation in commercial navigation). These and earlier agreements are designed to promote Soviet-Greek relations in specific areas.

Bilateral economic links were also high on the agenda of the Soviet-Greek talks. Noting that the Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Industrial and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the USSR and Greece, and other agreements were being successfully realised, the sides stressed the importance of launching large-scale joint ventures. They also recorded their intention to work for an increase in volume of mutual trade and make it more balanced.

Among important ingredients of friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries are active exchanges at the government and parliamentary level and exchanges of personal messages between leaders of both countries.

The meetings of the two countries' foreign ministers in the course of the UN General Assembly and at other international forums undoubtedly contributed to friendly relations between the two countries.

In an interview to the newspaper *Izvestia* in March 1986, the Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias said: "Our countries have long-standing, deep and diverse relations. Our political, economic and cultural links have been strengthened in the last five years since the government of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement came to power. They are developing on a traditional basis and have acquired a sincere and truly friendly character. We have discovered great potential for dynamics, mutually beneficial cooperation... Our relations are based on the common interest of the Soviet and Greek peoples, in stronger peace, their mutual desire to promote detente and disarmament and broad international cooperation."⁴

The Greek government positively responded to the new Soviet proposals aimed at destroying all nuclear weapons before the year 2000 and it wholly supports the new Soviet peace initiatives advanced by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. C. Papoulias stressed.

The Soviet and Greek Foreign Ministries hold regular political consultations. Commenting on the talks held in January and June 1986 the Greek press stressed that they reaffirmed the mutual desire of both sides to help

defuse international tension and to preserve peace. The meetings reaffirmed the positive assessment of the state of bilateral relations describing them "as very good and in the process of further development".⁵

The parliaments of the two countries have recently set up Graeco-Soviet and Soviet-Greek parliamentary groups which cooperate actively.

In particular, in August 1986 a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet visited Greece. Soviet and Greek parliamentarians cooperate in international organisations and at various international forums. Members of the governments and various departments identify specific ways and means of carrying out economic, scientific and technological exchanges.

Nowadays the term "good-neighbourliness" covers not only bilateral relations but international problems as well and first of all such burning present-day issues as the aversion of war, the curbing of the arms race and the strengthening of international security.

We in the Soviet Union are well aware of the independent and constructive foreign policy the Greek government pursues and its concrete moves aimed at lessening tension in our troubled world. In the today's conditions such an approach is a tangible factor for preserving peace and preventing a world nuclear war. The Greek leaders favour a return to detente in international relations, greater security, trust and broad cooperation between states with different socio-political systems.

As a member of NATO, Greece often takes a stand different from that of the leaders in that military-political bloc on a number of important international issues. Thus, the Greek government has condemned the US doctrines of "first strike", of "limited" and "protracted" nuclear war and has declared its opposition to the stationing of US medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. It is critical of NATO documents imbued with the spirit of the cold war and containing recommendations on limiting East-West relations in the trade, economic and other fields.

Greek officials speak in favour of dissolving the two military political groupings and against attempts to gain military superiority. Assuming that there exists and approximate parity of forces, the Greek government considers continuing the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, to be meaningless and speaks in favour of arms reduction. Greece is against Washington's much-touted Strategic Defense Initiative. In a recent letter to the UN Secretary-General Prime Minister Papandreu came out for the reduction of all types of weapons, above all nuclear weapons, for an end to nuclear tests and a ban on the manufacture, development and use of offensive space weapons.⁶ At the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly, Greece backed the Soviet initiative on international cooperation in peaceful exploration of outer space in conditions of its non-militarisation.

In the present complex and tense situation particular significance is attached to the Delhi Declaration by the heads of state and government of six countries (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden) of January 1985 who called for preventing the arms race in outer space and for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. The Soviet-Greek communique issued on February 15, 1985, points out that the Declaration is consonant with the consistent Soviet line for preventing the militarisation of outer space, halting the nuclear arms race and eventual destruction of nuclear weapons.

The joint message of the heads of state and government of the Delhi Six to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan

⁵ *Ethnos*, Jan. 22, 1986.

⁶ *Ethnos*, May 9, 1986.

sent in October 1985 suggested introducing a year-long moratorium on nuclear explosions and offered considerations on effective ways to verify compliance with the nuclear test ban. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in his reply to the message of the Six stressed that these initiatives had much in common with the Soviet approach to these key international issues.

The people of Greece welcomed Gorbachev's message to Prime Minister A. Papandreou of January 1986 which set forth the essence of the Soviet programme to eliminate nuclear weapons by 2000 provided the deployment of space strike weapons is prohibited, and other Soviet foreign policy initiatives. Describing the Soviet programme as "undoubtedly an impressive international move" Prime Minister Papandreou said that it is "not just a proposal or large-scale task but a new reality".⁷

In his reply of March 13, 1986, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the ideas about universal security without nuclear weapons expressed in the message of the leaders of the Delhi Six are consonant with the concept of all-embracing international security formulated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. One of the views on the problem shared by the USSR and Greece is awareness of the need to stop all tests of nuclear weapons and their total destruction.

The exchange of messages between Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of the Six in April-May this year reaffirmed the common stand the USSR and Greece take on concrete steps and actions to avert the nuclear threat, to halt nuclear tests as measures that would impede further improvement of nuclear weapons and contribute to lessening the nuclear threat. The Greek government welcomed the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions and its extension.

The Mexican Declaration adopted by the leaders of the Six contained new initiatives aimed to check the arms race, to stop nuclear weapons tests and to strengthen security and stability. The attitude of Greece towards the Soviet initiative concerning disarmament explains its positive approach to the idea of establishing a comprehensive system of international security advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress. A proof of that is a series of the statements made by K. Papoulias and the Minister of the Presidium of the Government, a member of the Executive Bureau of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), A. Tsochadzopoulos who attended the 27th CPSU Congress. The government of A. Papandreou attaches great significance to the continuation of the all-European process. At the Stockholm Conference Greece spoke in favour of concrete accords on confidence-building measures, on security, detente and disarmament in Europe.

The present Greek government has managed to rise above "bloc solidarity" by adopting, in January 1985, a new concept of national defence which proceeds from the assumption that Greece is not threatened from the North, i. e., by the Warsaw Treaty countries. These moves by the Greek government undoubtedly serve the cause of promoting friendship and mutual confidence between the two countries and contribute to strengthening peace and international security.

The Soviet Union and Greece take similar approaches to the Mediterranean problems. Regarding greater security in the area as an important component of security in the whole of Europe, Greece wants to see effective confidence measures taken there. It favours the initiatives to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace and security, including the Soviet proposal on withdrawal of the Soviet and American navies from the Mediterranean. The government has officially condemned the continuing aggressive moves by the USA against Libya.

The Greek government has supported the Soviet initiative On the Principles to Achieve a Cyprus Settlement. Foreign Minister Papoulias made a special statement stressing that "the Greek government is highly appreciative of the Soviet Union's interest in bringing about a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problems" believing that "the new Soviet proposals are constructive in character and can contribute to removing that seat of tension."⁸

The attitude of Greece to the idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans coincides with the position of the USSR and other socialist countries who believe that the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe is one of the ways of ridding the planet of nuclear weapons.

Greece has likewise welcomed the Romanian and Bulgarian proposal on making the Balkans a zone free of chemical weapons.

Greece seeks to foster relations with the young independent states which pursue an anti-imperialist policy. Greece is moving closer to and is establishing cooperation with the non-aligned movement on many key issues of the struggle for peace, disarmament and a new international economic order.

Simultaneously Greece finds itself under growing pressure from the USA and NATO who want to keep that country within "Atlantic politics", and to retain US military bases and other Pentagon military installations there. It is no accident that there has been a flurry of visits to Athens by highranking officials from Washington, London and the NATO headquarters, including US Secretary of State Shultz, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Secretary, Howe, NATO Secretary-General Carrington and several high officials of the US State Department.

Desirous to soften the impact of the statements of the Greek government which declared its intention to rid the country of foreign military presence, nuclear weapons and military bases, the NATO circles hope to use the pro-Atlantic forces with right leanings in Greece to get the country more involved in some bloc's undertakings and to preserve four American military bases, other facilities and the AWACS planes deployed in the country.

NATO emissaries do not conceal their desire to embroil the Soviet Union and Greece. What they do not like is the realistic approach of the two countries to the key international problems, and their desire to tackle these problems in that spirit in all fields where the positions of the two countries coincide.

However, interaction between the USSR and Greece serving the interests of strengthening trust and cooperation is supported by the majority of the Greeks who value friendly feelings of their neighbours, their striving to develop peaceful cooperation and readiness to bolster it with practical deeds.

The consonant positions of the two states on cardinal modern problems facilitate the development of Soviet-Greek cooperation making it more vigorous and constructive which serves the interests of both states and peoples and makes it possible to strengthen trust and security in Europe and the entire world.

⁸ *Rizospastis*, Jan. 23, 1986.

BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

Vikentii M A T V E Y E Y,

Izvestia Political Commentator

The present epoch with its immense opportunities of using scientific and technological achievements for the good of humanity, on the one hand, and the dangers defying the imagination that are posed by the stockpiling and modernisation of more and more sophisticated weapons, on the other, also makes new and higher demands of international relations, especially relations between countries with different social systems. Unless there is a durable climate of peaceful coexistence and business-like cooperation, one can hardly expect the planet to be safeguarded against a conflict that would imperil the very existence of civilisation.

Britain is one of the oldest capitalist powers while the Soviet Union is the first socialist state. This circumstance alone puts a special imprint on Soviet-British relations in the light of history, past and present. It was the British Tory leaders' ideological intolerance of the new system that made them react more bitterly than other bourgeois leaders to the socialist revolution in Russia.

Much water has flown since then under the bridges spanning the Thames and the Moskva. Soviet-British relations have been marked both by an extreme deterioration and by military political cooperation in the fight against a common enemy during the Second World War. Generally, however, they may be described as a "precarious balance", an alternation of efforts to improve relations and periods of stagnation or even retrogression.

In any case, these relations have never been truly stable, and this is contrary to the fundamental interests of both countries and tells on the situation in Europe.

Yet the two countries are not divided by any reciprocal claims or by disputes, such as territorial ones. We Soviet people have our opinion about the British social system and express it through our media. But as far as interstate relations are concerned, the Soviet Union has always been committed to non-interference in the affairs of other countries and to unqualified respect for their sovereignty, which is necessary if the principle of peaceful coexistence proclaimed in the early days of Soviet power in Russia is not to be an empty phrase.

The CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Congress says: "In the present-day world, which is riddled with acute contradictions, and in the face of impending catastrophe, the only sensible and acceptable way out is the *peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems*. This does not merely mean the absence of wars. It is an international order under which good-neighbourliness and cooperation rather than armed force would prevail, and a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology and cultural values would be carried out for the good of all nations. When vast resources are no longer used for military purposes, it would be possible to use the fruits of labour exclusively for constructive purposes."¹

¹ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, pp. 22-23.

In pursuing our policy of peaceful coexistence, we never single out any state belonging to another social system. The actual ways and means of implementing it depend on the international and domestic situation of the country concerned with which the Soviet Union is willing to cooperate on a constructive basis.

What does this mean in the case of Britain? The international as well as the domestic situation of that country has undergone big changes in recent decades. Britain no longer holds a dominant position in the world economy as an industrial power, and its one-time colonial empire has fallen apart under the pressure of the national liberation movement. However, British capitalism undoubtedly has certain reserves, even though they are neither the same as before nor quite as large as its ruling class would like them to be.

Whitehall invariably describes Britain's ownership of nuclear weapons as a trump card lending the country international leverage and prestige. Is this right? More and more people in Britain question this approach, which is rejected outright by an appreciable body of national opinion. Nevertheless, not a single British cabinet has ever cast doubt on it. As for the present Tory government, it has escalated nuclear armaments.

In deciding on its foreign policy strategy, London usually points to "three pillars": active involvement in NATO in alliance with the United States, a bigger role in West European affairs through membership of the EEC, and maintenance of Britain's leading role within the Commonwealth of Nations, that is, the group of Asian, African and Caribbean countries which gained political independence after the disintegration of the British Empire. It follows that British foreign policy covers a wide area going beyond the bounds of one continent.

As regards priorities, however, there is no unanimity among members of the ruling class. Some of them favour orientation to Western Europe while others prefer US "leadership". Certain influential quarters insist on increasing Britain's role, particularly its economic role, in the Commonwealth of Nations. The balance shifts under the impact of developments, nor is this always noticed outside the country.

Lately even the press close to official quarters has been writing about growing "anti-American sentiments" among large sections of the population. The bandit-like US air raid on Libya served as a strong catalyst of these sentiments. It shocked even many orthodox Tories. And even politically unsophisticated people are aware of what this kind of action may lead to.

The rather small area taken up by Britain is used by numerous US air, naval and missile forces equipped with nuclear weapons all of which are targeted primarily on the Soviet Union. If anyone had tried to make believe that these forces could only be used in an emergency, that is, in the event of a direct threat to the country, this was proved wrong when US planes taking off from bases on British soil bombed Libya.

But even Britain's own armed forces are not kept within national territory. The empire is no more but there are still quite a few fragments of it in the form of islands or other small areas where British troops, warships and planes maintain their presence.

The government's white book on military spending in the 1986 financial year mentions seven overseas areas—apart from NATO's sphere of action and Northern Ireland—where Britain keeps ground forces: Belize, the Falklands (Malvinas), Gibraltar, Cyprus, Kenya, Brunei and Hong Kong. There are British air forces in as many areas. Belize, Ascension Island, the Falklands (Malvinas), Sardinia, Gibraltar, Cyprus and Hong Kong. And Britain keeps naval forces in five areas besides the Atlantic, the North Sea and the English Channel: the Falklands (Malvinas), Gibraltar, Diego Garcia Island, the Indian Ocean and on the approaches to Hong Kong. The white

book states: "We have formal responsibilities for the defence of our remaining Dependent Territories around the world."²

Due to the presence of large US forces on its soil, Britain may be involved in dangerous complications in the event of US military moves while the existence of British military outposts in other parts of the globe may drag it into conflicts thousands of kilometres from the white cliffs of Dover.

This was the case more than once at a time when imperial functions seemed to be a thing of the past. Even where London appeared to have achieved the military solution sought by it, the cost of its armed operations put a heavy burden on the nation. The authors of *Post-War Britain* estimate that the cost of the Falklands (Malvinas) war and its effects will reach £2,750 million by 1985/86.³

Many a Western political commentator is wondering why London is so keen on what is not really worth much either physically or economically but is a drain on the country. Just what are its military outposts guarding overseas? Or is it basically a question of the "prestige" of the biggest colonial power of bygone days?

There can be no explicit answer. The existence of British bases in sovereign Cyprus is one thing and on isolated Atlantic and Pacific islands is another. For the military in London and Washington, Cyprus is an important bridgehead on the approaches to the Middle East. The British militarists are trying, largely under the influence of Washington, to entrench themselves in that country in violation of its sovereign rights.

Taking it all in all, the global character of the present functions of Britain's armed forces is a consequence of the fact that while decolonisation is nominally over, British big capital, far from reducing its expansion, has increased it. This, too, has been going on at the expense of vital national interests.

Britain's GNP was worth \$109,000 million by the late 1960s. In terms of this index, Britain lagged behind the FRG (GNP, \$150,000 million), France (\$140,000 million) and Japan (\$167,000 million).⁴ Towards the same period, it had moved back to thirteenth place among developed capitalist countries in industrial output, and by the late 1970s it had slipped to seventeenth place. Its traditional industries found themselves in a particularly difficult situation. From 1978 to 1983, the workforce employed in automobile construction decreased by 179,000; in textiles by 173,000; in metals by 110,000; in the coal industry by 51,000; in ship-building by 42,900; and in mechanical engineering by 23,000.⁵ This was due to a decline in production level and not to rationalisation.

Time was when Britain accounted for up to one-third of world trade turnover. By the 1960s its share had dropped to 16 per cent and by the 1970s, to nine per cent. Ever since 1983, the one-time "workshop of the world" has imported more manufactured goods and exported less. Half of the cars sold on its home market are of foreign make.

Chronic mass unemployment is a national calamity. In the mid-1960s there were 300,000 people registered as jobless. This year their number stands at 3.4 million or an unprecedented 14 per cent of the total workforce. Today even cabinet members admit the magnitude of the calamity, but then that is all they do.

² *Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1986*, 1. London, 1986, p. 21.

³ Alan Sked and Chris Cook, *Post-War Britain*, London, 1984, p. 418.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁵ *The State of the Nation*, London, 1985, p. 32.

Britain badly needs investments in crisis-stricken industries. British workers and engineers are as proficient as ever. British products used to be famed on the world market for quality. A number of major technical innovations of the postwar period owe their origin to Britain. And now?

There is quite a few official calls on both the compatriots and other West Europeans to end their lag in the "technological revolution", to prevent the United States and Japan from getting too far ahead. But nothing is done to suit the action to the word. Last spring Edward Heath, the former Tory Prime Minister, said that Britain needed £3,000 million to finance the industries hit by unemployment hardest of all. This is not really a very large sum but it is unlikely to be procured for as long as military programmes swallow a sizable part of budgeted funds.

From what the white book says, the government plans to spend a minimum of £10,000 million on modernising the British atomic submarine fleet by equipping it with new US Trident missiles. The starvation diet on which the industries forming the backbone of British industrial power are kept is diminishing as capital is exported in a drive for bigger profits than can be derived at home. British investments are growing fastest of all in the United States, the FRG, the Netherlands, Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia, South Africa, Nigeria, and Malaysia. Would it be as a means of guaranteeing these overseas assets that Britain preserves its military outposts in various parts of the globe?

It seems paradoxical at first sight that a reverse process is also under way, with capital from the United States, Japan, the FRG, the Netherlands, Switzerland and other countries invading Britain on a mounting scale, purchasing British enterprises, business offices and real estate. The amount of capital exported from the country exceeds to a considerable degree the amount invested there. In 1982, foreign investments transferred to Britain totalled £3,500 million whereas British investments abroad added up to nearly £11,000 million.

The resulting vacuum in the British economy is filled by foreign investors. US business is particularly active. Its recent seizure of control over Westland, Britain's only company making helicopters, caused discord even at the top of the ruling Tory party Secretary of State for Defence Michael Heseltine, who took a stand against the government over its inaction, had to resign.

The City is also losing ground as the financial centre of the country. It is invaded by US, Japanese and West German banks. Bankruptcies, the formation of supercorporations, financial scandals that yield profits running to hundreds of millions of pounds, fever on the stock market. Business, responding to the Tory leaders' call for loyalty to the "spirit of enterprise", sweeps aside all hurdles to lay hands on enterprises and whole industries still under state control, with the government encouraging it outright.

The exploitation of North Sea oil begun in the mid-1970s was a godsend to British big business. Output went up from 38 million tons in 1977 to 115 million tons in 1983. In the 1984/85 financial year, oil sales earned the Treasury £13,000 million although the falling oil prices on the world market poses certain complex problems.

A source of receipts second to oil is "invisible revenues". Britain is unmatched among capitalist countries in this respect. In 1985, it earned £5,500 million through bank operations, foreign tourism and foreign investments. "Once the workshop of the world, Britain has become its biggest 'rentier'," commented *The Economist*, mouthpiece of the City.⁶

Business is also pushing into the sphere of "fast profits", with the government helping as best it can. For the time being, this makes it possible in spite of an obvious downturn in industry to assure the ruling class rea-

sonable prosperity and to provide a certain durable standard of living for the employed workforce by drawing on external superprofits. But all this is insecure.

The problem is discussed with growing concern in the bourgeois press and in Parliament, it being pointed out that the oil resources of the North Sea are not inexhaustible and that financial speculation and other practices like that may cause disaster to the rentier country, such as hits even big companies, firms and banks in the City more and more often.

The main thing, however, is that operating continuously is the voracious pump of military spending that drains civilian spheres of resources, pouring them into the bottomless pit of armaments.

Here are statistics on military expenditures covering six financial years 1980/81, £10,785 million; 1981/82, £12,274 million; 1982/83, £14,091 million; 1983/84, £15,973 million; 1984/85, £17,033 million; 1985/86, £18,059; 1986/87, £18,479 million.

In the same period, appropriations for nuclear armaments increased fourfold, going up from £165 million in the 1980/81 financial year to £658 million under the 1986/87 budget.⁷

Britain holds a doubtful first place among the West European NATO countries as a contributor to military preparations. In NATO's northern and central sectors of Europe it provides up to 45 per cent of the air forces of the bloc on this side of the English Channel in charge of air defence, up to one-third of the assault aircraft and up to one-fourth of the ground troops. Its share of the aircraft carriers patrolling the Atlantic and the English Channel (with due regard to the overall potential of the West European bloc members) makes up 100 per cent, 60 per cent of the submarines in the same areas and 80 per cent of the naval air force.

"The challenge for NATO is not simply a military one," the white book says. "Soviet leaders had never renounced the 'ideological struggle' ... These activities are designed to weaken the cohesion of NATO, to foster misleading impressions of Soviet intentions, and to channel criticisms of Western governments into directions that suit Soviet purposes.... And we can expect intensified efforts over the next few months to drive wedges between the NATO allies—particularly between the United States and the countries of Western Europe."⁸

This passage is an assortment of false allegations, speculations and deliberate lies. It is intended to "justify" the idea of war preparations and the preparations themselves. Significantly, the emphasis is put on the political intentions and designs of our country and not on the usual myth about a "Soviet military threat" to the West. There is an obvious desire to discredit the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, to suggest that they are prompted by insidious calculations. But the authors of the white book try in vain to justify the feverish build-up of armaments. They respond to an ideological, political challenge by stockpiling the deadliest weapons.

Now this militarist trend refutes one of the main claims of the leaders of both major political parties of Britain to the effect that the creation of a British "nuclear deterrent" is motivated by the need to assure Britain a "proper voice" at the East-West talks. That "deterrent" is there and requires enormous expenditures, now as in the past. But where does Britain's "voice" at the ongoing talks come in? What constructive diplomatic initiatives can it be credited with? The actual result of escalating the nuclear

⁷ *Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1986, 2, p. 11.*

⁸ *Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1986, 1, p. 2.*

arms race is that official London dodges the slightest step likely to lead to a lessening of international tension and contribute to disarmament.

All that London occasionally brings itself to do is to declare in vague terms for the continuation of the Soviet-US dialogue. But this does not require much effort, and besides, Whitehall diplomacy fails to do even that little when Washington makes clear that it needs no go-betweens. About 15 or 20 years ago, Washington used to refrain from discouraging London in this manner.

The conclusions which this fact invites with regard to British-US relations are evident. The "voice of Britain" has not become any stronger or more impressive even in this case. Nor does it carry more weight just because the present leaders of the country describe their government as pro-American. Assurances of this kind must have merely encouraged Washington to seek the use of US bases in Britain for the bombing of Tripoli and other Libyan cities.

The Prime Minister's Office had reportedly expected no particular revulsion against the US move. The same sources indicate that in the future the Thatcher government plans to weigh all pros and cons should a new "request" similar to the earlier one come from overseas.

What is going on inside the country may be called a gradual but deep-going crystallisation of views and assessments leading to a revision of much of what was never reappraised in the past. The factor underlying this process is by no means new. It has had its effect before, if on a limited scale. We mean the discrepancy between the nation's material resources and the demands made of them by official policy, primarily in respect of the arms race. The conflicts, arguments and differences within various British cabinets that this factor has caused! One has only to leaf the published diaries of ex-prime minister Harold Wilson, Richard Crossman (former member of the Wilson cabinet) or other authoritative testimonies to realise the significance of the debates on Britain's "commitments" and "available resources" that took place behind the scenes and not gain publicity until later.

In the second half of the 1960s, Labour cabinets, while reaffirming their allegiance to the neo-imperial functions of Britain, had to make some cuts in spending, reduce the British garrisons in some parts of the globe and withdraw troops from Singapore, Malaysia and certain Middle East countries. Those were not even half measures but something more modest, something that left the bulk of the military burden intact.

Last spring, for the first time under the present cabinet, official London began to talk about cutting the military budget to save money. It said that Britain had met its commitment to increase spending by an annual three per cent made within the framework of NATO in 1978. But the cuts, if any, are to be small. Meanwhile life goes on. It inexorably presents its bills.

During his recent stay in Britain as a member of a delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee, this writer saw and heard something worthy of note. The delegation was invited by the Shipley branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a major anti-war organisation (Shipley is a small town in Yorkshire). We also visited nearby Leeds and Bradford as well as London.

Britain was just through with municipal elections in which the Tories had suffered telling reverses. The press abounded in reports about nervousness at the party top. It said that Prime Minister Thatcher was casting about for a "foothold" to avoid defeat in the elections that are due in 1988 at the latest but might be held earlier.

The Labour Party took heart. Polls showed it to be ahead of the Tories. But active on the domestic political scene today within parliamentary bounds is a "third force", the Social Democratic Party, which makes common cause with the Liberals. Political commentators make different forecasts as to whether it may win greater support among Conservative or Labour voters. This is an important matter if a correct estimate is to be made of the outcome of the next general election.

The leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party have lately differed over the stand to take on the US military bases in Britain and on nuclear armaments in general.

All debate on this issue necessarily leads to discussion of the prospects of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Nobody takes seriously the current official claim that British arms are a lever needed by its politicians for effective diplomacy in the world arena, meaning also relations with the United States.

These arms have always been directed against the Soviet Union and other WTO countries. It is absurd to call them "independent", for they are an appendage to the US nuclear arsenal, with all ensuing consequences for the nation's security. What they serve in reality is not a more flexible British foreign policy, for they actually fetter it at a time when interests that various people are increasingly aware of demand that foreign policy be "emancipated" and that the government bring it into line with the real needs and exigencies of today.

We had a meeting interesting in this respect with research workers at Bradford University, which has a department engaged in analysing British-Soviet relations. Recently the university completed an investigation of these relations.

The investigation examines above all the state of affairs in bilateral trade. It points out that in recent decades Britain, once the chief trading partner of the Soviet Union, has fallen behind the FRG, Italy, France and Japan. In 1985, its share of Soviet imports from developed capitalist countries was only four per cent against 17 per cent in the case of the FRG. That share equalled one per cent of Britain's total foreign trade turnover. The investigation draws the critical conclusion that this situation is largely a result of lack of initiative on the part of London.

With reference to foreign policy, the investigation stresses the country's strenuous and uneasy adaptation to the changes brought about by decolonisation. The "special relations" with the United States complicated the situation, nor did they help Britain play an active part in European affairs. "All this has entailed a more hostile 'ideological' attitude to the USSR," says the investigation. "The UK was the last significant Western power to embrace detente (1975), and one of the first to abandon it. As the late 1970s confirmed, anti-Sovietism is 'a chronic disease both of Conservatives and of right-wing Labour leaders'."

"Persistent deference to US leadership," it is maintained, "damages certain vital British interests: in expansion of exports to Eastern Europe, in cooperation with the other EEC countries to oppose US 'economic warfare' (monetary and tariff policies, etc.), in arms control and in diminishing the risk of nuclear war."

Last May the bipartisan House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee announced in a report its considerations about relations with our country. The report is not free of stereotypes about "Soviet expansionism" but they do not stand out and are coupled with statements of a different nature. It underlines the importance of making serious efforts on both sides to "deliberately encourage greater mutual understanding". The report points out that "there is much to be said for publicly endorsing at a bilateral level the spirit of Mr. Gorbachev's proposal for a direct and systematic dialogue between leaders of the countries of the world community".

An undoubtedly interesting section of the report is the one which says that "the United Kingdom Government, separately or in concert with other European Governments, has a role in seeking to improve understanding with the Soviet Union and its partners". The authors believe that this would make for a constructive pursuit of the Soviet-US talks.

Stating that the more than 60-year period of British-Soviet relations has shown a cyclical trend, the report adds that it will not be easy to overcome distrust but this can be done if those interests which Britain and the Soviet Union have in common are exploited to the full, so that distrust is not aggravated by misunderstanding and that the risk of armed conflict, and particularly nuclear conflict, is eliminated.

There are recommendations about steps to promote bilateral trade. They include a proposal "that HM Government should take every opportunity in the Coordinating Committee" [Cocom] both to reduce the list of embargoed items to be exported to the Soviet Union to the minimum.

In London we visited Parliament, where we had an interesting talk with a group of Labour MPs representing major trade unions, and the headquarters of the TUC. These meetings helped gain a clearer insight into the painful problem of mass unemployment, which has an adverse impact on the anti-war movement. We were told that the problem of a livelihood may be said to have pushed problems of "big politics" into the background for many of those who find themselves out of work even though it is the arms race that has always been a major factor in running down civilian production and cutting appropriations for social needs.

The centre of London is also the façade of the nation. It has undergone no visible change for the worse. Indeed, much of the money made through speculation and in other ways settles there, in stately mansions, at Bond Street auctions, in Oxford Street department stores, in Piccadilly and Mayfair hotels. In these neighbourhoods, wealth leaps to the eye.

Not so in the formerly busy industrial town of Yorkshire. Northern England is now officially described as a distressed area. Today's Britain is divided into "two nations" both socially and geographically. The South is relatively better off while the central and northern parts are hit by industrial decline.

We were told that of the more than 60 mills in Leeds, Bradford and vicinity which used to manufacture woollens, only six are left. The Tory government is guilty of the fact that the coal industry, once thriving, is neglected now. Pits close down, and miners are laid off. This is also the case in mechanical engineering.

Immigrants from Pakistan and India naturalised in Britain are in a particularly unenviable plight. There are many of them in Yorkshire. "Race riots" and bloodshed are frequent, according to the bourgeois press. An official commission has held an inquiry into the situation in major urban communities. The problems are perfectly obvious: slums, hundreds of thousands and millions who lack rights, unemployment. This calls for vigorous efforts backed by material resources.

The problem in this case, too, is to switch the money spent on a ruinous arms race to civilian needs. The North took an initiative that assumed national dimensions. First Manchester and then towns in Yorkshire declared themselves nuclear-free zones. Shortly afterwards, their number in the country topped a hundred. London, too, declared itself nuclear-free. The government abolished the capital's Labour-controlled municipality and set out to "reorganise" local government all over the country. But the May municipal elections showed that no measures, however drastic, can safeguard the ruling party against a major setback.

Our delegation had many meetings and talks with activists of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. These include quite a few people with whom we had to join issue. Some of them asked why the Soviet Union refu-

ses to adopt unilateral disarmament measures. The Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing announced in the summer of 1985 drew numerous favourable comments. However, many people know little about the substance of the latest Soviet peace initiatives and wrongly expect our country to be able to bring about by its own efforts, without support from other countries, a change for the better in the sphere of disarmament. All this was discussed in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is preparing at local and national level for new actions in support of its demands. After the US air raid on Libya in April 1986, a huge protest demonstration took place in central London, with the CND taking an active part. Agitated people filled Oxford Street to capacity.

As distinct from the 1950s and 1960s, the leaders of the Labour Party and the TUC now demand specific steps in favour of disarmament, primarily in the nuclear field. Annual conferences pass resolutions about the need to rid the country of the US military bases and about measures for substantial reduction of the burden imposed on the nation by the arms race.

The allegations of official bourgeois propaganda that these demands are tantamount to "unilateral disarmament" and would undermine national security if met prove less and less effective. No matter how hard the Soviet peace initiatives are ignored, the indisputable fact that the Soviet Union is ready to reciprocate any step by Britain to curb the arms race is gaining publicity.

The recent visit of Edvard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, to Britain and his talks with British leaders were unquestionably important for promoting the Soviet-British dialogue and developing contacts at various levels.

Thus, there are real and ample opportunities for joint efforts by the two countries, for their cooperation in maintaining the vital interests of the Soviet and British people and world peace.

A DOCTRINE OF INTERNATIONAL BRIGANDAG

Vladimir B O L S H A K O

In mid-April 1986 the USA launched an air attack on Libya to "punish" it for alleged "acts of terrorism". The pretext used for the attack was a blast in a West Berlin discotheque. Soon after the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi, the facts the USA had tried so hard to conceal rose to the surface—those who had ordered the bombing failed to produce a single piece of sound evidence of Libya's involvement in the discotheque explosion. It was reported that the blast had been planned by Western, including American, and Israeli secret services jointly with drug traffickers.

Political analysts of all kinds, despite the tide of jingoistic hysteria which set off in the USA after the attack, wondered what all this meant after all, for US foreign policy and for the world. Was it a chance event, a militaristic "overreaction" or an instance of a purposeful long-term policy? Many agreed that the latter was more likely. This is seen in numerous press commentaries in major capitalist and non-aligned countries.

The Soviet Union sharply denounced the US act of aggression against Libya right at the start, thereby demonstrating its solidarity with that country which pursues a consistently anti-imperialist course. In a speech at the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on April 18 this year in Berlin, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "In a broad international context, the crime against Libya, just like the relentless continuation of nuclear testing, and stepped up threats in regard to Nicaragua, cannot be viewed in isolation. All this is a manifestation of the general course pursued by the US Administration whose militaristic aggressive thrust has been laid bare these days..."¹

Indeed, those days the world press wrote a good deal about the new-fangled American "neoglobalism" doctrine, stressing that the attack on Libya was not only an instance of applying this doctrine in practice, but also a precedent which would possibly be repeated in the future to make short work of regimes which do not suit the United States. The threats from Washington directed at Syria and Iran and at other states, which followed up the aggression against Libya, alarmed many people....

The first report on the new doctrine elaborated in the upper echelones of power in the United States were appearing already late in 1984, immediately after the second Republican victory in the presidential elections. It goes under different names, but it is most often called the "Reagan doctrine", or the "Reagan-Shultz doctrine", or a "new globalism" concept. However, what matters is not the name of the doctrine but its essence,

¹ *Pravda*, Apr. 19, 1986.

which is, according to James Reston, a well-known US analyst, that "the United States will support any state or group fighting for freedom against Communist domination anywhere in the world".² In other words, from now on counter-revolution will be supported openly everywhere, and not only through CIA secret channels.

The "neoglobalism" doctrine was not started from scratch. It has incorporated all the most reactionary foreign-policy doctrines of the US ruling quarters—the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed way back last century, the Wilson Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine (1947), and the Eisenhower Doctrine (1957). The last one, it will be recalled, led to the intervention into Lebanon by the US Marines and a series of CIA plots against Jordan and Syria. As was stated by John Kennedy, the USA was prepared to carry any burden in defence of freedom.³ Guided by this directive, the CIA organised the intervention of Cuba in the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

The Johnson Doctrine (1965), which fits well into the "neoglobalism" doctrine, was behind the invasion by US Marines into the Dominican Republic and the escalation of the "dirty war" in Vietnam. Richard Nixon's Guam Doctrine (1969) was a peculiar addition to the concept of his predecessors: from then on the "dirty work", that is, punitive operations against national liberation movements, were to be carried out by pro-American puppet regimes. The USA made itself the headquarters of military operations and provided for its clients. Something of the kind is now happening in El Salvador. The emergence of the doctrine of "protecting vital interests", or the Carter Doctrine (1979), and the formation of the Rapid Deployment Force in compliance with it (which was greatly reinforced in 1981-1986) showed that the USA was going to extend the Monroe Doctrine to the whole world.

Among the more aggressive doctrines of the ruling quarters of US imperialism is also the "doctrine of rolling back communism" advanced by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State in the Eisenhower Administration. According to that doctrine, the USA staged actions by the counter-revolutionary forces in the GDR (1953) and in Hungary (1956), and created a ramified infrastructure of political, financial, propaganda and other support to "fighters against communism", above all to the ultra-rights forces, and reactionary emigres, including Hitler's hangers-on. At that time, "international" organisations were set up, like the "assembly of enslaved peoples", which were financed by the CIA and by the State Department and acted as "governments in exile" of East European countries, Cuba and some republics of the USSR.

Military-strategic and military-political guidelines of this kind are still used by the US reactionary circles which do not wish to give up the insane hope of crushing existing socialism, suppressing the national liberation movements and regaining their world leadership. It would be appropriate here to recall that way back in 1967 William Bandy, Assistant Secretary of State and one of the "shadow" authors of the Johnson Doctrine, admitted in an interview to *U. S. News & World Report* that the American actions in Vietnam were designed to prove that people's or national liberation wars could not be successful.⁴

However, the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, supported by the Soviet Union and all the other countries of the socialist community, which culminated in the flight of the invaders from Southeast Asia, proved the opposite. The strengthening of the positions of socialism by the late 1960s and the early 1970s, above all the attainment of military-

² *The New York Times*, March 27, 1985.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *U.S. News & World Report*, Dec. 18, 1967.

strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and, correspondingly, the weakening of the world positions of imperialism, including US imperialism, impelled the US ruling circles to go over from the policy of confrontation with the USSR to the policy of negotiations with it.

The Soviet-American accords on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms, on the basic principles of relations, on the prevention of nuclear war and the establishment and promotion of mutually beneficial cooperation in the spheres of economy, science, technology and culture, which were elaborated and signed in the first half of the 1970s in the years of the Nixon Administration, provided a sound legal basis for expanding and consolidating the process of detente in relations between the two countries and in the world as a whole.

At the same time, the further weakening of US global strategic, economic and political positions in the 1970s set off a new upsurge of activity among the extreme reactionary groupings in the US top echelons of powers who made every effort to oppose this natural process of socio-economic transformations.

The advent to power of the present Republican Administration, which catered to these groupings, was directly associated with the increased aggressiveness of US imperialism which staked on arms race escalation. Already in January 1981 the US Administration, which had announced its campaign against "international terrorism", itself began to openly pursue a policy of state terrorism. This was caused by a number of domestic and foreign-policy reasons. Under the pretext of "combating terrorism" the authorities came out to crush the country's left-radical movements, primarily among the national minorities, to suppress the trade unions and attacked the Communist Party, USA and the left-wing youth unions close to it, the liberal press and progressive public organisations. It also planned to launch a large-scale onslaught on the rights and social gains of the American working people.

At the same time, the US monopolies and the politicians serving them feared "losing" Latin America and the whole developing world, where in the 1970s anti-Americanism was spreading; and the national liberation movements in Iran, Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries were winning ever new victories. The "anti-terrorism" campaign was largely conducive to US involvement with Israeli aggression against Lebanon undertaken mainly with the purpose of eliminating, physically and politically, the Palestine resistance movement.

In ideological terms, the "anti-terrorism" propaganda campaign was intended to be used as a form of militant anti-communism, even more aggressive than the "human rights campaign". The world press, including a number of American newspapers and magazines, immediately noted the direct connection between the new propaganda campaign of the US ruling circles and the turn in their policy from detente to "cold war" and considered the campaign against terrorism, announced by the White House, to be a sign that US foreign-policy line was toughening and becoming increasingly aggressive. Anti-terrorism, wrote Sol Landau of the Washington Institute of Political Studies, in the newspaper *Newsday* in March 1981, was nothing else but an updated version of the anti-communism of the cold war years, aimed at getting the Americans ready for a new round of intervention and a growth of military spending.⁵

The White House sought to link the USSR with global terrorism more directly than this had been done by the previous administrations, hoping

⁵ *Newsday*, March 13, 1981.

in this way to give the American public "a broader perception of the Soviet threat to US interests—a threat customarily expressed primarily in terms of Soviet military power".⁶

It is no secret that the anti-Soviet ideological sabotage campaign under the guise of combating "international terrorism" was prepared well in advance. The Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford foundations, and large Sovietological centres, the "think tanks" of US imperialism, such as the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace, the American Enterprise Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations, and others, elaborated in the late 1970s a number of extremely anti-Soviet and anti-communist long-term foreign-policy recommendations. The priority was given to toughening confrontation with the USSR and other socialist countries in military, economic, political and ideological spheres and on actions against national liberation movements, and to interference in the internal affairs of the newly free countries.

An international conference on terrorism was held in Jerusalem in 1979 with the active participation of US intelligence and Sovietological centres, the propaganda and espionage agencies of international Zionism and the intelligence services of a number of the NATO countries the USA was represented, among others, by George Bush, CIA director at the time; Richard Pipes, a pro-Zionist American Sovietologist, and a number of others who were included in the US Administration in 1981. It was Bush who said then in Jerusalem that the world public should be convinced that the source of terror as such was the "Bolshevik revolution" and that the Soviet Union manipulated all kinds of terrorism to destabilise the West.⁷

Already in the documents of the Jerusalem conference national liberation movements, primarily UN-recognised representatives of their peoples, like the PLO and SWAPO were labeled "terrorist". Later this thesis was included unchanged in a number of speeches by the US President and the spokesmen of the US Administration in which the USSR was charged with "complicity" in international terrorism.

The document, on which the foreign policy of the Republican Administration was based during the first term in the White House, known as the Santa Fe Document, shows just what kind of a world the present US rulers would like to see. It was drawn up by a group of ultra-right ideologists in the Republican Party who had been preparing its election platform in 1980. In international affairs the determining criterion for the USA is not peace but war, said the document. Isolationism is impossible for the USA; the containment of the USSR is an insufficient measure; and detente is dead, it went on. In the interests of its survival the United States should pursue a new foreign policy and either overtake initiative or perish, the document said. We are on the threshold of the third world war; either Pax Sovietica or Pax Americana—this is the alternative; the hour of decision must not be put off, it concluded.⁸

Many people in the USA hoped that, as had happened before, the new Administration would gradually move closer to the "centre", away from its extreme-right positions expressed, in particular in the Santa Fe Document. But they were mistaken. The "crusade" against communism, announced by the US President in June 1982, and now the "neoglobalism doctrine", envisage most active interference in the affairs of the socialist countries, the socialism-oriented states, the non-aligned countries which do not suit the USA, and also all the states which do not wish to obey US diktat.

⁶ See *The Washington Post*, Feb. 7, 1981.

⁷ *L'Humanite*, May 14, 1986.

⁸ Quoted from V. V. Bolshakov, *Terrorism the American Way*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyie Otnosheniya, 1983, p. 65 (in Russian).

Since the advent to power of the current administration, which most fully expresses and protects the interests of the extremely reactionary groupings in the US ruling quarters, these groupings have declared openly that they would not stop short of anything to "put in order", first and foremost the "backyard" of the United States, that is the Caribbean and Latin American countries. At the top of the list of the targets of subversive operations of the CIA and other US intelligence services were Cuba and Nicaragua. Simultaneously the US Administration increased its "aid" to the sanguine regimes of El Salvador and Honduras. The aim of that "aid" was to suppress, on a level close to genocide, the struggle of the patriots in these countries against the fascist juntas and against the dominance of US monopolies.

In December 1981 the President signed an order granting the CIA powers to establish contact with "dissident Nicaraguans in exile" and to conduct political and paramilitary operations against the Sandinista government. Besides, a top-secret document, "Scope of Action", signed at that time determined the character and cost of the "covert operations" planned by the CIA and the secret services of the Pentagon against Nicaragua.

In April 1982, the National Security Council drew up a document entitled "US Policy in Central America and Cuba for the Period Until the 1984 Fiscal Year Inclusive". It said in part that in strategic terms the USA was vitally interested in preventing the emergence of states like Cuba in Central America, and that in the long-term perspective the USA should establish governments that would be politically stable and capable of resisting Soviet-Cuban influence.⁹ The document provided, under the false pretext of "guaranteeing US national security against a communist threat", for stepping up subversive activities against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada; mounting the economic blockade against Cuba; expanding military aid to the antipopular regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala for fighting insurgents; supplying additional military equipment to Honduras; invigorating CIA activities in all Central American countries and in Mexico.

Despite attempts by a number of Latin American countries, in particular the Contadora Group, to direct the developments in Central America, and in the Caribbean area as a whole, towards dialogue and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and despite a series of peace proposals made by the governments of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, Washington bluntly refused to hold any talks which could help settle the existing differences and solve problems and demanded only one thing—that all nations in the US "backyard" submit to tough diktat.

The developments that followed were worse still. In the State of the Union Address President Reagan announced on February 6, 1985 the US intention to publicly support the counter-revolutionaries on all continents, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua.¹⁰ Thus, it was confirmed that in the long-term perspective the USA intends, in addition to its covert actions, to openly interfere in the domestic affairs of other states, in particular, with the purpose of toppling their governments, and to officially finance such activities. Speaking in San Francisco in February last year State Secretary George Shultz explained that the doctrine of "US national security" would from now on be directed towards active and open confrontation with the socialist world and national liberation movements.

The USA goes out of its way to get its allies to join in the new "crusade". Their reaction, with the exception of Britain, to the US act of

⁹ *The New York Times*, Apr. 9, 1983.

¹⁰ See Official Text No. 12, "State of the Union Address". President Ronald Reagan, Washington D.C., Feb. 6, 1985, American Embassy, Moscow, USSR, Feb. 8, 1985.

aggression against Libya caused great dissatisfaction in Washington. So it was decided to toughen discipline in NATO and ensure at least a semblance of support by West European countries, Canada, and also Japan for the US doctrine of international brigandage. This was partly achieved at the Tokyo meeting of the Big Seven, held in May this year, which adopted a "declaration" on combating terrorism.

Commenting on this declaration, General Secretary of the French Communist Party Georges Marchais said: "The Tokyo meeting endorsed the Reagan doctrine, according to which popular movements, growing violence amidst the crisis, and acts of terrorism are all 'low intensity conflicts' within the framework of global East-West confrontation and therefore demand due military and political response. This doctrine vindicates the course towards greater integration or cooperation among the major capitalist countries, the arms race, military and police coordination, and the refusal to meet the legitimate demands of the developing countries."¹¹

One cannot help taking note of the fact that the "programme of democracy and public diplomacy" proclaimed by Washington early in 1983, which more often than not has been behind direct interference in the affairs of sovereign states, including the socialist ones, is incorporated in the "neoglobalism" doctrine. In this connection allocations were sharply increased in July 1985 for all the US secret services, the CIA above all. An anti-terrorist group, headed by US Vice President George Bush, was set up for this purpose in July 1986 and a fund to finance "anti-communist resistance groups" in the whole world was instituted. In August that year, the US Department of State announced a regional programme of combatting terrorism; and \$53 million were set aside for that.

Something of the kind was undertaken under the Nixon Administration within the framework of the Guam Doctrine. However, now the scope of the planned operations has been expanded a great deal and the operations themselves are financed far more lavishly. The Pentagon has instructed the Rand Corporation to develop a strategy of using pro-Western mediators for actions in the Third World. It was suggested that among such "allies" there should be Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, Honduras and some other states, as well as the "insurgents", that is, the counter-revolutionary gangs themselves. Relying on such "mediators", the USA does not care that these are, as a rule, ultra-reactionary regimes which have surpassed all records of human rights violations.

newspaper *Patriot* published as early as January 1983 a classified document which contained recommendations for US embassies abroad and to CIA residencies drawn up on the basis of the project of controlling political and covert operations conducted by US government agencies in the country and abroad approved by the White House late in 1981.¹²

The United States should establish political domination over key regions, the document said, like the Caribbean and Mediterranean seas, South Africa, the Pacific and Indian oceans, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and also over the regions from which important raw materials are supplied. It pointed out that various actions should be carried out to that end, including special operations to seize the sources of valuable raw materials in the event of outside or internal danger creating a threat of discontinuing their production and deliveries. The

¹¹ *L'Humanité*, May 14, 1986.

¹² *Patriot*, Jan. 25, 1983 (hereafter the document is quoted from this newspaper).

conclusion is that constant military presence in such regions is necessary, the document said.

The document pays special attention to the need for the USA to ensure predominant influence in the regions where the governments of the developing countries pursue an anti-American policy, covertly or overtly. The priority targets of subversive operations are the states, the document says, which should be isolated or incited against each other. They are: India, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Iran, Libya, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Algeria and Madagascar.

In spring 1986, a bill was submitted to the US Senate which is expected to strengthen the US task force and provides for setting up a joint military command for this force, a kind of crack "anti-guerrilla" corps to carry out large-scale subversive operations against the countries that have opted for democratic reforms.

A special role here is assigned to the CIA which can incite disorder which can be used by the United States as a pretext for sending its troops to a country selected as the object of interference. The CIA has been instructed also to use, whenever necessary, active terroristic methods, including special operations, that is, physical elimination of important political leaders, provocation of local armed conflicts, incitement of ethnic, religious, communal and racial conflicts, economic sabotage and political coups.

William Casey declared early in March 1983 at a meeting of army and intelligence veterans that the CIA had intensified the attention paid to the key countries threatened with economic and political instability. According to *The New York Times Magazine*, the CIA has drawn a list of the countries which are the object of US intelligence activities. Among these countries are practically all the socialist countries, and also the key regions of Central and Latin America, the Middle East and Asia.

After the explosion in the barracks of the US Marines in Beirut, the US Administration began to talk about an active defence against terrorism. In April 1984, the President signed a secret directive No. 138. According to the US press, the directive demanded "active military measures, including preemptive raids against suspected terrorist strongholds and retaliatory raids against countries suspected of harbouring terrorists."¹³ It looks like the directive is fully in accord with the terrorist acts undertaken by the CIA in Lebanon, the hijacking of the Egyptian passenger airliner which carried the terrorists seized by the Egyptian authorities on board the Italian ship *Achille Lauro* in 1985, the US-Israeli actions against Tunisia in 1985, and the massive economic, political and military pressure on Libya at the end of 1985 and in early 1986, which was followed by direct armed aggression against that country.

Political observers immediately noticed that the directive can involve the USA in a real war, however precise the attacks of the US armed forces on the "bases of terrorists" in other countries may be. Public opinion in the USA and the rest of the world was even more alerted to know that, in accordance with Directive PD-138, a new strategic doctrine of the Pentagon had been devised, known as "low intensity conflict" or LIC for short.¹⁴

"The concept is this," wrote Anthony Lewis in *The New York Times*, "the United States should intervene in wars in third-world countries whenever there is a chance to fight Soviet or Marxist influence. It should do so all around the world, without regard to particular local conditions. Constraint on American power, too, must yield to the ideological imperative."¹⁵ Today, Lewis believes, the manifestations of this doctrine as

¹³ *The Nation* Dec. 28, 1985-Jan. 4, 1986.

¹⁴ See *Military Review*, January 1985.

¹⁵ See *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1985.

it really is can be seen in the US involvement in the internal affairs of Angola, El Salvador, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Kampuchea.

The developments in these countries show how dangerous the Pentagon's new strategic doctrine really is. "Unless vigorously opposed by Congress," writes *The Nation* magazine, "a prospect that appears increasingly unlikely at this time, the doctrine will lead us into another round of Third World interventions just as surely as counterinsurgency led us into Vietnam."¹⁶

To lend the "neoglobalism" doctrine a semblance of legality, the CIA is bringing together motley gangs of "freedom fighters". A headquarters of the anti-communist "counteraction international", its leaders being picked out by CIA agents from among the turncoats driven away from the socialist countries, was opened in Paris. It is most revealing that during the meeting on people-to-people contacts held in April 1986 in Bern, this "shadow international" convened a "Helsinki counter-conference" in Geneva. In his personal message to that counter-conference the US President called its participants "freedom fighters".

Having demonstrated by the brigand attack on Libya that "neoglobalism" in being applied in practice, the White House and the Department of State held a series of meetings in May and June this year with chiefs of the counter-revolutionary gangs under US wardship: with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Angolan insurgent group UNITA, then with heads of the Nicaraguan contras, and with the leadership of the association of dushmans which demands official recognition as the "Afghan government".

Despite the vigorous opposition of many senators and congressmen, the US Congress approved by a tiny majority a few decisions that were very unpopular among the Americans. In May, for instance, it approved the delivery to UNITA and Afghan dushmans of Stinger ground-to-air missiles which can be launched from the shoulder. Late in June, Congress also approved \$100 million for military and other aid to the Nicaraguan contras; and in mid-July the US Administration gave the CIA full control over their activities. It is common knowledge today that the White House would rather deal with leaders of counter-revolutionary groups and chiefs of bandit units than with the lawful governments against which they fight on US instructions.

It is not surprising therefore that the notorious "regional initiative" advanced by the US President in the UN on October 25, 1985, in fact, amounted to a proposal addressed to the USSR that the latter should "persuade" the governments of Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Kampuchea and other countries in which the local reactionaries and CIA-hired agents operate against the democratic regimes, to "sit at a negotiating table" with dushmans, rebels, contras and the Pol Pot men. It looks like the White House pretends to be totally unaware that it is for the governments of these and other sovereign states to decide which talks to hold and with whom.

The authors of the "neoglobalism" doctrine know, of course, that their plans are at variance with international law. The day after the doctrine was adopted, *The New York Times* wrote that, according to the decision of the International Court in The Hague on June 27, 1986, the Reagan Administration violated international law by assisting anti-communist rebels. Therefore they seek other, moral, justifications and completely misinterpret the very notion of morals at that. What they need is to convince the doubters that the Nicaraguan contras who, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, have only one achievement to their credit—the brutal

¹⁶ *The Nation*, Dec. 28, 1985-Jan. 4, 1986.

massacre of over 3,000 Nicaraguan civilians—are the “brothers of North American democrats”. This is precisely how the contras were described by the US President in one of his speeches. US imperialism has launched a global “crusade” under the banners of the “struggle against communism”, the banners of “freedom and democracy”. The crusade covers all spheres—from the arms race to economic sabotage, from the suppression of national liberation movements and the export of armed counter-revolution to the “psychological warfare” against the socialist countries.

Thus, the appearance of yet another aggressive military-political doctrine shows that the US ruling circles, ignoring the historical experience and the real state of affairs in the world, presumptuously believe that their country is “destined” to be the leader of the world and is in a position to teach those under delusion and to punish recalcitrants. This line undermines still further security on the global level and that of the United States itself.

THE VANDALISATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE

(Continued from page 119)

ties of our time. “Life itself brings up the question of safeguarding culture, of protecting it from bourgeois corruption and vandalism”, says the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. “That is one of the most important world-wide tasks. We cannot afford to neglect the long-term psychological and moral consequences of imperialism’s current practices in the sphere of culture. Its impoverishment under the onslaught of unbridled commercialism and the cult of force, the propaganda of racism, of lowly instincts, the ways of the criminal world and the ‘lower depths’ of society, must be, and certainly will be, rejected by mankind”.

Why the USA Has Abandoned SALT-2

As *The New York Times* reported referring to the US official circles, the US President's May 27 decision to abandon SALT-2 was final and irrevocable. It demonstrates anew Washington's casual attitude to its international commitments.

Although the Provisional Agreement formally expired in 1977 and ratification of SALT-2, signed by both sides at the 1979 summit, was not ratified by the US Congress, both documents were observed by the sides on the basis of reciprocity. They embodied the results of many years of Soviet-American cooperation in the 1970s to end the arms race and enhance strategic stability.

By discarding SALT-2, the US Administration is undermining the whole strategic arms limitation process, which took decades to establish and whose main landmarks, though differing in character, make up a single whole. They are the ABM Treaty, the Provisional Agreement and SALT-2, each of which was another consistent step towards curbing the nuclear arms race and simultaneously a condition for progress at the next stage. Abrogation of any of the agreements is inimical to arms limitation and is the fault of the USA.

Washington's public relations statements that it wants a "nuclear-free world" and its promise to develop a defence that will do away with nuclear missiles cannot justify the irresponsible actions of the present US Administration. The Soviet Union worked on SALT-2 along with three American presidents, putting together brick by brick the basis for ensuring both countries' mutual interests. And SALT-2 did take account of these interests, their balance helping to prevent a nuclear war. And this applies to the vital interests of both countries and of all the world's peoples. In 1980 then US Defense Secretary Harold Brown said that SALT-2 would enhance American security in several respects, and that the main thing was that it limited the level of Soviet armed forces by comparison with what it would otherwise be. Its various provisions taken together limited the numerical growth of the three standard indicators of strategic nuclear might—launchers, warheads, and target weight, he said. SALT-2 did not jeopardise US national security; rather it strengthened it by maintaining strategic force parity between the USSR and the USA.

Ever since the SALT-2 signing, the Soviet Union has built its strategic arms policy in such a way as to not only preserve but also strengthen the approximate parity of forces which the treaty established. Evidence of this is the specific Soviet proposals on substantial mutual strategic offensive arms reductions, on liquidating Soviet and American nuclear missiles in Europe, and on a complete nuclear test ban.

Charges of so-called breaches of these agreements by the Soviet Union hold no water. There have not been any such breaches. The Soviet side has given exhaustive explanations on questions of clarification raised by the USA. If the American side wanted to face facts, all matters would long have been clarified. But it had no desire to do so.

What is the reason for the US action? It lies in the essential character of the present US course towards military superiority over the USSR, towards implementing the Pentagon's numerous strategic programmes, and towards concealing its own breaches of arms limitation agreements. It lies in the US desire to relieve itself of all obligations under treaties and agreements, and to free its hands to stockpile lethal weapons.

The decision is a result of plans which the US Administration has long been nurturing. Hardly had it signed SALT-2 than the USA refused to ratify it. It then discarded the Treaty protocol, defying it so as to begin developing long-range land and sea-based cruise missiles in order to deploy huge quantities of this new type of arms. The start in 1983 of the stationing of new land-based Pershing-2 and cruise ballistic missiles in Western Europe was another breach by the USSR of the SALT-2 provisions prohibiting evasion of the agreements, for the proximity of the long-range Pershing-2 and cruise missiles to Soviet borders makes them a strategic weapon against the USSR.

Washington has abandoned the strategic offensive arms limitation treaties not because of alleged Soviet breaches or because the USSR supposedly endangers the United States but rather because its course is one of undermining the strategic offensive arms limitation process, gaining military superiority, and relying on force in settling international issues.

A US presidential directive of April 24, 1986 provides for further development of strategic offensive forces, in particular for research to create a new mobile ICBM with a multiple warhead, deployment of all the 100 MX missiles, and implementation of the programme to develop Midgetmen and new cruise missiles.

All this does not fit into the SALT-2 limits. Other US strategic programmes are also beginning to go beyond the bounds of the agreements. It has become necessary to dismantle submarines with Polaris and Poseidon missiles, and heavy bombers with cruise missiles are about to overstep the established levels. That is why the President is now saying that the USA is going to base its strategic forces decisions on its own requirements rather than on SALT-2 criteria.

Washington does not want to drop its "star wars" programme, which strikes at the very foundation of the strategic arms limitation process—the ABM Treaty, and will therefore lead to a runaway arms race in every direction and make real progress at the talks difficult.

In an effort to avoid blame for these dangerous actions and their future consequences, the US Administration is now pushing the "mutual restraint" concept, as an alternative to the agreements which it is abrogating.

The Administration's persistent efforts to palm this concept off on the Soviet Union has two objectives: to accuse the Soviet side of destabilising the situation if it rejects this "restraint", and to seek superiority in a totally unlimited arms race if it accepts it. In a word, for the USA the good thing about "restraint" American style is that it does not restrain anything; such "restraint" has nothing in common with what the USSR advocates. And not only advocates but takes practical steps in many directions to realise: the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the unilateral nuclear tests moratorium, and unswerving compliance with the treaties. So the USA has an example to follow to prove that it wants peace.

But so far there has been nothing to indicate that the American side is ready to move from words to deeds. It does not want to understand the truth of the nuclear and space age that however powerful and sophisticated it may be, no weapon can enhance one's security to the detriment of the security of others. And in fact the US-proposed "restraint" is designed to cover up the arms race and clear the way for stockpiling American nuclear offensive weapons. What is more, Washington is relying on these directions which it considers advantageous—increasing the number of strategic bombers with cruise missiles and nuclear bombs, and sea-based long-range cruise missiles. Far from limiting the number of US warheads, this approach would considerably increase them. At the same time Washington would like substantially to limit the basic component of the Soviet strategic forces—intercontinental ballistic missiles, in order to prevent the USSR from making up for the American advantages.

It is becoming obvious that the US efforts to replace existing Soviet-American agreements with false "restraint regime" is a manifestation of its unwillingness to comply with mutually acceptable arms limitation, much less arms reduction, agreements. All this runs counter to the sides' joint statement regarding preparation of agreements to prevent an arms race in space and end it on Earth which was agreed at the Soviet-American Geneva summit last November. Such American actions as the abandonment of the strategic offensive arms limitation agreements do not match official US statements about wanting to do away with nuclear weapons, preparedness to establish constructive relations with the USSR, and reach fair arms limitation and reduction agreements.

YURI LEBEDEV
Major-General

THE VANDALISATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE

Yuri USTIMENKO

American culture is rich and varied. The USA gave the world great writers and artists, dramatists and musicians, scientists and inventors; the country has exceptionally fine museums and art galleries, renowned theatres and ballet troupes. However, today so-called "mass culture", which is inhumane in essence, is widely spread and propagandized in the USA by the mass media and various forms of "art". At a time when access to genuine culture in the country is restricted by over-priced tickets and books, and America's cultural legacy is essentially giving way to neglect, the ruling class' most powerful weapons—television and motion pictures—are bombarding the American public round-the-clock with second-rate programmes and films based on lies and preaching violence and cruelty in order to frighten and confuse people.

WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF HOLLYWOOD'S SUPER HEROES!

The movies churned out by Hollywood—the largest motion picture industry in the West—offer some of the graphic examples of the type of "art" used to brainwash the American people. Hollywood films are used to disseminate the idea that "might is right" and justify the US militaristic policy of state terrorism and neoglobalism.

Times are changing and with them—attitudes and policies, but judging by Hollywood's offerings the clocks have stopped and have even been turned back. American screenwriters and producers have obviously run out of new ideas, falling back ever more on hackneyed, worn-out story lines. The movie market is overflowing with worthless, tiresome pictures: four series of "Rocky" and "Star Trek", three of "Police Academy" and "Psycho", two of "Nightmare on Elm Street" and "Aliens" and so on and so forth. "What does Hollywood offer for 1986?" asks the California newspaper *Mercury News* and offers the answer: "Sequels and more sequels: legions of robots and androids, assassins and terrorists".

Houses and cars are blown to smithereens. As fire rages people run helter-skelter attempting in vain to escape a shower of lead. Large-calibre machine guns madly fire away. The sky is streaked with rocket smoke, and the earth trembles from the thunderous explosions. Those are some scenes from "Iron Eagle" which stars an F-16 fighter-bomber. This year's movies contain the same scenes with minor variations: "Delta Force", "Commando", "Under Siege" and others. Under the guise of "fighting terrorism" these films laud and advocate violence and murder as the only acceptable methods a "real, full-blooded American" should use to solve any problems. They glorify and advocate the policy of state terrorism, which lies at the basis of the current American Administration's foreign policy.

It is no accident that the White House holds up one of Hollywood's heroes, Rambo, as an example for all to follow. Sylvester Stallone, who plays Rambo, also a screenwriter and producer, was proclaimed last year by the American press the worst screenwriter, producer and actor of 1985, does not hide his far-right views. They are so far to the right as to disturb even a few ultra-right politicians. But these views are reflected in the movies which are permeated with hatred towards Russians, Soviets, towards everyone who does not share the misanthropic world outlook of this Hollywood super hero.

Rambo hates, and does not feel the need to hide this, everyone who can read and write, think and coherently express his or her thoughts, anyone who refuses to live by Rambo's standards. He thinks a world war is essential because there are peoples and nations on this earth which are taking control of their own destinies. Therefore they are alien and incomprehensible to Rambo and Rambo descends on them with his fists, showering them with blasts of fire from an array of weapons.

"Gun fire may be heard, in fact, every night on TV and in the cinema, and guns are being sold like hot cakes", notes the NBS News. Evenings when the family gathers together at home over 20 series are televised every week whose heroes are police officers and private detectives, CIA and FBI agents, and various shadowy figures armed to the teeth, who administer justice and mete out punishment, and finally, a talking automobile, the latest lethal weapon. Typical of American films of late is that it is getting harder to tell the "keepers of the peace" apart from the criminals. The police and the outlaws use identical methods, disregarding laws and morals.

Hollywood plays on the day-to-day fears and apprehensions experienced by ordinary Americans: the fear of losing one's job and along with that a place to live, and all prospects for the future, apprehensions evoked by the growing threat of war in the world and the aggravation of international tensions. All the latest public opinion polls confirm that the fear of job loss and concern over the threat of a nuclear war are the two problems which most worry the American people. Another issue causing a lot of concern is the growing crime rate in America, which, as California Governor George Deukenedjian declared, "is now a national problem".

As American sociologists note, the extremely high level of crime and violence is brought on by the sharp aggravation of social ills: high unemployment, especially among youth; the worsening conditions of the poorest strata of the population, intensified discrimination and oppression of national and racial minorities. This is the direct consequence of the anti-people policy pursued by the current Administration which year by year cuts social spending in order to boost the military budget, an Administration which carries out an openly racist policy and which has launched a far-reaching attack on the rights and freedoms of the organised labour movement. According to figures cited by the CBS Broadcasting company, four years after the Republican Administration came to power the number of needy Americans rose by 10 million.

These problems urgently demand a solution. And Hollywood offers its remedy. Crudely distorting reality, concocting stereotypes and oversimplifying facts, American cinema says to its audience: go out and buy a revolver. Self-defense courses are offered for muscle-building. Violence and terror, having become the norm of American life, form the basis of the Administration's foreign policy, and are being elevated to a cult, presented as practically the only means of solving domestic messes and international problems.

As a result, according to statistics by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, over 100 million firearms are owned by private persons, including

large-calibre, rapid-fire machine-guns and sub-machine guns. Suffice it to say that in America it is easier to buy a revolver or a rifle than to purchase medicine without a prescription. Churches and stores, the halls of courts and banks, schools and parks, and large city streets and squares are the scenes of shooting sprees. Firing flares up often, rounds are not spared, anything that moves is target. A murder is committed every 23 minutes in America and the country has the highest level of violence in the world. "America's long love affair with the gun has entered a new and dangerous phase—a nation-wide craze for the most exotic, most powerful and most lethal small arms on the wide-open US market", wrote the October 1985 issue of *Newsweek*.

American film critics express the most diverse opinions over the latest Hollywood trends. However, the majority agree that the movies reflect the realities of American society. Street rumbles and shooting on the screen are nothing more than a portrayal of US city life. According to American statistics every other resident of Los Angeles, second largest US city, is afraid to leave his or her home, not only in the evening but during the day as well. Screenwriters and producers find subjects in the everyday world of violence that surrounds them and thugs find practical use for these producers' ideas. According to representatives of the police force, many sensational robberies and armed attacks are modelled after and resemble episodes from TV and movies.

However, the issue must not be reduced simply to the fact that there is a link between gangsters in real life and on the screen, the advertising of automatic weaponry in movies and the demands of arms producing firms. The main thing here is the active influence on Hollywood exerted by the political course followed by Washington, which to an ever increasing degree strives to impart on Americans the idea that their participation in military adventures abroad is necessary and unavoidable. This is precisely why the violent adventures of the marines and Green Berets in Southeast Asia are glorified, why so many books have been published whose authors completely re-write the history of the "dirty war" in Vietnam. This is why monuments are being erected and bombastic speeches made lauding the "victory of American weapons" in Grenada, why openly chauvinistic and racist sentiments are being kindled.

Hollywood presents manslaughter as a simple and not necessarily reprehensible act and the real experts at it are the marines and those who have gained experience taking reprisals over peaceful civilians in foreign lands far from the USA. Film makers are raking in hefty profits from the military psychosis. In the movie "Red Dawn" American schoolchildren fire all sorts of weapons at the "red landing" which supposedly takes place in the United States and crew cut army officers set up tables in the halls of a bustling shopping center to recruit volunteers, right next door this unusually dense film is playing.

Film production is called on to justify the historically unprecedented accelerated pace of the arms race in peace time unleashed by the American Administration and the cruel consequences of weapons build-up: mass unemployment, degrading soup lines which extend for several blocks, the presence of 35 million Americans living below the official poverty level and three million citizens who don't have a roof over their heads. According to the ABC Broadcasting Company, in the USA there are more homeless today than in the 1930's Great Depression.

RIDING ON THE CREST OF ANTI-SOVIET HYSTERIA

In films glorifying violent crime in the filthy subways of New York and the dark, littered streets of Los Angeles, in the scorched deserts of the Middle East and the sweltering jungles of Southeast Asia, all problems,

no matter how complicated, are easily resolved—by using brute force. Films such as the aforementioned "Rambo", "Invasion USA", "Missing in Action", "Exterminator", "Commando", "Red Dawn" and dozens like them are riding on the crest of the wave of jingoistic and ultra-conservative sentiments which are purposely cultivated in the USA accompanied by the sound of soldiers' boots stomping out freedom in Grenada and the thunder of aircraft bombing civilian neighbourhoods in Tripoli and Benghazi. The creators of these movies strive to gain political clout and at the same time capitalise on the anti-Soviet hysteria whipped up by the Washington Administration which is pushing through the Pentagon's bloated budget. Rambo and his cohorts spur on and spread frantic chauvinism fermented mainly by anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and racism.

One of Hollywood's super heroes, Chuck Norris, who stars in "Missing in Action" and "Invasion USA", thus defined his political credo in an interview with *Parade* magazine: "America is the greatest country on earth, and we must prove it". As far as social problems in the USA are concerned, in Norris' opinion they are the result of a "communist conspiracy". The lack of proper discipline in schools in America is a "red plot". The high suicide rate among teenagers is "the work of communist agents". To cure these ills Norris proposes the method accessible to most Americans—arm yourself and shoot.

Hollywood production has been giving priority of late to anti-communist, anti-Soviet, anti-Arab and anti-Asian films. According to *The Los Angeles Times* these movies "are the product of paranoia suffered by a few Hollywood producers". "These movies about Communists are fundamentally paranoid in nature", states psychoanalyst Glen Gabbard, author of *Psychiatry and the Cinema*. "Paranoia", adds Peter Biskind, editor of the magazine *American Film*, "has always been a major component of right-wing ideology, to convince people that they are being overrun by communism". Viewers are instilled with the "us against them" syndrome with "them" represented by people dressed differently, who do not know English, in other words, people who don't and can't possibly have anything in common with us...

In films from the 1930's and 1940's the bad guys were almost exclusively people with yellow skin and slanted eyes. In the 1950's at the height of McCarthyism the movie market was crammed with insufferable offerings like "I Married a Communist" and "Invasion of the Body Snatchers". These were crudely made films and box office failures. But since that time film makers have learned a few things and now the classic paranoid theme is enhanced by sound and visual effects and the screen is littered with, not dozens, but hundreds of dead bodies. "In many respects," stresses *The Los Angeles Times*, "the paranoid tone remained essentially the same for decades. But recent paranoia has veered off into new directions which, according to some observers, reflect a more reactionary mood than that of the 1950s, the times of Senator McCarthy and witch hunts".

The main villains of American cinema have always been of foreign extraction. Count Dracula, who inspired Hollywood to create dozens of monotonous, tasteless movies from "Young Dracula", "The Children of Dracula", "The Brides of Dracula", "Dracula's Revenge" to, finally, "Dracula, Master of the World", came from Transylvania. The giant gorilla King Kong, who demolished all houses and airplanes that got in his way, was from some mysterious island. The scaly Godzilla, King Kong's overseas relative, who spewed out fire destroying everything in his path, crawled out from the ocean depths onto the shores of Japan. Jack-the-Ripper was from England... Keeping with this tradition aliens from outer space, werewolves, flying saucers, man-eating plasma, mechanical monsters and robot-killers from other planets later appeared.

In other words, Hollywood movies, with zeal and ardour worthy of a better cause, push the idea that evil in all its aspects and varieties—is an imported product that can under no circumstances spring up on American soil, which gave the world cowboy and gangster legends, apple pie and Old Glory. This idea is simple, easy to grasp and can be used to sell the notion that life in the United States is wonderful, a notion that can also engender distrust in and hate of anything which is not American. Any manifestation of dissent is regarded as “un-American”, as is anything which does not conform to the ideal of the “average American” and runs counter to the cannons of “the American way of life” so ardently advertised.

Advertising fulfills many functions in US society—from petty commercial fraudulence to deception at the government level. In recent times, along with the extolment of “the American way of life”, another function of advertising, political one, has become ever more noticeable: the kindling of ardent anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

Daily and hourly the US mass media pours out an endless torrent of commercials which crowd out news and facts. For example, out of a thirty minute news broadcast, at least 10 minutes is allocated for advertising. During a two-hour movie almost one half hour is set aside for commercials and the more interesting the film is, the more often the movie is interrupted by headache remedies and adolescent acne medicine, automobiles and tooth paste, the more often detergent, soap and beer foam up, cold soft drinks effervesce and wine is poured. Commercial breaks can last as long as ten minutes, appear suddenly with no warning. Late in the evening when one's memory of supper is waning the screen is filled up with all sorts of snacks, popularly known as “junk food”. The creators of advertisements know how to choose just the right moment...

In the USA it is asserted that the advertisement is a peculiarity of American art. No more and no less. Not an agent for business but an art form. However, if you judge America by its television commercials you might get an impression of the country it doesn't deserve. A look at the grimacing, screaming, unkempt actors on the screen, babbling out their scripts, might make you think that America is inhabited by people who are, to put it mildly, not too smart, because a commercial like that could only be intended for a total idiot.

The text is not read but sung, insinuating itself, or screamed out full blast, the singer ebulliently gasping and choking on his words. Car salesmen especially. Perhaps they think the potential car buyers are hard of hearing. Weakeyed as well because the price of the car takes up the entire screen although the figure itself makes a strong enough impression. Here is one commercial scene: into the kitchen walks a boy grimy as he can be wearing a terribly soiled shirt. Any normal mother's face would express horror at the sight, but the TV mommy is delighted because she just happens to have some new laundry detergent on hand.

The almighty, omnipotent, omnipresent commercial has smothered American art and culture which has to take a subordinate role to the advertisement. Movies, television, the theatre, music, painting and sculpture exist only so long as they promote business. The issue here is not just that of attracting customers but a much deeper one: selling concepts and ideas that serve the current interests of big business. For example today and throughout the last few years since the Republican Administration came to power big business has been demanding anti-communism and the television commercials use all sorts of warped, moronic characters to represent “Russians” and “Soviets”. High-ranking political figures in the USA permit themselves the use of, if not outright vulgar language when referring to the Soviet Union and the other socialist community

countries, at least words and expressions barely acceptable for print. And the "free press" is only too willing to play into their hands.

DANCING TO THE TUNE OF THE MONOPOLIES

Americans, barraged by lies and falsehoods, nonetheless do not believe assertions made by official propaganda that the press in the United States is free. More than 70 per cent of the population believes that the mass media is under the control and serves the interests of government authorities and big business. This was shown by a poll carried out by Gallup and *Times Mirror* early this year. Commenting on the results of the poll, *The Los Angeles Times* newspaper wrote: "American public believes that the press follows the lead of influential groups and institutions".

Control over the press has become ever more concentrated in the hands of a small group of monopolies which determine what Americans should and should not know about life in other countries and events in their own nation. The concentration of capital in the mass media has especially intensified since the current Administration took rule and there are currently 12 corporations which have taken over this sphere, each owning 10 or more publications. According to the University of California, the major corporations own more than two-thirds of all daily newspapers published in the USA.

The participants of a public opinion poll carried out over a nine month period, as noted *The Los Angeles Times*, "expressed serious reservations about reliability, objectivity and independence of the mass media". "Those critical of mass media," the paper continues, "displayed in general better knowledge and greater interest in the media's problems than those who hold to a better opinion of the media. Moreover, most of the critics have university diplomas, and in general, those who know media well say that they do not like it". More than half the participants emphasized that they felt the American mass media painted a one-sided picture of political and social problems and tried to skirt burning issues affecting the American public.

The leading role is played by television, which has become the principal source of information and the main tool for forming public opinion in the USA. Hollywood follows right behind it.

According to official estimates almost 85 million American families own television sets and out of those over 60 per cent own more than one. According to figures by California TV station KRON, 64 per cent of all Americans get information about their own country and about events abroad from television. In a Gallup poll taken this summer 14 per cent of the Americans declared their favourite pastime to be reading or simply resting; 13 per cent preferred spending time with their families, but all these figures were exceeded by an inclination towards the television which has become an influential, if not the most influential member of the American family, the family despot which dictates its will to everyone who sits in front of the screen. One third of those polled declared they spent their free time watching TV. It is not surprising that candidates for various government offices in the USA are judged, not by their pre-election campaigns, but by what they look like on television.

Last year, according to official estimates, the American family spent an average of 52 hours a week in front of the television, that is, more time than at work. Families with three or more members spent 61 hours per week watching television. According to press estimates, children between the ages of 2 and 12 spend an average of 25 hours a week in front of the screen. Research carried out by American scientists shows that time spent viewing television is reversely proportionate to academic

achievement. The more a schoolchild sits in front of the TV, the less success he or she has in school. *The San Francisco Chronicle* wrote, "Long and indiscriminate viewing of TV by teenagers leads to smoking, drinking and drug abuse". According to recent opinion polls, 40 per cent of all Americans do not read books at all, do not go to concerts, the theatre or to exhibitions. *The Washington Post* newspaper wrote that currently 60 million adult Americans—every third citizen over 18—cannot even get through a newspaper headline. The result of an investigation carried out by a Commission of the Legislative Assembly of California revealed that every fourth resident of America's largest state is illiterate. He is not even able to read the simplest newspaper story or understand instructions enclosed with a bottle of medicine.

High school and college graduates in the USA are able to cite every detail of singer Madonna's love life but they are not even faintly familiar with the works of American authors which are treasured the world over.

Early this year the Americans received one of the most interesting works of children's literature, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its unabridged form. This opportunity was created by the University of California which released a new, supplemented and revised edition of the book in February this year, exactly 100 years since its first publication. The book was sharply attacked by the reactionaries in the USA. After all, the author tells of a friendship between a white boy and a runaway black slave. Mark Twain was condemned and harassed. The book was labeled "crude and insipid"; it was mercilessly abridged and revised. A small number of the new edition has been printed and highly priced, so very few will have access to the book.

Here is another example. It took decades before the US Postal Service recognised Jack London. Only 70 years after his death was a postage stamp printed with a portrait of one of the most renowned American writers, the author of *Martin Eden* and stories of the North loved by readers all over the world. The negative attitude held by American authorities is easily explained: he was a genuine writer who did not skirt the acute problems facing his country. Therefore his books are seldom and reluctantly re-issued in America today. They have actually become a rarity.

When you walk into a bookstore in the USA you encounter an array of colourful book jackets with alluring titles, but the choice, when it comes down to it, is extremely limited: it can be narrowed down to two categories: soppy romance novels and gory detective stories. Both have the same idea: from the cradle onwards Americans are instilled with the concept that they must strive for "the American dream". If one does not, he or she immediately falls under suspicion. And if one thinks for himself and rejects the television drone, the appropriate US special services immediately become interested in such a person, for it is their work to ensure that nobody digress from the generally accepted standards.

John Lennon, the well-known English singer, composer and musician and one of the "Beatles", was under close surveillance for many years when he lived in the United States, not only by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but also by the main US espionage agency—the Central Intelligence Agency. This is detailed by California University History Professor, John Wiener in his book *All Together: John Lennon and His Time*. Lennon was "under suspicion" by the authorities because they deamed his anti-war stand to be a threat to the foundations of "free America". Agents planned a series of provocations in order to soil the musician's reputation and deport him from the United States. The US Immigration and Naturalization Service, on order by Attorney-General J. Mitchell, set the legal process in motion for deporting Lennon. In December of 1980 he was murdered in New York. According to the official

version he was shot by Mark David who was declared mentally unstable and not responsible for his actions, but to this day it remains unclear as to who was behind the murder.

John Lennon is by far not the only cultural and artistic figure placed under surveillance by the intelligence services. For several decades John Steinbeck, the famous American writer, was "under the gaze" of the FBI. R. DeMott, director of the center for the creative heritage of Steinbeck at San Jose University (California), having gained access to archives at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ascertained that the FBI kept surveillance over the writer from 1939 to practically the last days of his life. An entire crew of agents gathered information on the renowned author of *The Grapes of Wrath*, the book which earned him world-wide acclaim and for which he received the Nobel Prize but which also elicited rage on the part of American reaction. Notes were made of all his movements, of who he associated with, and all his correspondence and communication were monitored.

According to UN figures the USA ranks 49th in the world in literacy which is not at all surprising. After all, from a very young age Americans are taught to perceive the world through comics, a series of pictures with a minimal number of words.

Most American films are based on this same principle. Hollywood super hero Rambo's entire script easily fits onto one typewritten page and star of the anti-Soviet "Invasion USA" utters a total of 63 words.

With each passing year fewer and fewer movies are released that parents can confidently recommend to their children and watch along with them in clear conscience. According to *The Los Angeles Times* newspaper 10 years ago 87 out of 584 films fell into that category while in 1984 only 11 out of 342 did "Even the Walt Disney Production's films", the paper writes, "are filled with so many four letter words that critics become uncomfortable, and films are rated as PG or PG-13". The paper points out that currently two-thirds of all new films are officially qualified as inadmissible for viewing by audiences under 17; parents must decide if the other third is appropriate for viewing. "Family" films have become a thing of the past. The distinction between traditional horror films and other Hollywood movies is completely disappearing.

Movies and television series of the last years have become extremely dangerous so far as they instill people, youth especially, with contempt for the law and in essence facilitate murder, wrote Harvard University Professor Alan Dershowic in *The San Francisco Examiner*. Similar concern has been expressed in the past. Violence on American television has been, is and will continue to be written about. However now the issue is not violence for the sake of violence, in the name of violence, as in the past, but violence with a purpose. Sitting in front of the screen which beams scenes of mass murder, accompanied by unceasing gunfire and explosions, illuminated by raging fire, a new generation of Americans is being brought up to perceive wanton murder as natural, unrestricted and permissible. Shooting is not only admissible but necessary, the screen preaches, and this is reiterated by American legislators whose election campaigns are funded to a considerable degree by arms manufacturers.

Hollywood super heroes, firing a vast array of weapons from the TV and cinema screen—are the obedient puppets of those who foist on the entire world the "American way of life" and an aggressive military attitude, those who are robbing culture of its humanity, are destroying the spiritual values formed over centuries and are even threatening our very civilization by refusing to face the fact that the nuclear age requires a new way of thinking in the area of foreign policy, a new approach to the reali-

AFRICA'S PROBLEMS AND THE OAU'S ROLE IN THEIR SOLUTION

It will not be an overstatement to say that today's independent Africa has every right to open its new calendar with the founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. And it is not by chance that with due regard to this historical event, the OAU's founding date—May 25—is yearly celebrated all over the world as Africa Liberation Day. Today 50 sovereign African states are members of this regional intergovernmental organisation, and representatives of national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia take part in its work as observers.

The founding of the OAU scored a great victory for Africa's anti-colonial forces. It showed the objective need for unity on the part of all the newly free countries along anti-imperialist lines, to achieve full decolonisation, social and economic progress and the cultural revival of Africa.

Looking back on the road covered by the OAU since its inception nearly a quarter of a century ago it should be said that it was not that easy. Suffice it to recall the hard times in the early 1980s when the organisation had been almost on the verge of dissolving under pressure from neocolonialist pro-imperialist forces, and when following the failure of one of its Assembly sessions there had even been prophecies that the organisation had outlived itself and was on the verge of demise.

That is why in the atmosphere of the politically acute and contradictory struggle underway in the African countries each new forum of the African leaders draws particular interest especially in terms of the extent to which the young sovereign states support the anticolonial, anti-imperialist course, their ability to stand up in the unequal struggle against the organised forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the consistency of their endeavour to preserve unity of action aimed at the final eradication of the vestiges of colonialism on the political map of present-day Africa.

The 44th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU (July 21-25) and the 22nd Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU (July 28-30) were held in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and the seat of OAU headquarters.

From the outset the tone of the discussions was set by the opening statements of the head of the Ethiopian state Mengistu Haile Mariam where special accent was placed on the key African problem—eliminating the “bastion of colonialism, racism and apartheid” in the south of Africa. The Ethiopian leader called the delegates' attention to the tragic situation in South Africa, the result of the intensified repressions of Pretoria's racist regime. He called upon representatives of the African states to work out concrete proposals and recommendations for the practical implementa-

tion of the well-known resolutions passed by the UN, the OAU and other international bodies denouncing colonialism and proclaiming the independence of the South African peoples.

It was not by chance, therefore, that the most heated debates both at the Session of the Council of Ministers and at the meetings of the Assembly sessions, were raised by the discussion of the situation in the south of Africa and by the question of sanctions against South Africa. In submitting his report on the problems of decolonisation to the plenary meeting, A. Dede, OAU Deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs, said that the struggle to eliminate the apartheid regime in South Africa had entered a decisive stage.

Expressing discontent with the results of the Paris Conference held in June on sanctions against the Republic of South Africa the speaker and the participants in the plenary meeting underlined that discussion of Pretoria's behaviour was not enough and that it was high time to take concrete measures and introduce obligatory economic sanctions first of all. The day after the US President made in Washington his policy-making address on US policy in Southern Africa (July 22) the Session of the OAU Council of Ministers, on the initiative of Nigerian Foreign Minister Bolaji Akinyemi, passed a resolution stating that "much publicised July 22 speech of President Reagan of the United States has been rejected by the people of South Africa and all progressive mankind". The White House's stand which boiled down to the defence of the Pretoria regime was qualified as justification of the inhuman apartheid system and overt support for racism.

The delegates taking part in the session of the OAU Council of Ministers passed a resolution condemning the USA and Britain's refusal to impose sanctions against the South African regime and urging the US Congress to impose obligatory and comprehensive sanctions on the part of the USA. An identical appeal was addressed to the world community and especially to the public in those Western countries whose governments continue to cooperate with South Africa.

The USA, Britain, West Germany, as well as France and Israel, are also resolutely condemned for their cooperation with Pretoria in the economic and nuclear spheres in the general resolution on the situation in the south of Africa. It strongly denounced Thatcher's government for its deliberate campaign against the sanctions. The ministers called upon the African, non-aligned and other countries to increase pressure on the British government by taking concrete steps of their own choice from sports boycotts, economic sanctions, to breaking off diplomatic relations.

A special resolution adopted on the initiative of Nigeria calls upon the OAU member states to fight for the full isolation of South Africa on the continent. In keeping with this resolution those states that have not yet accepted this line should refrain from providing transit facilities for its vessels and aircraft.

The Western states' reaction to this resolution was highly symptomatic. The West German envoy to Ethiopia, for instance, even made an unofficial protest pointing to the African states' "lack of understanding" for the West German stand on the south of Africa. Alleging that West Germany's NATO membership and solidarity with other member states made it difficult to show its respect for the African countries, he presented his country as a close and true ally of these countries in their just anti-racist struggle, including its approach to the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

The resolute stand taken by the OAU on the question of sanctions won the approval of the representatives of the African National Congress (ANC) that were present at the session. According to Johnson Makatini, Director of the ANC International Relations Department, the introduction

of sanctions was the last opportunity to normalise the situation in South Africa by peaceful means; he said that otherwise the conflict was liable to turn into a bloodbath of the kind the world had not known since the Second World War.

The forum of African leaders decided to establish a special standing committee of head of states on the question of southern Africa comprising the heads of the "frontline" states, leaders of the national liberation movements and representatives of five OAU geographical zones (Nigeria, Algeria, Ethiopia, Cape Verde, Congo). Its task would be to work out new initiatives for the earliest possible elimination of the apartheid regime in South Africa and the granting of independence to Namibia.

As noted in the report of OAU Secretary-General Ide Oumarou, the decolonisation of Namibia in the period under review had not made any progress. The International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held this July in Vienna did no more than establish the fact that South Africa was impeding the implementation of the respective UN resolution. It was the duty of all African states, said Ide Oumarou, to shift from taking a wait-and-see stand and verbal denouncements to adopting a specific programme of aid to SWAPO, which has repeatedly maintained that independence for Namibia can be achieved only by armed struggle.

In condemning Western policy in South Africa the heads of state adopted a declaration of protest against the interference of the US Administration in Angola's domestic affairs. Washington's decision to supply the UNITA gangs with Stinger anti-aircraft missiles was assessed in the document as an undeclared war against Angola that challenged all OAU member states. The heads of state declared that US support for the anti-Angola groupings was a grave violation of the 1970 UN Declaration on non-interference and the observance of normal relations between states, as flouting the principles of the UN Charter. The open and deliberate interference of the US Administration into Angola's internal affairs is a hostile act against the OAU. As the document maintains the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) had the legitimate right to undertake any measures it seemed fit to defend its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

The declaration rejects the South African and US attempts to link Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, in as much as the sovereign right to determine the date of their withdrawal lies only with the government of the PRA. The document also urges the US Congress to take steps to immediately curb the Washington Administration's gross interference in Angola's internal affairs.

The 22nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU discussed the situation in Chad and the territorial conflict between Chad and Libya. The Assembly instructed the new OAU Chairman, Denis Sassou Nguesso, to persist in cooperation with President Albert-Bernard (Omar) Bongo of Gabon in applying efforts to achieve national reconciliation in Chad under the OAU aegis. Bongo was entrusted with the task of taking measures to revive the work of the special OAU mediatory committee for achieving a Chad-Lybia settlement. The Assembly approved (with a reservation from Somalia) the resolution on the settling of frontier conflicts through negotiations. A separate resolution was passed on the founding of the OAU "council of wisemen" for reconciling belligerent parties in Africa. It is indicative that the need to settle all disputes between African neighbour countries exclusively by peaceful means had been expressed 20 years before in an identical resolution adopted when the OAU was making its first steps.

By tradition the participants also discussed the Middle East and Palestinian issues. This time the discussion was confined to the formerly approved provisions, adding nothing new to the existing resolutions.

At the session serious attention was paid to the question of the so-called pan-African armed forces, discussed within the framework of the reports made at the 46th Session of the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation Movements of Africa (Arusha, July 14-22) and the 9th Session of the OAU Defence Commission (Harare, May 27-30). An attempt was made to give new impetus to the popular idea of setting up a pan-African supreme military command and forces for collective African security, advanced by Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah at the inception of the OAU.

The Secretariat put forward for discussion proposals on establishing under the OAU a special coordinating defence body, elaborating its status, strengthening inter-African military cooperation and promoting the activity of the OAU Defence Commission. All these questions were prompted to a great extent by South Africa's aggressive acts against Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe early in 1986 and the US aggression against Libya.

The discussion brought out the different approaches to the problem of African collective security. At a special press conference Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Goshu Wolde explained his country's stand on the problem, saying that it approved on the whole the idea of establishing inter-African defence forces and gave its support to the respective bodies for their coordination and command. He said that in conditions when the racist South African regime continued to occupy Namibia and launched bandit attacks on the "front-line" and neighbouring states an African defence force was becoming particularly necessary. He noted, however, that while the Ethiopian government approved in principle the validity of this issue concerning the idea of setting up these forces, along with the delegates of Zimbabwe, Egypt, Bourkina Fasso and the Republic of Guinea, it considered its realisation as untimely. It pointed in this connection to the present lack of political will among the Africans and the high cost of maintaining such a collective army which is often beyond the means of many African countries. He also noted that the need to draw on foreign monetary sources to cover its expenses, to apply inevitably to Europe or the USA for these means, would make this army African in name only.

By way of a constructive approach to this problem Ethiopia proposed extending at this stage support for the armed struggle waged by the national liberation movements in the south of the continent and building up bilateral and subregional cooperation between African states in matters of defence. Armed forces created on the basis of such cooperation could become the forerunner of a future collective African army. Ethiopia's Foreign Minister reminded the Assembly of Ethiopia's decision to train 10,000 fighters for the national liberation movements in the south of Africa.

Economic problems figured prominently at the 22nd Session of the OAU's Assembly. This could only have been expected, for this was the first African forum held since the special May 1986 UN General Assembly Session dedicated to the critical economic situation in Africa. And it was precisely in the framework of the results obtained at the special session in New York that the African leaders tried to outline the ways of tackling Africa's socio-economic hardships.

In his opening speech Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria), Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), urged African

countries "to stop endless debates" on whether the New York session had scored success or brought failure to Africa. Instead, he said, it was necessary to make the fullest use of the commitments undertaken by the international community in the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990, a document which he was convinced could serve as the basis for further negotiations between separate African countries and the "community of donor-states."

Despite the general assessment that the UN special session had proved useful for Africa, several heads of delegations were disappointed that it had not been able to transform the Priority Programme for Economic Recovery of Africa into concrete commitments of the world community with regard to individual African countries as had been proposed by the OAU and the ECA during the session's preparatory stage, in New York.

This was perhaps why during the discussion of economic problems, for the first time in the last few years, mention was made of the fact that the West was using its economic aid to Africa as a means of bringing political pressure to bear on these countries and foisting capitalist models of development on the continent. Underlining the disinterested aid of the USSR, Madagascar's President Didier Ratsiraka noted that the Soviet Union helped his country to fulfil its agricultural programme.

The resolution of the Assembly on the results of the UN special session in New York notes that the "international community has demonstrated its readiness to assist Africa's efforts to achieve economic recovery and development". The OAU Secretary-General has been charged with the task of holding consultations with the respective UN specialised agencies and intergovernmental organisations to work out practical conditions for implementing the UN Programme of Action. The OAU member states, regional and subregional organisations are recommended to create mechanisms for executing the Priority Programme of Economic Recovery of Africa and the aforesaid UN programme. A report on the results of their implementation will be delivered at the 46th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers in 1987.

African leaders have discussed the question of setting up an African economic community. They were satisfied with the progress made in this direction and assigned the OAU permanent committee on the supervision and the implementation of the economic resolutions to study the technical and political conditions that would facilitate the founding of such a community. It was noted, however, that its founding would be untimely at this stage owing to the African countries' insufficient economic integration. By way of an alternative the OAU Assembly recommended the further development and strengthening of subregional African institutions and associations.

At the same time the session urged that work be continued to develop recommendations for promoting the idea of the future African economic community and ruled that a report on this subject be prepared for the next OAU Assembly session to be held in 1987.

The sessions' economic committee discussed the question of establishing an African monetary fund. It was decided that this question be handed over to the OAU standing committee for the supervision and the implementation of economic resolutions in order to settle the disputes that could spring up in the process of mapping out the fund's charter. The document will then be submitted for a final decision to the financial ministers of African countries.

The session passed a special resolution on the African countries' foreign debt. According to the UN ECA their debt has reached \$180,000 million. It should be stressed that this problem was of grave concern to OAU ministers and heads of state during the discussion of economic questions. Speaking of the need to hold as soon as possible an international

conference on Africa's foreign debt Kenya's Vice-President Mwai Kibaki emphasised that African leaders had to define precisely when and who will organise such a conference.

The 44th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers once again emphasised the need for more effective work of the OAU Secretariat in light of the structural and financial reforms proposed by Ide Oumarou last year. It was expected that their implementation would enable the organisation to reach greater success in solving the new political and socio-economic problems. As noted in the report of the OAU Secretary-General major attention should be given to the all-round strengthening of this inter-African organisation to increase its effectiveness as a "mobilising force".

Delegates stressed in their speeches that as the OAU Secretary General Ide Oumarou strived to act strictly in the accordance with the mandate to carry out the reforms which had been granted to him by the previous session of the Council of Ministers. For instance, by that time three OAU subregional departments in Accra, Banjia and Campala had been closed and the Secretariat personnel had been reduced by 126 employees. The session adopted a resolution which positively assessed Ide Oumarou's activities and reaffirmed his mandate for carrying out other measures aimed to improve the structure of the Organisation and invigorate its activities.

The Assembly of the Heads of State and Government also examined a number of other important organisational political issues and among them the decision to review in the near future the OAU Charter and to expand therefore the special Charter review committee from 18 to 28 members; to provide support to M'Bow, UNESCO General Director, in re-electing him for another term of office; to establish a special section within the OAU Secretariat on the problems of invigorating African women's involvement in the process of socio-economic development; the approval of the OAU hymn, and other matters.

Denis Sassou-Nguesso was unanimously elected OAU Chairman. His concluding statement underlined the need to raise the OAU's dynamic force and role as well as the significance of the African factor in tackling present-day international issues, including the fight for peace and disarmament. In his statement a noteworthy place was given to "renovating the ideas of pan-Africanism", mobilising Africa's unity by raising inter-African scientific, cultural and sports cooperation, and employing the intellectual potential of the younger generation of Africans.

The ordinary sessions of the OAU Council of Ministers and the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government showed that the organisation had made a significant step forward towards achieving a further stabilisation of African unity.

They confirmed the endeavour of the sovereign African states to tackle jointly the continent's more acute political and socio-economic problems, especially those concerning the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid, and the normalisation of the complex economic situation. They have clearly shown the OAU's anticolonial and anti-imperialist thrust in tackling Africa's political problems.

The GDR in the Fraternal Socialist Community

Die DDR in der Welt des Sozialismus (The GDR in the Socialist World),
ed. by Dr. Siegmur Quilitzsch (Prof.), Berlin, the State Publishing House
of the GDR, 1985, 238 pp.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism gave the German people a real opportunity to make a radical change in their history. In the Eastern part of the country, progressive forces led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), seized this opportunity 37 years ago and created the first state of workers and peasants on German soil, the German Democratic Republic.

The GDR has long since become an advanced industrial agrarian country. The impressive strides made in all spheres of public life are to a great extent a result of the constantly expanding political, economic, scientific and cultural ties with other socialist states, first and foremost with the Soviet Union.

The current state of these extensive ties based on the principles of socialist internationalism are the subject of a book prepared by a team of researchers at the Institute of International Relations of the Academy of State and Law of the GDR under the general editorship of Prof. Dr. Siegmur Quilitzsch.

As a reason for their interest in the subject the authors point out that the widest possible cooperation with fraternal countries is "the decisive external condition of socialist construction in the GDR and protection of its achievements, essential in order to firmly establish the GDR on the international scene" (p. 15). Supported by the USSR and other socialist countries, the GDR has once and for all put an end to the prolonged spell of isolation and now enjoys full diplomatic relations with more than 130 states, as well as membership in the UN and in many other international organisations. The consistent fulfilment of the Re-

public's external political and economic line is strongly helped by the fact that the GDR is an inseparable link in the socialist community and a reliable and active member of both the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty.

Analysis of the main trends and principles of the cooperation between the fraternal states reveals the importance of further strengthening their unity based on common goals and interests. This unity finds its fullest expression within the framework of the socialist community, which in the words of Ernest Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG and Chairman of the GDR State Council, is "a union of a completely new type built on a common socio-economic and political basis, on the unity of Marxist-Leninist ideology, shared communist goals and interests, and the international solidarity of the working people" (p. 17).

The theoretical aspects of socialist internationalism as a fundamental principle of cooperation and the increasing unity of states and peoples are extensively covered in the book. Various facets of the GDR's participation in socialist integration are treated in a concise and comprehensive manner. One gets a convincing picture of how close the current economic strategy of the GDR, the principles of which were spelled out at the 10th Congress of the SUPG (April 1981), is tied up with the aims and demands of economic, scientific and technological cooperation with fraternal countries. The importance of the international socialist division of labour for the GDR's economy is illustrated by a wealth of relevant statistical data.

The authors deal extensively with the GDR's role in the coordinated peaceful international policy of the socialist states and the strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as a guarantor of security. Peaceful initiatives of the German workers' and peasants' state are discussed in detail.

It is well known that the GDR has made a number of peace proposals and concrete steps in order to further the policy of peaceful coexistence with all the willing capitalist states including the FRG. The GDR, according to the authors, has always maintained, and will maintain in the future, that its relations with West Germany are "inseparable from the key issues of contemporary world politics such as the arms race and concrete steps towards disarmament. Therefore, the GDR reaffirms its readiness to discuss with the Government of the FRG all problems which, if solved, would promote peace and disarmament" (p. 69).

A section of the reviewed publication is specifically devoted to developing and strengthening Soviet-East German ties. The content of the main forms of relations between the two fraternal states is discussed: close inter-party contacts, ties between governmental and public organisations, economic, scientific and technological cooperation, mutual adjustment and coordination of external policies and defence arrangements, cultural exchange, and direct business and friendly ties between labour collectives of both countries. The authors point out that "within the framework of its wide cooperation with other socialist countries, the GDR attaches particular importance to its friendship with the Soviet Union. It is by relying on this stable fraternal alliance that the GDR has made all of its progress" (p. 83).

A lot of attention in the work is given to an analysis of the GDR's relations with ot-

her socialist states. Separate chapters follow the history, current state and development perspectives of bilateral political and economic relations with each of them. Noting the success of the joint efforts of the GDR and the People's Republic of China to improve their relations, the authors assert that "considering the current international situation, normal relations between the GDR and the PRC built on a mutually acceptable basis, and without detriment to any third countries, may further the cause of peace and progress of socialism" (p. 219).

The concluding chapter of the volume is a study in the skillful use of factual material to convincingly expose the anti-communist conceptions of bourgeois economists and political scientists, which distort the place of the GDR and the part it plays in the socialist community, as well as the importance of the political and economic cooperation with the fraternal states for the country's development.

The 11th Congress of the SUPG, held in April 1986, reaffirmed the vital importance of the utmost comprehensive strengthening of the unbreakable friendship and cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties and states. The communist forum has emphasised the objective necessity for an accelerated solution to the complex problems of the time and called for further promotion of cooperation in all spheres between the socialist countries. Today this cooperation must be brought to a new level.

Winding up the review, it should be noted that the volume is written in a succinct and highly readable manner. It will undoubtedly be of interest to experts and all those who wish to broaden their knowledge of the fraternal socialist country, the GDR.

Leonid TSEDILIN

The French President on the Foreign Policy of His Country

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**Francois Mitterrand. Réflexions sur la politique extérieure de la France. Introduction a vingt-cinq discours (1981-1985) (Reflections on the Foreign Policy of France. Introduction to Twenty Five Speeches (1981-1985), Paris, Fayard, 1986, 441 pp.**  
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The French President's introduction to the book under review offers a detailed analysis of the principles and main lines of French diplomacy. The book came out shortly before the latest general election. The French leadership strove to present the foreign policy of the country in a favourable light, especially since it is now widely held in the West that the gist of this policy consists, on the one hand, in continuation of the course of national independence and, on the other, in growing "Atlantic" and "European" trends.

Spokesmen of influential right-wing French political forces insist on continuing to look to Washington for guidance and on returning the country into the military organisation of NATO. They claim that non-participation in the US "star wars" programme may cost France a lag in technology. They welcome the fact that the country has intensified its efforts for the formation of a "political" and "military" Western Europe in the foreseeable future. French-West German cooperation in framing common military strategy and tactics, joint arms production and other fields has expanded considerably. French military expenditures are going up. The country is rapidly updating its nuclear forces and conventional armaments. French-Soviet relations have met on various occasions with hurdles which the Soviet side cannot be blamed for.

The introduction to the published speeches deals with practically all these issues, including disarmament, the crucial problem of today. The book emphasises in every way the willingness of France to join in the implementation of disarmament measures. While considering a military-strategic balance between the two military alignments as the sole guarantee of peace, the President points out that "France opposes the principle of balance of forces at the lowest

level to nuclear rearmament" (p. 35). He attaches great importance to establishing a connection between disarmament and development, creating regional neutral zones and zones free from nuclear weapons, and reaching agreement on an international agency in charge of "controller" satellites. The President welcomed the resumption of Soviet-US summits and described the Statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, on January 15, 1986 as an "example of intellectual courage" (p. 39).

The problems of nuclear weapons in Europe and militarisation of outer space are given considerable attention in the book. As is known, in 1983, the French government agreed to the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Nevertheless, Mitterrand's statements show that he is well aware of the nature of the resultant problems. From now on, we read in the book, it would take the United States six minutes to strike at the heart of Russia whereas Soviet missiles would require twenty minutes to hit New York (p. 43).

With reference to the SDI, the President writes that the well-known memorandum which US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger circulated to the allies on March 27, 1985, demanding an answer within 60 days, was greeted with "annoyed restraint" by West European governments. "A friendly demarche changes in character when it gives way to impatience" (p. 52). The US Administration tried to tempt French business quarters with large contracts under the "star wars" programme. Acceptance, François Mitterrand notes, would disillusion supporters of the US doctrine. "They would have no access to either military or industrial strategy. Meanwhile scientists and technical specialists would rush to the United States and so would capital which it would be preferable to use for other pur-

poses" (pp. 55, 56). The President says that the data furnished by present-day science show up the adventurism of the SDI. He cites the opinion of a group of atomic scientists, specialists in laser technology and Nobel Prize winning physicists, who consider the "chances of creating an effective anti-ballistic defence system negligible" (p. 58).

François Mitterrand does not believe that the earth can be made safe by turning outer space into a battlefield. The "star wars" plan merely adds to the nuclear danger. "Does or doesn't the SDI make for greater security of France and Europe? I think it doesn't" (p. 60). The French President considers it unnecessary to upset a balance that has safeguarded peace for 40 years; he therefore reaffirms the resolve of France "not to engage in the SDI" (p. 55). However, this thesis has lately been under bitter attack from influential French political quarters, including spokesmen of the parliamentary majority. They would like to clear the decks for major French companies to join in the implementation of the SDI.

It is an open secret that France has been and remains a US ally belonging to the political organisation of NATO and that it goes on vigorously building up its armaments. The book gives detailed data on this. Whom are these war preparations directed against? The book gives no explicit answer. On the one hand, François Mitterrand states: "I do not believe the Soviet Union has bellicose intentions in Europe" (p. 99). On the other, he speaks of joint operations by the French "rapid action" force (formed in 1983) and the Bundeswehr, and admits that should an armed conflict break out in Europe, French troops would advance together with their NATO allies across West German territory "beyond the line agreed at present" (p. 99). In this context it is hard to agree that the question of a "frontline" battle is merely a topic for "theological debate" as the President affirms (p. 98).

At the same time, the book devotes much space to the problems of developing cooperation between West and East European countries, establishing a more trustful climate between them and signing business agreements between EEC and CMEA member states. The President also gives ample coverage to relations between France and the Soviet Union, which he calls a "great European country".

The book includes the speeches delivered by François Mitterrand in Moscow and Volgograd in June 1984 and at the dinner given for Mikhail Gorbachev in Paris on October 2, 1985. "Our interests bring us closer together more often than it is believed," he said in one of them (p. 46). The President recognises the necessity for an open and constructive French-Soviet dialogue. "The fact that we belong to different military alliances and different economic and political systems demands of both sides mutual respect, frank language and desire for dialogue if the spirit of openness is to prevail over incomprehension", he said in Paris in October 1985 (pp. 177-178). And he stressed that France treasures its relations with both the Soviet Union and Central European countries, with which it is linked by close historical and cultural ties.

French-Soviet cooperation is seen by President Mitterrand as a "fundamental element" of French foreign policy. The Soviet Union and France assumed the honourable role of pioneering detente in Europe and contributed actively to the planning and holding of relevant international meetings in Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid. Our countries also have much common ground with regard to the problems under discussion at the Stockholm Conference, which the President has said he expects to gradually restore confidence and bring about agreement between the 35 participating countries.

The book deals with other current problems of French foreign policy in Europe, especially in its western part. François Mitterrand examines the state and prospects of the agricultural Common Market. He notes that Europeans are offering little resistance to the "US offensive" in this sphere (p. 83). As a result, French interests are affected while US business scores gains. "To question the right of France to get fair prices for its efforts to modernise agriculture means surrendering the market to the United States" (p. 84).

The President gives much attention to scientific and technological cooperation among West European countries. He sees one of the main shortcomings of this cooperation in its being carried on above all at national level and in the fact that competition between enterprises is backed by governments. More often than not, it is impossible to unite West European firms. They prefer to cooperate with their more

powerful US or Japanese counterparts. In this connection François Mitterrand looks into the French Eureka project, which, he says, is not intended to create offensive or defensive armaments, nor is a "response to the SDI" (p. 91).

Eureka has admittedly aroused mixed feelings in the West. Many noted statesmen and other public figures point to the obvious link between it and the "star wars" programme. Nor is there evidence of Eureka building bridges for cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe in large-scale utilisation of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

François Mitterrand declares for a new treaty between the EEC countries such as would encourage them to bring into being a "political Europe" on the pattern of the European Parliament, even though he admits that a consensus on this matter can hardly be achieved. Nevertheless, proceeding from the "Common European Act" which was adopted at the Luxembourg summit in December 1985 and led off a reform of the mechanism of coordinating the economic and foreign policy of the EEC, he paints an idyll of the changes to come in Western Europe as a result.

"Green Europe", "technological Europe", "political Europe", "military Europe" are all interconnected concepts forming logical components of the President's argument. Moreover, he affirms that "the only embryo of a joint European defence system is contained in the French-German treaty signed at the Elysee Palace" (p. 101).

Speaking of French-West German relations, the President concentrates on military cooperation between the two countries, going much further than his predecessors and plainly contradicting his own peaceful statements. What he means is large-scale cooperation in diverse forms. Although François Mitterrand makes a very important reservation, saying that the FRG "has no nuclear arms nor a right to own them" (p. 94), the two countries separated by the Rhine are jointly developing, nonetheless, new conventional weapons: a combat helicopter; an anti-tank missile of the third generation and a supersonic antiship missile. "It is also possible to provide for more active forms of cooperation. France is prepared for this" (p. 98). Let it be said outright that this prospect is unlikely to contribute to peace in Europe.

François Mitterrand stresses that he has given a new spur to the Elysee Treaty of January 23, 1963. The signatories are implementing its articles, which envisage closer connection between strategies and tactics with a view to evolving "common concepts"; exchanges of personnel between the French and West German armies; joint planning of armaments and ways of funding them. France has "no better or more solid partner in Europe" than the FRG, the President remarks (p. 95). One cannot help thinking how very easily lessons of the recent past are forgotten at times, even though the French President would seem to recall them often.

Naturally, European affairs take pride of place in the President's speeches. But he also makes a detailed analysis of French policy towards the conflict situations existing in the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Asia. The President condemns the Israelis' military operations on the Golan Heights and in Lebanon as well as their repressive measures against Palestinians in Tunisia. He recognises the Palestinians' right to homeland, to a state of their own, and considers strict adherence to the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council necessary. Showing a certain vacillation and inconsistency, the President has come out in favour of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region through direct agreement between Israel and Arab countries; he admits, however, that "this hope has proved vain" (p. 108). Currently France stands for a representative international conference on a Middle East settlement.

With regard to Central American problems, François Mitterrand fully confirms the French-Mexican statement signed on August 28, 1981, which called on the UN to contribute to a rapprochement between the political forces in El Salvador and to a peaceful solution of the crisis in that country without foreign interference. The French government has deplored the US blockade of Nicaragua, in particular, the mining of that country's ports, and supported the constructive proposals of the Contadora Group. The struggle which the United States has been carrying on against the Sandista regime, he says, makes the masses in Latin America think that "the Americans raise obstacles to the exercise of the right of nations to self-determina-

tion and are planning a comeback of hated oligarchies" (p. 129).

The book contains also material giving a clear picture of certain lines of French policy in Africa and of France's active use in late years of military, political, diplomatic, economic and financial pressure on independent African countries.

Needless to say, the French President's book goes beyond the problems mentioned

in this review. It offers insight into the main lines, difficulties and numerous real contradictions of French foreign policy. The overall conclusion suggesting itself is that France has ample opportunities (which are far from being exhausted) to contribute actively to detente, peace and security on the planet.

Professor Yuri BORISOV
D. Sc. (Hist.)

America in the 1980s: Manipulation of Mass Consciousness

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N. P. Popov, *America 80kh. Obshchestvennoye mnenie i sotsialnye problemy* (America in the 1980s. Public Opinion and Social Problems), Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1986, 204 pp.; N. P. Popov, *Industria obrazov. Ideologicheskie funktsii sredstv massovoi informatsii v SShA* (The Image Industry. Ideological Functions of the Media in the United States), Politizdat, 1986, 144 pp.

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These are highly topical books. The first of them depicts the evolution of public sentiment in the United States over the past decade and the substantial changes that occurred there at the turn of the 1980s. It realistically analyses the Americans' views on major social problems. A prominent aspect of the Americans' frame of mind is the changeable, fluctuating character of their opinions, which is largely due to the relatively insufficient development of mass political consciousness in the United States as compared with West European countries, the complexity of current socio-economic processes and the ruling quarters' manipulatory activities. Mass consciousness in the United States is "contradictory in many respects; it combines progressive, liberal views, which developed to a considerable extent in the 1960s and 1970s, with traditional, conservative opinions and notions as well as certain reactionary ideas, which gained some currency in the late 1970s under the influence of right-wing conservative forces and the media" (*America in the 1980s...*, p. 5).

The author cites opinion polls and the results of sociological research into labour and capital, inflation, unemployment, poverty, the power crisis and other problems. They indicate that in the 1970s and

1980s, when economic difficulties in the United States reached a degree unprecedented since the war, the myth of the possibilities of state regulation of the capitalist economy was exploded. There came a more pessimistic approach to the assessment of both the economic situation in the country as a whole and the situation of the polled themselves. Even at the height of the so-called economic recovery (1984), 35 per cent of Americans admitted that they fear nearly all the time or constantly that the family income may not be enough to pay bills.

Inflation and unemployment have a particularly strong impact on the Americans' assessment of their economic conditions and ultimately on their political views. Over 35 million people, including 22 per cent of children, live below the official poverty line, according to official statistics. About 20 million are hit by hunger, and upwards of three million are homeless. Real wages have dropped by 5.6 per cent since 1975. Nevertheless, the Republican Administration, which has cut basic social programmes by more than \$100,000 million, won the 1984 elections. The author attributes this to the fact that the Administration, while slashing social programmes, was careful to spare the interests of the conservative middle strata

as much as possible so as to win their support in the coming elections, thereby opposing the "middle class" to the poor. "By skillfully indoctrinating undecided population groups, the Administration contrived to secure the backing of the 'middle class' and other sections of the working population who had come to believe that 'common' sacrifices and tightening of belts were inevitable" (*Ibid.*, p. 121).

The contradictory nature of American mass consciousness enables the ruling class and its propaganda agencies to exploit conservative sentiments, which they encourage at the right moment through political manoeuvring and rhetoric. On the other hand, the existence of realistic progressive trends in mass consciousness with regard to the struggle between labour and capital helps progressives build up social protest movements and form coalitions of trade unions, Afro-Americans and other sections of the population opposed to reaction and racism (*Ibid.*, p. 56).

This lends great relevance to the author's analysis of relations between the trade unions, which encompass less than 18 per cent of the working people, and the rest of the population, as well as to the Americans' opinion of the authorities, specifically the present Administration, and the real meaning of the "credibility gap" that has developed in recent decades.

The Image Industry shows how the US rulers brainwash and manipulate public opinion through the media. It exposes the hypocritical bourgeois doctrine of "freedom of the press" and the alleged independence of the media from the government and other political power institutions. The author explains why much of the criticism appearing in the bourgeois press is levelled at the government, which is a component of the state monopoly mechanism and is closely associated with big business and the military-industrial complex. He stresses that some members of big business are wary of the excessive concentration of political authority in the government's hands, of the pursuit of a policy benefiting the short-term interests of only one ruling group and injuring those of other groups and the class as a whole (*The Image Industry*, p. 20).

The US press has a powerful impact on the formation of people's system of values, orientations, standards and ways of thinking, all of which provides the basis for moulding political views and behaviour. "In recent decades, which have seen confidence in the main power institutions of bourgeois society decline, the press has been used more and more as a means of channelling in an acceptable direction mass dissatisfaction with the existence of economic, social and political problems and the inefficiency of the state in solving them" (*Ibid.*, p. 26). The seeming political pluralism of the press serves largely as a cover for less noticeable collective activity in support of the socio-economic status quo.

The book reveals the essence and mechanism of building political images and their impact on public opinion, as well as the manner in which electoral shows are staged and bourgeois candidates "wrapped up" and "sold" with their programmes and slogans.

There is an interesting analysis of the information policy of the White House, in particular the doctoring of news needed to present the Administration's performance in a favourable light. The devices used include selective contacts of the President and his assistants with the press, news "leaks", "information without naming the source" and deliberate misinformation. A good deal of propaganda effort is also exerted by the State Department, the departments of labour, commerce, agriculture, education, health and human services, the Federal Communications Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board and other government agencies. However, we think special mention should be made of the secret and ominous manipulation of the media which the CIA, National Security Council, FBI and Pentagon are carrying on day in, day out. It is true that only the tip of the iceberg shows in this case, but still interesting data can be found in the US press of recent years and in monographs.

By probing into current problems of the United States, both books give a more complete and realistic idea of the America of the 1980s and are therefore bound to arouse interest among specialists and ordinary readers alike.

Georgi SHMYGOV

A Key Confidence Builder

M. Ye. Nemolyaeva and L. F. Khodorkov, *Mezhdunarodnyi Turizm: Vchera, Segodnya, Zavtra. (International Tourism: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow)*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 174 pp.

Each year more and more people want to get to know more about life styles and cultures of other nations and thus join the international tourist exchange in which an ever more prominent part is played by the socialist countries. In the reviewed book, the authors use concrete examples to show how the stable growth of national economies and public welfare of socialist countries has strengthened the material basis of tourism and given it a boost in bulk and scope.

The authors point out that the tourism is developing in socialist countries due to efforts made by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties to promote this type of international economic and cultural ties. Such policy is particularly important in such a complicated international situation,

where tourism contributes a great deal to maintaining the atmosphere of cooperation between states, irrespective of their social systems.

Considering the development of international tourism in the USSR, the authors draw the reader's attention to its rapid growth particularly in recent years. While in the early 1970s the Soviet Union was visited by over two million tourists a year, at the end of the decade their number had reached almost five million. There was a corresponding increase in the number of Soviet citizens travelling abroad—11 million of them over the period from 1971 to 1976 (p. 145).

The analysis of the foreign tourism structure in the USSR carried out by M. Nemolyaeva and L. Khodorkov shows it to rest upon the tourist exchange with other socialist countries. On the one hand, it reflects the general trend of towards the prevalence of intra-regional travel over inter-regional.

In Europe, for instance, the former type of tourism accounts for 80 per cent of all international travel, the bulk of it being trips to neighbouring countries. On the

other hand, the political unity of the socialist community countries is a major factor, too (p. 154).

Tourism between socialist countries has a number of important socio-economic, political and cultural functions. It promotes political and economic cooperation between the fraternal states, strengthens the cohesion of the socialist community, and effectively facilitates the exchange of experience in communist and socialist construction. Tourism helps satisfy the ever growing cultural needs of the working people of the fraternal countries and constantly improve their recreational opportunities. It is an active form of interpersonal relations and contributes to the strengthening of peace, friendship and understanding between peoples (p. 143).

Unlike the world capitalist system, the socialist community emphasises the ideological and cultural functions of tourism, while taking into account the economic interests of the states. It is not incidental that the World Conference on Tourism, held in Manila in the early 1980s, included in its Declaration a statement proposed by the socialist countries which said that the economic benefits of tourism, no matter how generous they may be, can not be the only criterion in deciding on the amount of their support provided by the states to these activities (p. 143).

Even a layman will find the book a fairly easy to read, one that deals with the key issues in international tourism and looks into both its history and future. An attempt has been made by the authors to trace the effects of the foreign currency receipts from tourism on the economies of developed as well as developing countries. Unfortunately, this analysis often suffers from a lack of thoroughness. Another shortcoming of the work is its failure to sufficiently cover the new trends in international tourism such as the youth and trade union-sponsored

exchanges, travels between twin-cities and regions, etc.

The untapped resources of the tourist industry are yet another issue dealt with in the book. It is pointed out that further development of international tourism requires a conducive international climate. The anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria whipped up by the reactionary imperialist circles is the main stumbling block in the way of any advancement in this important sphere of economic and cultural relations.

Neither the Soviet Union nor other socialist countries—participants in the all-European process, have ever created any artificial obstacles that would hinder tourist contacts. The experts in this field from the 35 states that participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe took note at their meeting this spring in Bern of a substantial increase in sports, trade union, personal and family

contacts, as well as tourism between the East and the West.

Stressed in the draft of the final document of the Bern Conference that had received a preliminary approval was the necessity to promote the creation of adequate facilities, where there is a lack thereof, for tourists and persons participating in cultural, scientific, religious, educational and sports contacts and exchanges. At the last moment, however, the US delegation refused to sign the document, which is a clear indication of who is indeed afraid of any expansion of contacts between peoples with different views and political convictions and a common desire to live in peace and in a world free of arms.

International tourism is a complex phenomenon affecting many facets of social life, yet the authors have largely succeeded in creating its integral portrait.

Yevgeni VASILYEV

The Legal Aspect of the Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union

N. Mironov, *Vneshniye svyazi ministerstv, obyedineniy i predpriyatiy (Pravovye voprosy)*. (The Foreign Relations of Ministries, Associations and Enterprises. Legal Issues), Moscow, Yuridicheskaya Literatura Publishers, 1986, 240 pp.

The internationalisation of world economic activities has long been an important factor conditioning many aspects of international relations. This explains why both economists and lawyers show interest in analysis of the system of international sectoral cooperation. Mironov treats the subject from the legal point of view. The book deals with legal aspects of the international cooperation of USSR ministries, departments, the organs of management under their authority and enterprises themselves.

While acknowledging certain distinctions between individual socialist countries in regard to economic mechanisms, the author points at the same time to the similarity of organisational forms, due primarily to the common socio-economic basis on which these mechanisms are functioning. "...A decisive trend in the formation and

modernisation of national systems of managing foreign economic, scientific and technological activities in virtually all socialist community countries today", the book stresses, "is the trend towards increasing participation of not only sectoral ministries and departments but other agencies of the production sphere in this process". (p. 19) Expanding foreign relations in the context of international socialist integration provide, as practice has shown, the prerequisites for all-round economic cooperation, including specialisation and cooperation in production, and for the formation of a rational economic structure raising the efficiency of the national economy of every socialist country.

The reader's attention will be attracted by the pages in particular dealing with the principles, forms and interrelation of the regulation of sectoral cooperation between

the Soviet Union and other countries in of international and civil law. The book spells out in detail the role of economic legislation in the mechanism regulating the international sectoral ties of ministries and government departments and of agencies and enterprises controlled by them. The author's examination of the legal content of international interdepartmental contracts (agreements), which constitute "one of the most important legal instruments of perfecting the entire complex mechanism of the CMEA countries' economic interaction" (p. 69), is interesting both theoretically and practically.

The book gives considerable space to forms of international sectoral cooperation from the standpoint of civil law (economic law). He lists among these forms participation in sales and purchases (export and import operations) under orders (contracts) for the delivery of articles for export purchase and sales treaties (foreign trade contracts), orders for imports, commission treaties involving imports, the provision of various technical and other services by way of rendering economic and technological assistance to foreign countries in the construction of industrial and other projects abroad (deliveries of complete plant, plant assembly, designing, geological prospecting, and so on) with a contract as its legal form. (pp. 80-81).

There is a chapter on legal regulation of the foreign relations of Soviet ministries and government departments. It devotes special attention to the role of sectoral Union ministries in international economic, scientific and technological cooperation and contains a detailed description of their jurisdiction in foreign economic relations. We believe there is reason to fully support the author's proposal to adopt special general (standard) regulations for USSR sectoral economic ministries and state committees reflecting the sphere of action and peculiarities of the sectoral jurisdiction of these bodies, including their functions in maintaining economic, scientific and technological relations with other countries. (p. 119).

* The book examines the procedure of international cooperation between Soviet economic management bodies at the level of subvestors (the middle echelon of sectoral economic management)—chief departments and departments of USSR ministries and other agencies, all-Union industrial asso-

ciations and Zagranpostavka associations—and the corresponding management bodies and organisations of CMEA countries. The author attempts to comprehensively investigate the general legal norms of Soviet legislation defining the jurisdiction of Soviet economic organisations and enterprises in the sphere of foreign relations.

Besides production and research and production associations economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries involves autonomous enterprises, institutes, designers' offices and other entities outside production (research and production) associations. The role of all these primary echelons of diverse economic fields in foreign trade is steadily growing.

The author describes many aspects of direct sectoral ties between the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries at the level of ministries, head departments, departments, industrial associations and enterprises. He also examines in detail the legal content of joint economic organisations (firms) set up by participants (founders) from various socialist countries and operating on Soviet territory.

However, the book is not free of shortcomings and debatable propositions. To begin with, the author expresses certain opinions in a categorical form without backing them up with adequate arguments. The right of operative property, for example, is not as indisputable as the author seems to believe (p. 102). Soviet legal theory makes a strict distinction between the concepts of the "right of property" and the "right of operative management of property". The introduction of the concept of the "right of operative property" into scientific terminology may lead in the theoretical sphere to misinterpreting and confusing the two legal categories.

The author ought to have reflected more fully the characteristics of both the "purely" civil-law relations and the broader, public-law forms of legal relations involved in the international economic activities of sectoral ministries, departments and their agencies. But he confines himself to a general presentation of the problem without disclosing its content, although today it is particularly important to international economic cooperation, above all between enterprises and organisations of CMEA countries. Also, the author should apparently have given much greater attention to the diverse forms of

foreign economic ties maintained by the head departments and departments of Soviet sectoral ministries and other government agencies as well as by all-Union industrial associations.

The problems treated in the book are most relevant, and this lends it special scientific and practical value.

Ivan ROZHKO

The Gallery of Antiheroes

Alan Guérin, Jaques Varin, *CIA People, Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1985, 285 pp.*

The name Alan Guérin is well known in France and elsewhere. He is a prominent publicist, historian and a man of letters. He is the author of the books *What Is the CIA?*, *Cold War Commandos* and *Comrade Zorge*. His coauthor is Jaques Varin, a prominent journalist covering international issues.

Their joint work is somewhat unusual in its composition. Alan Guérin calls it in the preface "a chronicle of CIA people": the 12 chapters of the book provide 12 portraits of those who held key posts in the "cloak-and-dagger" department from 1947 to 1980. These portraits are arranged by time sequence allowing the reader to get a comprehensive picture of all aspects of the dirty activities of the "firm" as the CIA officers call their department. These activities include diverse clandestine interference in the internal affairs of other countries, plotted political assassinations and coups d'état, "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries, legal and illegal spying around the globe, the recruitment of all sorts of agents, including kings, presidents and ministers, the use of mercenaries in the undeclared wars which the CIA has waged and continues to wage in various parts of the world.

The authors use facts to show what the CIA apparatus is, its management, the dangerous and perfidious methods and the influence it exerts on legislative and executive bodies in the USA because this agency occupies an important position at the very top of the state pyramid.

A feature shared by all the heroes of the book is their pathological class hatred of the Soviet Union, socialism, the progressive forces and democratic transformation in the developing countries. All of them are very dedicated servants of US imperialism, the

slaves of the golden calf. They are people who often use their top posts in the "firm" for personal gain.

The gallery of "family portraits" begins with William Langer, Professor of Harvard University, one of the founders of the Office of Strategic Services of the USA which served as basis for the establishment of the CIA. This intellectual managed to attract the best brains in the country to the intelligence community, many of them were people divorced from reality and operating in terms of the admissibility of "nuclear strikes".

However, compared to his successors, such as Allen Dulles, William Colby and Richard Helms, he looked like a lamb. Their job was to determine, together with the President, the strategy and tactics of the spy agency. As is noted in the book, the CIA has never undertaken a "single major operation without the President's okay" (p. 158).

A special role in this trinity belongs to Allen Dulles, the CIA's founding father and, so it seems, the most frantic anti-Sovieteer among the Agency's bosses. The people who intimately knew Allen Dulles took him for a fascist having in mind his ideological concepts rather than the fact that during the Second World War he was engaged in secret negotiations with the Nazis. Allen Dulles was the chief proponent of the principles of "psychological warfare" waged against the socialist countries. He is the author of the unsuccessful operation "split" which was aimed at setting up dissident groups in the socialist and communist parties (p. 44).

He took part in laying the theoretical and practical foundations of state terrorism now widely practiced by the USA. In particular, it was at his initiative that the plans were hatched to assassinate Chou En Lai, Gamal

Abdel Nasser and other leaders. The nine-year "Dulles era" ended after the miserable failure of the anti-Cuban adventure in the Cochinos Bay. The CIA was so sure of success that it did not even provide President John Kennedy with any formal reason for a "plausible denial" of the Administration's involvement in the armed provocation against Cuba.

As for William Colby, he became a "celebrity" when he carried out the government-inspired "pacification" programme in Vietnam in the late 1960s. During that operation code-named Phoenix more than 40,000 civilians were exterminated just because they were suspected of being the Viet Cong combatants. What is astonishing is the savagery of that operation which was sanctioned by Colby, brutality which can only be compared with the atrocities committed by the Hitlerites. A competition was even arranged whereby the unit that killed the most people over the course of a month was awarded prize money. As is noted in the book he was appointed CIA Director by Richard Nixon because of that "main event in his life". It is indicative that such financial bonuses for murder became an everyday practice in the bandit formations acting on CIA instructions, in Afghanistan for example.

One more CIA Director, Richard Helms, known as the "Dick of dirty business" is notorious not so much as the "intelligence king" as for his constant lies and his inclination to be double-faced and to "play dirty" (pp. 111, 152). But Helms was also engaged in other activities besides clandestine operations abroad. According to the book, his "firm" played the key role in the "Watergate affair" as a result of which Nixon, who had serious frictions with the CIA Director, had to resign. Helms also took a hand in the barbarous "thought control" programme (MK-ultra), in staging the coup

d'état in Chile and in the murder of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Congo, attempts on the life of Fidel Castro, Cuban leader, and many other heinous crimes. The fact that Helms is the personification of the CIA is confirmed, in particular, by the following: already in retirement he attempted, with the assistance of the American and Italian special services, to make "the Antonov case" trumped-up in Italy look like a "KGB operation" (p. 165).

The book also provides vivid images of dozens of other CIA officials. It is indicative that these portraits of antiheroes, testifying to the extensive and multifarious CIA activities, are presented impartially: the authors make extensive use of the facts from published and reliable sources.

Of course, one can understand how frustrating it was for A. Guérin and J. Varin to choose which "heroes" to write about a process they called "tormenting". However, we can say that some major figures have been left unnoticed like George Bush who was CIA Director under President Gerald Ford and who is now Vice-President. He amazed even old hands in Congress by his virtuoso "analyses", that is, forged statements about alleged fantastic defence expenditures of the Soviet Union. He made these statements with the aim of boosting allocations to the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex.

Considering that the CIA has been and remains one of the chief components of the US state mechanisms which to a high degree forms foreign policy of the country, the acquaintance of many readers with the "galaxy of the CIA people" will be useful for an in-depth understanding of the permanently aggressive and adventure-seeking nature of this policy.

Anatoli TURANOV

CMEA COOPERATION PRIORITY LINES. ALL-ROUND AUTOMATION ★
YUGOSLAVIA: THE THIRTEENTH LCY CONGRESS ★ BENIN ★ WASHINGTON IN THE PILLORY ★ ISLAM AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

CMEA Cooperation Priority Lines. All-Round Automation

The large-scale introduction of *all-round automation* in the national economies is a major factor in accelerating scientific and technological progress in the CMEA countries, and their economies' transition to intensive development. That is precisely the basis for securing a dramatic rise in labour productivity and in output quality and reducing prime costs; raising the overall technological level of production; and obtaining a speedy advance in the key directions of scientific and technological progress.

An important role in accomplishing this task is played by the most dynamic branch—*engineering*, which is designed to technologically retool the entire national economy.

Alongside of national efforts, of ever greater significance here is interaction within the CMEA framework. It facilitates the accelerated elaboration and introduction in production of a wide range of technological means ensuring production automation. This entails new types of equipment for various technological purposes with high concentration of operations, including for precision engineering; effective means of the mechanisation and automation of hoisting and conveying machinery and storing facilities; unified element base and highly reliable and effective instruments, sensor systems, diagnostic devices, digit control machines, measuring devices and actuating mechanisms, software for automatic systems, etc.

Cooperation in this comparatively new area already has its own history. Over a short period, considerable results have been scored in this field. Many types of computer technology and progressive designs of industrial robots for mechanisation and automation

have been developed and introduced in production. New highly efficient equipment have been created and mastered as have systems for supervising technological processes and production, flexible production systems, and so on.

Let us dwell briefly on robotics. In 1982, in the course of the 36th sitting of the CMEA Session a General agreement was concluded on multilateral cooperation in elaborating and organising the specialised and coordinate production of industrial robots. Its goal is to fully satisfy the requirements of the countries for robotics, complete parts and units, components for these, modules, as well as for auxiliary devices designed to arrange robotised technological complexes.

To date, joint efforts by the fraternal countries have created several new models of industrial robots and robotics complexes. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union began to produce the UM-160 robot designed for metal-cutting machine-tools and press equipment. Joint efforts of Soviet and Bulgarian scientists have been crowned with a promising model of the RB-251 welding robot. Within the framework of bilateral ties between the GDR and the USSR, arrangement designs have been worked out in creating a robotics complex for machining. Much has also been done in the field of the standardisation and unification of industrial robotics.

The CMEA countries are also engaged in creating flexible production systems (FPS) for engineering. This new kind of modern equipment is mostly used for machining, galvanisation and grinding. In the GDR in mid-1985, there operated about 50 various

such systems for processing spinning parts, body members and spur gear-wheels. In Czechoslovakia, FPSs are being developed for engineering and electric engineering enterprises. Beginning in 1985, 36 flexible systems in the country were in operation.

The general agreement of the CMEA member countries on developing and widely introducing flexible production systems in engineering, signed in 1985, signifies a new stage in the cooperation of the CMEA countries in this very important area. It is planned to organise cooperation throughout the whole of the science-technology-production-marketing cycle. Plans are envisaged for carrying out fundamental and applied research; unification and standardisation; the organisation of specialised and coordinated equipment output; introduction of the most important types of complexes in various branches of the national economies—primarily in engineering. Much attention will be paid to technical and economic matters, to raising the technical level and output quality. In the realisation of relevant scientific and technological programmes, there will be extensive development of direct ties and cooperation of scientific, technological and production organisations.

To coordinate work in this field, an international coordinating council of the CMEA countries has been set up for creating flexible production systems (Interrobot). Reliability of flexible production systems is to a great extent determined by the reliability of the robotics used. The minimal demand on the robots boils down to uninterrupted functioning for 2-2.5 shifts, which makes it possible to effect adjustment and preventive maintenance during the first shift ensuring reliable equipment operation without human interference during the other two shifts. One of the main tasks of Interrobot is development of such reliable technology. Besides, Interrobot is to coordinate new R&D. For this purpose, efforts will be pooled by the designers of robotics from all the CMEA countries which have signed the agreement.

In tune with this common tasks are the national programmes in this field of all CMEA countries participating in the agreement. This work has already been started in the USSR. In accordance with a decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the organisation of an intersectoral scientific and technological complex (Robot) is in progress under the Ministry of Machine-Tool Building. It includes

the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute for Machine-Tools and Instruments, now practically fully orientated on the problems of robotics; the Moscow machine-tool works; as well as the Mukachevo machine-tool plant and the high-precision machine-tool plant in Sterlitamak under the same ministry, which turn out robots. Taking part in Robot are: institutes under the USSR Academy of Sciences, organisations and enterprises under the Minpribor, Minelectrotechprom, Mintyazhmash, Minavtoprom, and Minvuz. All of these will be working according to a single plan.

Experience accumulated in the CMEA countries shows that the use of flexible production systems makes it possible to increase labour productivity 1.5 to 4-fold, the utilisation of equipment up to 17-20 hours a day, to reduce the tooling-up time for new products by about 40 per cent, and to release a part of the workforce subsequently transferring it to other jobs.

An important direction in the joint efforts of the CMEA countries is the development of the systems of automatic design, of the systems of automatic control of technological processes and production. It is planned to tackle all the problems in an integrated way—beginning with R&D and technological work, including the specialisation and cooperation in production, and ending with mutual deliveries and equipment maintenance.

The use of systems of automatic design is to improve the technical-economic characteristics of the projects by 10 to 25 per cent, to reduce specific materials consumption of engineering products or construction projects by 3 to 10 per cent and to raise labour productivity in design organisation by 20 to 25 per cent.

The use of the systems of automatic control of technological processes is also to be highly effective making it possible to raise the labour productivity by 5 to 10 per cent, to increase the output of top quality products by 10 to 15 per cent, reduce energy consumption by 3 to 5 per cent, and save on raw materials and basic materials from 2 to 5 per cent.

Special significance is being attached to the specialised and cooperated output of a unified series of instruments and automation means, which will make it possible to reduce their prime cost 1.5 to 2-fold.

Cooperation is in the offing in the field of systems for the automation of research and experiments. These make it possible to

substantially increase the effectiveness and quality of scientific research, to raise the labour productivity of research workers, and to reduce the term of realisation of ideas by 2 to 4 times.

Cooperation in the field of creating new, progressive kinds of equipment and automatic lines will facilitate the solution of a number of important tasks linked with perfecting the metal-working equipment pool. By 1989-1990 the pool is expected to stabilize and then it will be reduced, at the same time its productivity will increase due to the growing share of a new generation of modern technology, including digit control machine-tools and automatic lines. By the year 2000, it is intended to increase the share of progressive casting machines and of automated equipment designed for material-saving technological processes.

Concentration of efforts on the creation of robotics and specialisation and cooperation of their manufacture will help expand their pool. By 1990 it is planned to introduce about

200,000 industrial robots in the CMEA countries. Providing robots with unified primary transducers, and the wide use of flexible production modules will considerably increase the possibilities for the automation of production and become an important prerequisite for expanding, in 1990-2000, equipment with built-in microprocessors by more than 500 per cent. Considerable growth is also expected of the share of adaptive robots, including of those with elements of artificial intellect.

Thus, the successful fulfilment of programmes for scientific and technological progress up to the year 2000 in line with the All-Round Automation Programme will become a big step towards achieving the highest world level in technical-economic indicators of systems for the all-round automation of production and will facilitate, in the final analysis, the consolidation of the material-technical basis of the economies in the socialist countries.

Leonid BAUMAN

Yugoslavia: the Thirteenth LCY Congress

November 29 is a national holiday of Yugoslavia—Republic Day: On November 29, 1943 the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia opened amidst fierce armed struggle against fascist invaders and their henchmen. The Session was an important landmark in the working people's struggle to set up a multinational socialist state in Yugoslavia. Skupština (Federal Assembly), which gathered on November 29, 1945 in Belgrade, declared complete abolishment of the monarchy and proclaimed a republic (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia since 1963)

The peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia cherish the memory of their joint struggle against fascism and of the great sacrifices they made to achieve victory. The message of greetings to the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) from the CPSU Central Committee says in part: "Soviet people still remember how, 45 years ago, the people of Yugoslavia responded to the Communists' appeal and rose against fascist invaders and their henchmen in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. They also recall the Yugoslavian people's great contribution to

our common great victory." Soviet troops fought side by side with the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and Yugoslavian partisans, and in these battles the traditional bonds of friendship between our peoples strengthened further.

In the years of people's government the working people of Yugoslavia guided by the LCY have scored considerable success in various areas of socialist construction and made their country a developed industrial-agrarian state. The aggregate social product increased more than seven-fold in these years, 87 per cent of it produced in the public sector. Industrial production grew approximately 20-fold, and agricultural production—nearly three-fold.

The 1946, 1963 and 1974 Constitutions and a number of other legislative acts formalised the political and economic organisation of society based on the principles of self-government. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the ideological and political vanguard of the working class and all the working people of Yugoslavia. Workers make up 34.6 per cent of its 2.2-million-strong membership.

The party and government bodies of Yugoslavia and the mass media note that some economic and social problems have become aggravated in recent years, stagnation makes itself felt in the functioning of the self-government system, the unity between the Federation and the LCY has loosened, and negative processes have intensified in the sphere of ideology.

In the economy this was manifested, for instance, in lower efficiency of production, greater disproportions, a worsening employment situation, lower labour productivity and real incomes, a high rate of inflation and difficulties in achieving the country's solvency, difficulties caused by a huge foreign debt (nearly 20 million dollars of the principal).

In these circumstances, the party, government bodies, mass organisations, and the working people at large work primarily to build up the economy and raise the people's well-being. The 13th LCY Congress was of major importance in this process and the Party defined it as "the congress of unity and action".

It so happened that the year 1986 has become "a year of congresses" in Yugoslavia. In four months, from March through June, almost 40 forums at the national, republican and regional level were held: congresses and conferences of the League of Communists, trade unions, youth organisations and war veterans were held.

Elections to representative government and self-government bodies at all levels also took place in this period. The membership of both the central and local bodies was considerably renewed.

The 13th LCY Congress marked the climax of this political campaign. The congress took place on June 25-28, 1986, in Belgrade. It considered the political report, "The LCY in the Struggle for the Further Development of a Socialist, Self-Governing and Non-Aligned Yugoslavia", reports on the work done by the LCY Central Committee and other leading bodies of the party. The Congress adopted a number of resolutions that define the tasks facing the party in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy. It also introduced some amendments and additions into the LCY Rules, re-elected the LCY Central Committee, the Rules Commission and the Auditing Commission.

The Congress has critically analysed the situation in various spheres and revealed the causes of the negative phenomena. It was emphasised that the lagging behind of the

Yugoslavian economy and obstacles to the growth of its productive forces stem from the extensive, rather than intensive, development of the economy, inadequate concern for the socialist self-government system and for the elaboration of unified plans for social and economic development, and from the economy's scattered pattern and localism, i. e. giving priority to local interests.

The Congress spoke for a consistent implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilisation Programme adopted in July 1983 which envisages a whole set of measures aimed at achieving social production growth, greater labour productivity, evening out the development levels of various republics and regions of the federation, solving the employment problem, bringing all kinds of consumption in line with the country's real potential. The Congress decisions envisage the development of integration processes in the national economy, improvement of planning and elaboration of a unified strategy for Yugoslavia's technological progress. These decisions note that the existing difficulties can and should be overcome by means of further developing the self-government system, consistently implementing the LCY Programme objectives, previous congresses' decisions and abolishing discrepancies between the goals set and their realisation.

The Congress documents stress that the Party should consolidate its ties with the masses, resolutely reject red-tape, organise concrete programmes aimed at solving the tasks facing the country. Amendments to the LCY Rules provide, in particular, that the principle of democratic centralism be consolidated and the Central Committee's organising role enhanced.

The Party shows close attention to the situation in the economy and this was reconfirmed by the 2nd Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC, a month after the Congress, which discussed the fulfilment of the economic and social development targets for 1986. The Plenary Meeting approved the set of measures worked out by the government to overcome the difficulties and denounced "attempts to disrupt these measures by unconstructive criticism". It was stressed in particular that the corresponding agencies are fully responsible for timely implementation of those measures that are within their competence. Radisa Gacic, Secretary of the LCY CC Presidium, spoke about the plans for the Central Committee's work in the coming year and emphasised that the Central Committee

should more speedily and decisively move beyond simply talking at meetings and adopting resolutions and get down to concrete political actions to fulfil the tasks set by the 13th LCY Congress.

The Congress defined the struggle for peace and averting a nuclear war danger as a priority foreign policy task. "The arms race if continued and taken into outer space, as advocated by the ruling circles and military-industrial complex of the USA and some West European countries, can go out of control," the Report says, "Yugoslavia resolutely denounces this course and strongly demands that appropriate measures to halt the arms race and ban nuclear weapons be taken, and the process of universal and complete disarmament started."

The Congress has reaffirmed the LCY foreign policy conceptions stemming from Yugoslavia's membership in the non-aligned movement which it defined as an "indispensable constructive factor of world politics".

In July 1986 the Federal Assembly discussed and approved the stance to be taken by Yugoslavia at the 8th Non-Aligned Conference in Harare, and Yugoslavian delegates to the Conference proceeded from these decisions as they participated in the preparations for and holding of this important international forum.

The CC Report to the Congress noted that fruitful Soviet-Yugoslavian relations have developed along various directions and were underlied by common class interests and objectives, by fraternal friendship between the two countries, which has a long history and

fine traditions and is relying on jointly developed principles and agreements. Yugoslavian leaders also spoke about this to the CPSU delegation to the Congress.

Regular political contacts are maintained between the party and state leaders of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, as are ties at the party, parliamentary and government level. Cooperation is developing among the republics and regions of the USSR and Yugoslavia, and among their trade union, youth, women's and other social organisations. Fruitful cooperation is also developing in the sphere of science and culture.

Long-term economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia is mutually beneficial. For many years now the Soviet Union has been Yugoslavia's leading trade partner. Their mutual trade turnover came to \$35,000 million in the last five year period.

The USSR and Yugoslavia take the same, or similar, stance as regards urgent global problems, which provides ample opportunities for their cooperation for the sake of peace and international detente.

In July 1986, the CPSU CC Political Bureau discussed the report of the Soviet party delegation which participated in the work of the 13th LCY Congress and noted, in particular, a desire on the part of both parties and countries to further develop friendly ties and enhance the all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

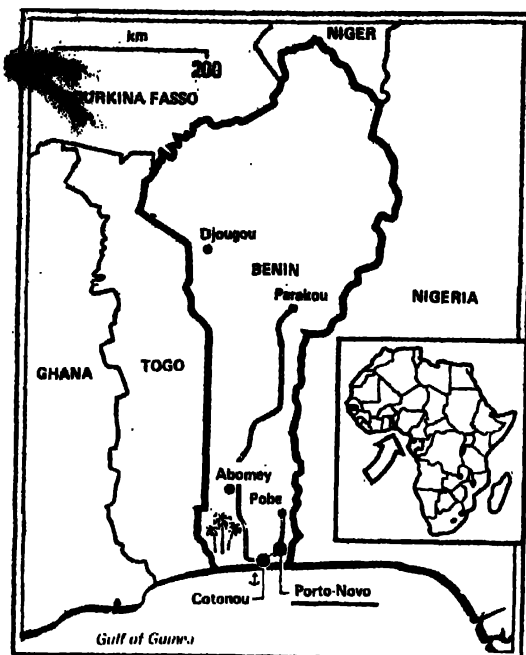
Yuri OSTROVIDOV

Benin

The People's Republic of Benin (until November 30, 1975 the Republic of Dahomey), is a small West African state with a territory of 112,600 sq. km and a population of 3.8 million. Its territory stretches in a narrow band from the Gulf of Guinea further inland. The country became a French colony at the end of the 19th century and was named Dahomey, which in fact was a broken French name of one of the numerous kingdoms on its territory, Dan-Home. On November 30, 1975, Dahomey was renamed the People's Republic of Benin, after a major West African civilisation of the pre-colonial period, which included the territory of modern Benin.

Since it achieved independence on August 1, 1960, and until October 1972, the internal situation in Benin was extremely unstable. By that time the country had broken all records in the number of coups. However, the governments, changing in quick succession, were unable to solve the country's social and economic problems, and remained obedient tools in the hands of imperialist powers.

When the military-revolutionary government headed by Major Mathieu Kerekou (now Brigadier General) came to power on October 26, 1972, it faced growing unemployment, deteriorating living conditions and sharp political strife and clashes resulting



from tribal relations. The new government endeavoured to reorganise the country's economic, cultural and social structure, to put an end to corruption, bribery and nepotism, and to consolidate the state's prestige. Progressive political social and economic reforms were carried out throughout the country, and on November 30, 1974 the new leadership proclaimed the country's socialist orientation. A year later, on November 30, 1975 the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin (PRPB) was established, which became the vanguard of the working class and all working people, guided by Marxist-Leninist principles. It adopted its policy-making documents at its Extraordinary Congress in May 1976. The Party steers the country towards socialist orientation on the basis of scientific socialism. The Party's general policy line singles out three main stages in the revolution: the revolutionary movement and national liberation, popular democratic revolution, and the stage of socialist revolution.

At the present stage the country faces the task of complete liberation from imperialist domination in its economy and culture, of strengthening its political independence and doing away with the political-bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and establishing popular democratic power at all levels. A number of measures towards implementing the policy proclaimed by the government have been introduced in the political, social, economic and other spheres. Along with building up the Party, a united trade union centre, the Com-

mittee for the Defence of the Revolution, Benin Revolutionary Youth and Revolutionary Women's organisations have been set up. A new Constitution formalising Benin's socialist orientation was adopted in August 1977. In accordance with this Constitution a Parliament (National Revolutionary Council) has been elected, already for the second term, and local organs of power—revolutionary councils—have been elected at provinces, areas, communities and villages. Other socio-political institutions are also active in the country.

In order to eradicate the neocolonialist order and establish an independent national economy, the new government has nationalised key industries, banks and transport firms, and introduced state monopoly in export and import and internal distribution of oil products, medicines and a number of other vital industrial and food items. As a result of these reforms, the state has occupied key positions in the country's economy, and now the state sector accounts for over 50 per cent of the total industrial output and transport deliveries, and controls about one-third of official commercial transactions (including 100 per cent of export and 40 per cent of all import). At the same time the private sector still prevails in agriculture, accounting for 95 per cent of agricultural output.

It is not an easy task to build a new Benin. The dramatic backwardness of its economic structure, weak technological basis and archaic system of agriculture, communal relations prevailing in the countryside, and many other obstacles hinder the country's progress. Benin is still one of the least developed countries in the world. Its national industry is at the initial stage of development, and over 75 per cent of the country's population is engaged in agriculture.

Benin's natural resources are scarce. A shelf oil field has been discovered and is being developed at the Gulf of Guinea coast, with annual production of not more than 400,000 tons of oil; Benin exports palm oil and coconut oil, at an annual production of 20,000 to 25,000 tons; cotton (in some years output is about 50,000 tons and more), and must import various food products.

Benin's economy has to cope with a number of problems: some enterprises running at a loss, others use only 50 per cent of their capacities, as, for instance, the recently built cement plant in Onigbolo and the sugar mill in Savé. Benin's financial and economic position is affected by the unfavourable situation

on the world market and dependence on the capitalist economy. Western powers and international financial organisations bring pressure to bear on Benin, openly conditioning their "aid" on the liquidation of the state sector and encouragement of private enterprise.

The Second Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin held in November 1985 in a complex internal political and economic situation reaffirmed the Party's affinity with the ideas of scientific communism and adopted a socio-economic programme envisaging an agrarian reform, a wider cooperative movement and consolidation of the state's positions in the key sectors of the economy.

In its foreign policy the Benin government follows the principles of non-alignment, equality and respect for other countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity. On the international scene Benin comes out against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, and Zionism; it is active in the UN and non-alignment movement, in the Organisation of African Unity and African regional organisations.

In June 1962 Benin established diplomatic

relations with the Soviet Union. Benin's new leadership and the Soviet government took additional measures to further expand and consolidate Soviet-Benin friendly relations. The Soviet Union assisted Benin in geological prospecting in setting up state farms, and in training national personnel. Over 600 Benin youths graduated from Soviet institutions of higher learning, and many of them went on to study at postgraduate courses and defended their theses. Every year 120 Beninians enter Soviet colleges.

The Soviet Union and Benin maintain active political cooperation, and the CPSU and PRPB have developed close and stable ties. The two countries hold consultations on current urgent problems and exchange delegations. This April a delegation of the National Revolutionary Council of Benin visited the Soviet Union, and representatives of the PRPB took part in the work of the CPSU's 27th Congress.

Soviet people follow the positive changes in Benin with sincere and friendly attention and wish the people of Benin success in building a new society.

Alexander GRIGORYANTS

Washington in the Pillory

On June 27, the UN International Court at the Hague passed a decision on the responsibility of the United States for acts of aggression against Nicaragua. Its decision marked the end of a court examination started in April 1984.

The Court confirmed the fact that by carrying out armed attacks on Puerto Sandino (September 13 and October 14, 1983), Corinto (October 10, 1983), Nicaraguan patrol ships in Puerto Sandino (March 28 and 30, 1984) and other targets, the United States had violated the principle prohibiting the use of force against a foreign state. The Court decision points out that the United States supports the contras by supplying them with arms and money, and that in 1983 it provided them with CIA-trained leadership to carry on subversive operations intended to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua. The Court qualified these acts as a violation of the principle of non-interference in

the affairs of other states as well as the principle of non-use of force.

The United States is guilty of grossly flouting the principle of respect for the state sovereignty of an independent state. It has exerted economic pressure on Nicaragua: in 1981, the United States cut off economic aid to Nicaragua; subsequently it tried to block loans granted to that country by international financial institutions and sharply reduced bilateral trade. In 1983, sugar imports were cut back 90 per cent. In May 1985, the US Administration imposed a complete trade embargo on Nicaragua, thereby tearing up the 1956 bilateral treaty on friendship, trade and navigation. Yet the principle of unfailing respect for international treaties—*pacta sunt servanda*—is one of the oldest key principles of international relations, and many lawyers, including those of the Western and US law schools, consider it the highest principle of international law.

The Court rejected as groundless the US reference to the principle of collective self-defence from which the United States had allegedly proceeded with a view to safeguard the security of El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica. Where does collective self-defence come in since these countries were not under attack nor had they been attacked earlier, and secondly, had not asked the United States to safeguard their security?

The Court decision on June 27 was the first international act that is legally binding, sets a precedent and recognizes the illegitimacy of the stance of Washington, which has arrogated to itself the role of "defender of human rights" in other countries. The Court, its decision says, can not testify to the establishment of a norm giving the right to interfere in the affairs of a foreign state on the grounds that it has chosen a particular ideology or political system. Speaking of US allusions to so-called violations of human rights in Nicaragua, the Court outrightly stated that the use of force by the United States is unacceptable as a method of ensuring respect for human rights.

Nor did Washington's allegation that its aid to the contras had been exclusively humanitarian have any effect. While humanitarian is not an action condemned as inter-

ference in the internal affairs of states, it should serve purposes established in Red Cross practice and should be granted without discrimination.

The Court ruled that the United States must compensate Nicaragua for the damage caused to it, and called on the sides to seek a peaceful solution to the problem in conformity with international law.

All the paragraphs of the decision were carried by an overwhelming majority, and on some provisions one of the judges who is a US citizen was completely isolated. In view of the composition and past record of the Court, this fact in itself is indicative.

Thus the chief judicial authority of the UN described the US actions against Nicaragua as violating fundamental imperatives of international law. These actions were competently assessed from the standpoint of international law and order by experts, whose conclusion is that the United States is responsible for unlawful interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. The responsibility is moral and political as well as material. The world community has before it an important legal document exposing Washington's criminal policy in Central America.

Elena VYLEGZHANINA

Islam and the Contemporary World

It is a fact of history that the majority of the population of Asia and Africa, where Islam is widespread, see in this religion both a dogma and a traditional way of life.

Islam originated in Arabia in the early seventh century, at the time of the disintegration of the patriarchal communal system and the emergence of a class society and a common Arab state. Islam is set out in the Koran which, as Muslim legend has it, Allah granted to the Prophet Mohammad through archangel Gebrail (Gabriel).

What contributed in large measure to the enduring character of Islam and all that goes with it was the colonial past of the countries and peoples concerned, when allegiance to Islam separated the colonised from the non-Muslim colonisers and when leaders of the national liberation struggle often used the slogan of *ihad* (holy war) as an instrument for political mobilisation of a population

stricken with poverty, ignorance and prejudice.

The Muslim movement in a number of Asian and African countries showed an upsurge in the 1970s and the early 1980s, and some ruling regimes announced the "Islamisation" of the political and legal foundations of society and its economy and culture. This activity centred on the countries where capitalism was rapidly developing or where its earlier development according to "Western models" has engendered crisis phenomena in the socio-political, economic and cultural spheres. Prominent in the former group of countries were the Arab monarchies which had grown rich through oil production and in the latter, Iran, Pakistan and Egypt under President Anwar Sadat.

Having become bourgeoisified and having gained access to both the benefits and evils of Western bourgeois civilisation, Arab mo-

narches and feudal lords needed a camouflage to head off popular revulsion against departures from the "Islamic way of life". That was when they resorted to official propaganda about "Muslim brotherhood, equality and solidarity", linking it with a "special" course of development as an alternative to capitalism and socialism alike.

Arabia's petrodollars also played a part in visibly revitalising the Islamic movement internationally. With the establishment of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1969, the movement went for the first time in its history beyond religious and theological contacts. Under the auspices of the OIC there began coordination of the efforts of "Muslim states" in the foreign policy, financial, economic, ideological and propaganda spheres, to say nothing of religious missionary activity. This aim is served by periodical meetings of heads or members of government of these countries as well as by the establishment of the Islamic Development Bank (1975), Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1978), Centre for Statistical, Economic and Social Research (1978), Islamic Shipowners' Association (1981), and other entities.

While the OIC and other international Muslim associations remain an arena of struggle between groups taking dissimilar stands on imperialism and the world capitalist system, on the one hand, and the socialist system, on the other, there is the fact that attempts by right-wing conservatives to put the slogans of "Muslim equality, brotherhood and solidarity" in the service of anti-popular objectives, have not been unsuccessful. The fate of the movement for a "new Islamic economic order" is a case in point.

Having sprang up on the platform of the OIC as a response to the actions of newly free countries in favour of placing their economic relations with world capitalist centres on a more equitable and democratic basis this movement actually did not go beyond legalising modern forms of capitalist enterprise. At present publicity for a "new Islamic economic order" is used as a means of giving semblance of piety and righteousness to the activity of conservative regimes. These see it as a pillar of the tripartite alliance under which oil exporters, primarily from the Arabian Peninsula, supply funds, developed capitalist states—technology, and the host countries—raw materials, labour, and so on.

The defence of private enterprise and capitalism generally under cover and on the plea of "Islamic ethics" became more assertive

and blatant in the 1970s and the early 1980s.

"Islam," Hasanally P. Ebrahim, a Pakistani businessman and commentator, has said without beating about the bush, "allows for capitalism, that is, allows people to amass wealth." As for the miscalculation and abuses occurring in the process, they were a result of the schemes of Satan, who led Muslims astray. All the "defects of capitalism" could be avoided as long as the affluent paid *zakyat* (taxes from the Muslims), helped relatives, neighbours, poor, sick and other needy people and respected the shari'a principle of inheritance which stipulates that property shall be distributed according to kinship and not to the testator's will.

Pakistani realities as well as the experience of countries whose regimes have pushed "Islamisation" farthest give the lie, however, to those who claim that these measures are constructive and salutary. In Pakistan, writes Ziaul Haq, a noted sociologist of that country, the authorities use religion, obscurantism and anti-popular and anti-democratic tactics as a means of concealing the real social and economic problems of the distressed people and justifying the shackles of hunger, poverty, unemployment illiteracy and disease plaguing them.

Recognition of the shari'a as state legislation in post-monarchic Iran was made a weapon against the opposition and lent "legitimacy" to repressive measures against dissenters. Both dissent and disobedience were readily branded "un-Islamic", "godless", and so on. The introduction of penalties established by the shari'a affected above all the poor, who had neither money nor other means of delivering themselves from guardians of "Muslim ethics and moral principles". It nullified the Muslim women's struggle for equal rights by legalising a lower status for them in society and family.

The Islamic ban on interest rates did not mean much to the working people. It set no limits to the arbitrary practices of usurers, who from of old have used numerous ruses to plunder debtors in circumvention of the ban. The establishment of Islamic banks in which payment of a definite amount of interest on invested capital was replaced with the "sharing of profits" between the bank and investors brought about no changes in the lives of peasants, workers and other working people since they had never had any bank deposits. Nor was the plight of indigent Muslims eased by decrees on obligatory payment

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CONSULAR ACTIVITIES

Consular activities are those special functions carried out by external state organs pertaining to the protection of economic and legal interests of the state, its nationals and juridical persons (i.e., institutions and enterprises that are subjects of law) located abroad. Consular functions may be conducted by diplomatic missions (consular sections) or by special consular posts accredited with the approval of the receiving state. The activities of a consular post are conventionally regulated and supervised by the foreign department of the home state.

Though consular activities, or, rather, their roots, may be traced far back into ancient history, they took hold with the expansion of international trade. In the XIth and XIIth centuries, the first treaties on the status of aliens were signed between some Eastern countries. It was then that the earliest compilations of shipping and trade customs appeared, which heralded the emergence of consular law. At the time, it was not unusual for state-appointed persons to exercise some diplomatic functions as well and to enjoy substantial privileges.

There are four types of consular offices namely: general consulates, consulates, vice-consulates and consular agencies. In many countries the consulate staff is divided into corresponding ranks: consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents. Soviet consuls are selected from the diplomatic cadre of appropriate rank. Thus, posted as consuls-general are envoys extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the First or Second Class.

The head of a consular post is commissioned by means of a so-called *lettre de provision*, which certifies his powers. Depending on the practice of the sending state, the *lettre de provision* may be signed by either the Head of State, or the Head of Government, or the Chief of the Foreign Affairs Department. In the Soviet Union, the commission of a consul is signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs or his Deputy and the Head of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the United States, consuls are appointed by the President with the Senate's advice and approval. The same prerogative belongs to the French President.

The *lettre de provision* is solemnly presented to a competent organ of the receiving State (usually the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), whereupon the Head of the consular post is granted the *exequatur*, which is a document that confirms his powers and authorizes the consul to discharge his functions within the borders of the relevant consular district specified beforehand in an agreement between the sending state and the receiving one. The *exequatur* empowers the Head of a consular post to get in touch with the local authorities in his district to cope with any arising problems. The form of the *exequatur* and the procedure for granting it are determined by the receiving state. In the Soviet Union *exequaturs* are signed just like *lettres de provision*.

Outside consular districts, consular functions are exercised by diplomatic missions. Moreover, if two states did not exchange consulates with each other, consular functions can be discharged by consular sections of the diplomatic missions headed by members of diplomatic staff. The Chief of a Consular section needs neither a *lettre de provision* nor an *exequatur*.

There are cases when consular relations are maintained in the absence of diplomatic relations. Consular posts may then assume certain diplo-

matic functions. In some countries, including the USSR, consulates may be authorised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to exercise consular functions on behalf and according to the request of a third party.

The development of the institution of consulates called for the regulation of their activities. Consequently, negotiated and signed were numerous bilateral and multilateral conventions on consular activities, among them the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. The Soviet Union backed the preparation of the Convention but had to abstain from signing it since Western powers had succeeded in introducing articles incompatible with the Soviet consular practice. Hence the Soviet Union develops its consular relations with other countries according to Soviet legislation and bilateral consular conventions.

Soviet consular service was organised in the first years after the October Revolution. The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of October 1918 abolished all previous legislation pertaining to consular activities and set out new principles of consular relations with foreign states. In 1921, the General Regulations on External Soviet Organs and the Regulations on the Consular Posts of Foreign States on the Territory of the RSFSR came into force. The following year saw the publishing of the Special Instruction on the Functions and Duties of a Consul and the Procedure of Relations with Consular Posts, and in January 1926 the Consular State of the USSR was adopted. The 1966 Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, legitimated the Regulations on Diplomatic and Consular Missions of Foreign States on the Territory of the USSR. Further experience, and changes in the international situation were taken into account by the new Consular Statute of the USSR passed in 1976 and valid to the present day.

According to the Statute, Soviet consular posts register Soviet nationals residing, permanently or temporarily, in the relevant consular districts, assist representatives of Soviet ministries, departments, organisations and other Soviet nationals on business trips in performing their official duties; provide information and conduct explanatory work, assist in organising cultural and educational undertakings among Soviet citizens, handle passports and visas, legalise documents and perform certain notarial functions.

Soviet consular posts are also responsible for receiving applications and statements concerning USSR citizenship. The Heads of Soviet consular post are empowered, in agreement with the Soviet Ambassador, to institute proceedings against persons who committed actions defaming the lofty status of a Soviet citizen and damaging to the prestige of state security of the Soviet Union in order to strip them of citizenship.

Consular posts exercise a number of other functions such as extending all-round assistance to the captains of Soviet vessels and aircraft.

A staff consular officer is a national of the sending state from which he receives his salary, whereas a non-staff consular officer is not a state employee. Nor is he on the state's payroll, though in some cases a non-staff consul may claim himself a percentage of consular fees paid for the discharge of consular functions. A national of the receiving state may be appointed as a non-staff consular officer. In some countries he may even be a citizen of a third state provided he permanently resides in the receiving state. The USSR Consular Statute envisages under certain circumstances the possibility of discharging consular functions by non-staff consular officers, Soviet as well as foreign nationals. At present, however, the Soviet Union has no such consuls.

Like diplomatic missions, consular posts enjoy a number of privileges and immunities. They have, for instance, the freedom to communicate with the government of the home state, its diplomatic missions and other consular posts by means of conventional communication facilities, coded

messages and diplomatic bags. Such posts may, with the permission of the receiving state, use their own radio transmitters. Consular posts and their staff are exempted from any taxes and dues, including customs dues.

The inviolability of consular premises and bags is a fundamental immunity. The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963 while recognising the inviolability of consular premises, allows for entry of the premises without specific consent from the Head of the consular post in case of a natural disaster. The Convention also determines those circumstances when demands may be made to open consular bags. If such demands are refused, the bags should be returned to the sender. These and some other clauses prevented the Soviet Union from joining the Convention.

Consular officers enjoy personal inviolability. However, in the absence of a specific agreement between the concerned states, their immunity is more limited than that of diplomatic agents. Consular officers cannot be detained or arrested save in the case of a grave crime and pursuant to a decision of the competent judicial authority. They are not amenable to local jurisdiction with respect to their official acts, nor can they be prosecuted for defaulting as witnesses.

Consular officers and consular staff in general, as well as their families, are usually granted a number of privileges: exemption from taxes (but except indirect taxes implicit in the prices of goods and services), dues, conscription and custom examination. In the Soviet Union, granted on the basis of reciprocity can be additional privileges and immunities envisaged by the Regulations on the Diplomatic and Consular Missions of Foreign States on the Territory of the USSR of May 23, 1966.

Privileges granted to consular posts include the right to use the national flag and shield. The latter is the sending state's emblem, which is fixed on the wall of the consulate, on the entrance door and on the residence of the Head of the consular post. The national flag may be raised above the consulate and placed on the front of the car (and, in ports, at head of the boat).

Consular relations between two states may be severed at the discretion of one of them. However, the severance of diplomatic relations does not ipso facto involve the severance of consular relations. The receiving state may demand that the Head of consular post be recalled, which in diplomatic jargon is called the "revocation of the *exequatur*". Of course, there must be grave reasons for this action.

The heads of a number of consular posts of different countries are accredited to the same district form the consular corps with its own doyen. Similar to the diplomatic corps, the doyen is usually the highest ranking consular officer (consul general) who was the first to be granted the *exequatur* or preliminary authorisation from the receiving state. The doyen of the consular corps, like his diplomatic counterpart, deals primarily with questions of protocol and ceremony.

In the Soviet Union, consular relations are the responsibility of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (its Consular Department) and the corresponding Ministries of the Union Republics. Besides, in the Soviet cities of Leningrad, Kiev, Nakhodka, Odessa, Batumi and Syktyvkar, which are visited by foreigners in substantial numbers and have foreign consulates, there are Soviet diplomatic agencies whose task is to keep in touch with the consulates and to extend assistance to Soviet and foreign officials and delegations passing through these junctions. The diplomatic agent is an official of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as such sees to it that the Soviet legislation concerning foreign national be observed by the local authorities.

OLEG PAVLOV

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ETHIOPIAN STUDIES

LAST AUGUST Moscow played host to the Ninth International Congress on Ethiopian Studies. The Congress drew over 150 participants from many countries of world: well-known specialists in various aspects of the life of Ethiopia's peoples, politicians and other public figures. They were warmly greeted by Boris Chaplin, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, who wished them success in their work on behalf of Nikolai Ryzhikov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The interest taken in Ethiopia by world science is understandable and logical. First of all, Ethiopia is the largest African state, one whose origins go back to ancient times. Second, it is virtually the only country on the continent to have successfully defended and preserved its national sovereignty in the period of colonial wars and imperialist plunder (in 1935 the Italian fascists overran the country but in 1941 it regained freedom). These and many other factors invariably draw the attention of Africanists. Soviet scholars have made a noteworthy contribution to the study of ancient, medieval and contemporary Ethiopia, as the very convocation of this Moscow Congress indicates. In four days of work the Congress heard about 130 papers analysing present-day problems of Ethiopia, its culture and ethnic features, its ancient, medieval and modern history, languages, archaeology, etc.

Ethiopia is at a turning point now. The anti-feudal, anti-monarchic revolution involving vast sections of the population is developing into a national democratic one. It has swept away the old social and state system and ushered in a new one, paving the way for rapid social, economic and political development with a socialist orientation. As far as its significance, character and motive forces are concerned, the Ethiopian revolution is one of the big, complex and multifaceted political events of the 1970s.

The signal socio-economic, political and ideological progress made by Ethiopia after the revolution shows that the country is advancing confidently along its chosen path of deep social transformations notwithstanding the intrigues of home and foreign reaction. The downfall of the feudal monarchy offered the peoples of Ethiopia a real opportunity to take their destiny into their own hands, do away with the domination of foreign capital and adopt a foreign policy meeting Ethiopia's national interests. Ethiopia firmly joined the ranks of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces of Africa and the world.

Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the Institute for African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stressed in his paper, "The Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress", that the USSR and Ethiopia are linked by common traditions of struggle against colonialist expansion, imperialist aggression and neocolonial domination. These traditions are based on a natural desire for peace and social progress. Both the Soviet Union and Ethiopia adhere to the motto "Development instead of armament, not armament instead of development". In today's complicated and dangerous international situation, a joint struggle for the removal of the threat of world war is an important factor for still closer Soviet-Ethiopian friendship and cooperation. The peace initia-

tives of the Soviet Union, including those put forward at the latest sessions of the UN General Assembly, find active support on the part of Ethiopia as well as many other African countries.

Participants in the Congress pointed out that until recently many spokesmen of developing countries believed the problems of war and peace, of curbing the arms race, were an exclusive "prerogative" of the socialist and capitalist states. However, the harsh realities of our complex and contradictory and yet interrelated world are persistently calling for a new, sober approach to the contemporary global problems. It is perfectly evident that none but concerted efforts by all the countries—big and small, developed and developing—can bring about a decisive advance from confrontation to disarmament and cooperation on an equal basis, as a global problem is called global precisely because it concerns every state and the world community as a whole.

The peoples of Africa are realising more and more, African participants in the Congress said, that the danger of thermonuclear war is a mortal threat to the entire mankind and, notably, to their own continent. Equally clear is the need to do everything now to make disarmament for development a reality of our time. This struggle for the amelioration of the international situation is gaining momentum. African countries are increasingly linking the social and economic problems facing them with disarmament today. Successes in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war, the arms race and the plans of extending that race into space automatically mean success in the struggle for the development of the newly free countries and nations and for their advance along the road of economic and social progress.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates and supports the efforts of Ethiopia and other African countries aimed at making Africa a nuclear-free zone. It supports their policy aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, at observance of the principles of the non-aligned movement and of the OAU, and at the establishment of the relations of friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourliness in the still troublesome areas of Africa. The Soviet Union and independent African countries are at one in considering that today, when the reactionary forces are trying to exploit regional conflicts as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states, it is more necessary than before to step up the collective search for ways of settling disputes by peaceful, political means. In this connection participants in the Congress noted the important role of Ethiopia in the peaceful settlement of a number of territorial disputes between some African countries.

Speakers described the convening of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies in the UN Year of Peace as symbolic and expressed confidence that the Congress would encourage further in-depth research into the past, present and future of the Ethiopian people and state. In their unanimous opinion, the Moscow forum made an important contribution to the study of the multifaceted life of Ethiopia's peoples.

ALEXEI DMITRIYEV

AFRICA AS SEEN BY SOVIET SCIENTISTS

If you want to learn about the latest achievements of Soviet Africanistics;

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

P y o t r G O R O K H O V

Anual sessions of the UN General Assembly have long been an important international event. They discuss key world political issues and work out recommendations aimed at solving international security problems, curbing the arms race and bringing about disarmament. Delegates of the member countries assess the situation in the world at a given stage, thereby making it possible to compare the views of diverse states on a wide range of current issues. Speeches delivered from the UN rostrum reflect the complexity of contemporary international relations and the interconnection as well as the contradictory nature of ongoing processes and events.

Needless to say, the overall international situation conditions the character and substance of the debate at each regular session. It has a most direct impact on the work of the General Assembly and other UN agencies. This is particularly evident at the 41st Session now deliberating in a complicated international situation. Today's tensions in the world are mostly due to the dangerous foreign policy and imperial ambitions of the United States, to its rulers' gross interference in the internal affairs of other countries and their bid to upset the existing military-strategic parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO.

The evolution of international relations has never been simple. Nevertheless, the present growth of tensions is particularly dangerous, for it is a consequence of material preparations for a nuclear missile war, a result of the US and NATO militaristic policy of escalating the arms race again and again, which means posing the greatest threat to international peace and security. They refuse to work for the solution of crucial problems of contemporary development. The United States, having adopted this policy imperilling the world civilisation, does not want to stop nuclear tests and is undermining the accords on strategic armaments reached to date as it implements its militarist Star Wars plans. Vivid proof of this is torpedoing by the US side of the accords in Reykjavik on urgent problems of ending the arms race and banning nuclear tests.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries respond to the obstructionist policy of the United States with a consistent and constructive policy intended to greatly improve the international situation, remove the nuclear danger from the life of humanity for all time, put an end to the race in both nuclear and conventional arms and achieve disarmament.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies have proposed specific measures to stop the arms race on earth, prevent it from spreading to space and bring about disarmament. The more important of these measures are as follows: ending nuclear testing and abolishing all Soviet and US medium-range missiles in Europe on a reciprocal basis; radically reducing strategic offensive weapons; strengthening the ABM Treaty regime; abolishing such mass destruction arms as chemical

weapons, and all industrial facilities for their manufacture before the end of this century; reducing armed forces and conventional armaments at global and regional level; exercising effective control in every sphere and at every stage of arms reduction and disarmament.

"Through concrete steps, proposals and unilateral moves," Mikhail Gorbachev has said, "the Soviet Union shows its will to reverse a dangerous trend of development and ensure that distrust and hostility finally give way to reasonable cooperation based on awareness of responsibility for the destiny of the world".

The most pressing problems of humanity have also been placed on the agenda of the current General Assembly Session. The agenda comprises 143 items relating to every key issue of international relations, including problems of eliminating the nuclear menace, concluding a treaty on a comprehensive nuclear test ban, completely eliminating arms of mass destruction, effecting real disarmament in every sphere and ensuring the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The current regional conflicts in the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America and the Mediterranean region are understandably among the items prominent on the Session's agenda. Besides, the Session and the relevant committees are going to discuss various aspects of the world economic situation and the problems of really guaranteeing human rights and completing decolonisation.

The proposal for a comprehensive system of international peace and security submitted by the governments of Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine is a new major initiative prompted by concern for peace and the destiny of humanity. It is aimed at radically improving the international situation and providing favourable conditions for the peaceful development of international relations on a lasting basis. It puts together the practical steps taken by the Soviet Union and its socialist allies with a view to curbing the arms race, achieving disarmament and removing the threat of nuclear missile war.

The proposal envisages for the solution of pivotal problems of world politics with due regard to their interconnection and for an end to confrontation and the escalation of international tensions. The socialist community countries have proposed perfectly specific and constructive solutions for every aspect of the problem of international security: military, political, economic and humanitarian. Their proposal covers all the complex and multifaceted problems on whose solution the preservation of peace and life on earth and humanity's further progress hinges. Socialist community countries appeal to the UN member states to concentrate on providing equal security for all and in every sphere of international relations and with this aim in view to make their contribution to the drafting of a document laying down the main principles of a comprehensive international security system.

The main principles of a comprehensive international security system submitted by the group of socialist countries to the UN General Assembly for discussion consist in ending the arms race, proceeding to real disarmament and removing the war menace; abolishing all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction everywhere before the end of this century; preventing the militarisation of outer space; lowering the military potentials of states to the levels of adequacy needed for defence; strictly respecting the right of every nation to shape its destiny as it sees fit; eliminating seats of war in various regions of the globe; contributing to a just settlement of conflict situations and disputes between states by

peaceful means; preventing international terrorism; restructuring international economic relations on democratic principles and establishing a new international economic order; fully guaranteeing human rights in every sphere, particularly the right to life in peace and freedom, with due respect for state sovereignty.

Many of these cardinal international problems have been discussed in the past and are being discussed today in various agencies of the world forum. A number of them have found reflection in the UN Declaration on Strengthening International Security and in other documents and resolutions of the General Assembly, decisions of the first and second special sessions devoted to disarmament and UN analyses of various aspects of international security as well as in constructive proposals of the non-aligned countries, the Delhi and the Mexico declarations and other initiatives of the six countries of four continents and documents of the Palme Commission.

However, this is the first time that the solution of these key problems of world politics has been put forward in so comprehensive a form, as a plan for the establishment of an international security system. In taking this initiative, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are aware of the situation that has shaped up in this nuclear age, of the critical level reached by East-West nuclear missile confrontation, which makes international security inseparable from the national security of each particular country.

The governments of the socialist countries that have advanced an integral and all-embracing concept of international security proceed from the undeniable fact that at present there is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of countries belonging to the two opposite systems. Indeed, the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, "the character of present-day weapons leaves any country no hope of safeguarding itself solely with military and technical means, for example, by building up a defence system, even the most powerful one... [since] it is no longer possible to win an arms race, or nuclear war for that matter".

Our concept of international security is based on the whole and in part on the norms of international law and peaceful coexistence. It proposes most fully to introduce these norms and principles into the political practice of every state of the world community. Its ultimate purpose is to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of interstate relations between the two different systems.

"The course of history and social progress," the 27th CPSU Congress stressed, "requires ever more insistently that states and nations constructively and positively interact all over the world. The combination of competition and historical contest between the two systems with the mounting tendency towards the interdependence of states within the world community is the real dialectics of development of today's world. A controversial but interdependent, and in many ways integral, world is taking shape through the struggle of opposites. World affairs, their present stage, set especially rigid demands on every state, be it in foreign policy, in economic and social activity, or the spiritual makeup of society."

Thus our interpretation of international security is based firmly on the fact that under present conditions the creation of the principles for this security objectively serves the interests of all states and peoples, large and small, of all humanity.

Yet certain quarters in the West are not averse to describing our major initiatives as hard to put into effect or entirely unrealistic. The protagonists of a nuclear missile war are unconcerned about the dangerous degree that the arms race has reached, especially in the nuclear sphere. This explains why they are searching for spurious arguments in

order to dismiss our constructive initiatives and not for a sensible approach to the solution of a vitally important problem of today.

How one can explain such an approach?

First of all it indicates that the United States and other NATO countries are not prepared as yet or do not want to discuss vital problems of war and peace in a businesslike manner and therefore sabotage and resist in every way reasonable solutions and actions meeting the vital interests of all nations and consonant with present-day realities. The world now has the prerequisites for new approaches and a new thinking needed to solve key problems of world politics: stopping the nuclear arms race and removing the threat of nuclear disaster. Who can doubt that a nuclear war would be the end of civilisation?

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries' initiative in favour of establishing an international security system is intended to radically change the situation in the world, channel world development towards normal relations between states and call a halt to military-political confrontation between East and West. To be sure, the quantity and nature of the problems covered by the Soviet concept of international security may arouse some mistrust in the West. But it is the course of history, life itself, that has confronted the world community with all these problems. They bear on diverse aspects of international relations and have been awaiting solution for decades.

Credit is due to the socialist community countries for proposing a way out of the impasse created by the imperialist powers, a solution really meeting the interests of humanity and capable of delivering it from the threat of self-annihilation. Their proposal is above all an indication of the realism of the Leninist policy of peace, a sign of the vitality of our foreign political initiatives, including the proposal for a comprehensive international security system.

In advocating the establishment of such a system, the Soviet Union insists on completely excluding outer space from the sphere of war preparations and on using it for none but peaceful purposes. It has submitted to the UN a detailed stage-by-stage *Programme of Joint Practical Actions for the Peaceful Exploration of Space*. "The Programme," says a message from Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary General of the UN, "is divided into three stages and intended to lay solid material, political, legal and organisational foundations for 'Star Peace' by the year 2000." It provides for founding a *World Space Organisation* to coordinate the efforts of nations at a qualitatively new stage of cooperation in space exploration, including the execution of major material projects. This universal organisation would direct its efforts towards exploring space for peaceful purposes and ensuring control over adherence to future agreements on preventing the arms race from extending to it.

As regards factors making the establishment of a comprehensive international security system perfectly realistic, it must be remembered that many components of its project have already been or are close to being settled in recommendations of the world community. A number of problems, including the principles of peaceful coexistence, have found expression in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in other documents reflecting the general European process. This means that the socialist countries' initiative is realistic and that processes going on in the world imperatively demand a constructive approach to the solution of international security problems.

In proposing a comprehensive system of international peace and security, these countries take into account every factor contributing to durable world peace and determining both the world situation as a whole and the alignment of international political forces. An objective assess-

ment of the overall situation and motive forces in the world today warrants the conclusion that the forces of peace and progress are equal to effectively resisting militarism and reaction and curbing those who are planning a nuclear-missile war. This conclusion is based primarily on the fact that there is a mighty community of socialist countries pursuing a real policy of peace and using all its material and intellectual resources for defending world peace and international security.

The Soviet Union and other fraternal countries are rightly seen as a bastion of world peace. They have been doing all in their power to deliver humanity from the threat of a nuclear-missile holocaust. They have never substituted demagogic rhetoric for struggle to preserve peace and avert world war nor subordinated this struggle to their ideological objectives, which is what US and NATO ruling quarters do. These quarters make a lot of speeches about peace and international cooperation but actually do little to this end.

The Soviet Union's far-reaching initiatives and unilateral moves helped to reveal the aggressive nature of US policy on the international scene more than before. They enabled the peoples of the most diverse countries to realise more than ever the great danger which the imperial policy and aggressive behaviour of the United States and the arms race started by it present to world civilisation. Furthermore, our initiatives had a measure of sobering effect on the American public itself which is regrettably poisoned to a considerable extent by imperial ideology and great-power chauvinism.

The current militarist policy of the United States is seen with growing concern and misgivings even in Congress. Speaking at the National Press Club in Washington on September 11 last, Senator Joseph Biden said that the United States was threatened with an unlimited arms race brought about, tragic as it might seem, by US ruling circles who regarded such a race as meeting US interests. The Senator described the US President's commitment to the Star Wars programme as one of the most reckless and irresponsible acts in contemporary history.

A typical aspect of the situation in the United States today is that, while rabid great-power chauvinism is rife, there is growing disagreement over the issues of war and peace between the official foreign policy of Washington and American public opinion. It is safe to say that never since the Vietnam gamble has there been as violent a rise of anti-war sentiment among opponents of the US administration's militarist policy as today.

This compels the President and his surrounding to manoeuvre, to camouflage the militarist policy of the United States with talk about "Soviet military superiority", "human rights" and other sophisms of a similar kind. A case in point was Ronald Reagan's address to the General Assembly on September 22, 1986. In it the President devoted much attention to Soviet-US relations, the problem of arms control and regional conflicts. As usual, he confined himself to general statements about peace and the "hopes" of humanity. He said: "The world expects better. It expects contributions to the cause of peace that only the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union can make". The President did not specify the kind of "contribution" that his country is going to make in addition to continuing to aggravate every aspect of the situation. Besides, his speech bristled with anti-Soviet and anti-communist allegations falsifying facts and events. The President distorted Soviet policy. Altogether, his speech was added evidence of how Washington links solution of contemporary problems of vital importance with the class ideological and imperial aspirations of US imperialism.

The rulers of the United States need these stratagems and this demagoguery to cover up their militarism and carry on their acts of aggression.

The very fact that the West refuses to accede to any limitation of the arms race and is, on the contrary, stepping it up is indicative of the truly antipopular, militarist essence of the foreign policy of the United States and its NATO allies. For a long time past, their foreign policy has been subservient to the selfish interests of imperialist reaction and to the objectives of social revanche in regard to world socialism and the national liberation movement. Western commentators say so openly.

In an article under the headline "The President as Peacemaker," US bourgeois *Christian Science Monitor* wrote on June 30, 1986: "For President Reagan, differences with the Soviets are as much matters of ideology and politics as they are matters of arms imbalances or nuclear overbuilding. Not only are the administration's arms control aims uncertain and in dispute, but arms control for them is not a wholly satisfying vehicle for managing the superpower tensions."

The existence of rough parity in military strategic forces between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, not only has a restraining effect on aggressive quarters but is a solid basis for talks on curbing the arms race and on solving international security problems. No matter what Washington does, no matter how hard it tries to alter the existing military strategic parity or what militarist programmes it adopts, nobody can change the situation, and sober-minded Western ideologists and politicians realise this.

Speaking of the various militarist programmes of the present US administration, the British journal *International Affairs* commented recently that "there is no doubt... that the Soviet defence industries can in due course match any weapon which the Americans develop, as they have done in the past—on land, at sea, in the air or in space".

The role of the developing and neutral countries in the struggle to prevent world war and consolidate international security has increased considerably. Their approach to these problems largely coincides with or is close to the approach of the socialist community countries. It is only natural, therefore, that the representatives of developing and neutral countries in the UN and its various agencies generally vote in common with the socialist countries for resolutions on major problems of international security.

An important factor conditioning the present state of world affairs is mounting resistance from West European countries to the global military strategy of the United States, which is tightening the screws in the NATO machine. It would be wrong to exaggerate the contradictions that arise occasionally between the United States and other NATO members over military policy. Nevertheless, these contradictions often come out, in spite of the well-known devotion and servility of some West European governments, because the United States not only flouts the sovereignty and national independence of its European allies but involves them increasingly in its militarist strategy, which presents a serious threat to their national security and national existence.

As for the developing countries, they have come out and continue coming out together with the socialist countries, both in and outside the UN, against the imperialist policy of war and aggression, for the creation of the peaceful climate needed to advance their economies and eliminate the disastrous effects of colonial tyranny. The non-aligned movement is playing a tremendous role in this.

In short, the overwhelming majority of the UN member countries are objectively following a policy in favour of normal international development, of limiting the arms race, doing away with seats of war and reverting to detente.

The antiwar movement, which encompasses vast sections of the population of all countries and continents, is an important factor in interna-

tional relations today. It owes its strength primarily to the fact that, being backed by the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the non-aligned states and constantly enjoying their moral support, it is assuming a universal character, becoming a popular movement of global dimensions. The antiwar movement of the peoples of various countries is merging into one stream with the struggle of numerous countries against the imperialist policy of war and aggression. This is why it necessarily has a growing impact on both the policy of individual countries and world politics as a whole. It is evident that the problem of providing the foundations for a comprehensive international security system, which are entirely in keeping with the foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, belongs directly to the sphere of the peoples' struggle to preserve and consolidate peace and head off a nuclear missile catastrophe.

Thus there are mighty forces on the planet that are championing world peace and international security. These forces and the alignment of international class and political forces now shaping up and the peoples' awareness that in today's conditions a nuclear or even a conventional world war would inevitably lead to the self-annihilation of humanity will make it possible to restrain all nuclear maniacs, force the governments of imperialist powers to listen to reason and agree to creating the conditions for world development in accordance with the principles and norms of peaceful coexistence embodied in a comprehensive international security system.

"The idea of comprehensive security," said Eduard Shevardnadze, Political Bureau member of the CC CPSU, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, speaking to the plenary meeting of the 41st Session of the General Assembly on September 23, 1986, "implies primarily material guarantees of peace, political and international legal guarantees, vindication of the principles of civilised correct communication between states. A secure world is a world of law and order, of unfailing respect for the UN Charter, for every norm of international law, for human rights and freedoms".

Delegation leaders said a great deal during the political debate about the role of the UN in maintaining peace and promoting international security. This problem is particularly relevant now that the Republican Administration of the United States has launched a campaign against the UN and its specialised agencies. Withdrawal from UNESCO, an arbitrary reduction of its contribution that led the Organisation to a grave financial crisis, gross attacks on UN member states in the form of the unlawful demand that a number of socialist states should reduce the diplomatic staffs of their UN missions, blackmail and the threat of withdrawing from the UN are some of the latest hostile moves by the United States against this authoritative agency of the world community.

It is only fair to ask what has made the United States, cofounder of the UN and permanent member of the Security Council, mount this campaign against the UN and set out to undermine it.

The fact is that Washington cannot reconcile itself to the changes which have taken place in the world, directly impinging on the situation and the alignment of forces in the UN. Having taken the road to the arms race and material preparations for nuclear war, a course which the overwhelming majority of member states of the world community refuse to back, the rulers of the United States have come to the conclusion that the UN, founded after the Second World War to maintain peace and international security, is becoming a serious impediment to the realisa-

tion of Washington's imperial ambitions and the promotion of its militaristic programmes. The White House cannot resign itself to the decline in the role and influence of the United States in the UN, any more than to the growth of the prestige of socialist and other peace-loving countries, which invariably take a stand in and outside the UN for a lasting world peace, an end to the arms race and the removal of the threat of nuclear-missile war. Nor can the US government put up with the fact that it lost the advantage of the "voting machine" long ago and that nowadays its representatives often find themselves in isolation or in the minority when a vote is taken on major problems of world politics.

There is yet another circumstance that has long been worrying Washington. It is the increasing effect which the struggle of the forces of peace and progress against the forces of militarism and aggression—a struggle going on continuously in the UN—has on world public opinion, primarily US opinion. The impact of this struggle is most effective: it contributes to the steady growth of anti-war movements in the world and in the United States itself, to the exposure of the militarist, antipopular nature of the foreign policy of Washington and its NATO allies in the eyes of the peoples of the planet.

In short, the UN and its agencies, as they now stand, with their democratic traditions and principles, do not suit imperialist reaction, whose policy is incompatible with the lofty goals and tasks of the UN. This is precisely what makes the rulers of the United States oppose it. By trying to bring about a crisis of the UN, they want to modify the situation, that is, either to make the UN docile and use it for their ends, or to undermine it. They are doing this under cover of high-sounding phrases about US allegiance to the UN and so on. Speaking to the current 41st Session of the General Assembly, the US President said: "The United States remains committed to the UN." He then declared: "This organisation itself faces a critical hour—that is usually stated as a fiscal crisis." However, he said, it could be transformed into a favourable opportunity. The President pronounced himself in favour of a reform to "safeguard" the future of the UN.

"The United States," stressed the head of the Soviet delegation in his speech to the Session, "has made it a rule for itself to lecture and penalise others, to apply arbitrary methods in regard to the whole Organisation and those of the members that it dislikes for some reason." This is an unsound practice meeting increasingly determined resistance on the banks of East River.

The Soviet Union and its socialist allies, being well aware of their responsibility to history for the destiny of humanity, are doing everything possible to stop the current dangerous trend of events, to deliver humanity forever from the threat of nuclear disaster. Their far-reaching initiatives and practical actions are intended to help accomplish this chief task, and so is their entire *peace philosophy* based on the political thinking of the nuclear age, on new approaches to the issue of war and peace, to cooperation with countries of a different social system.

Imperialism's reactionary, militaristic policy is particularly striking against this background. US and NATO policy-makers persist in ignoring radical changes in the world, including changes in the character and content of our time. They bank on the arms race, above all in the nuclear sphere, and their practical moves are increasing the threat of nuclear war. What is an outdated way of thinking—the philosophy of war and violence—has yet to be defeated. It continues determining the imperialists' behaviour on the world scene. They resort to the most sophisticat-

ed devices to mislead world opinion, pretending not to be aware of any serious nuclear danger and insinuating that the socialist countries need the talk about the threat of nuclear war for propaganda purposes. They represent even the USSR's commitment not to use nuclear arms first, its moratorium on nuclear arms testing and other unilateral steps as propaganda. It would be hard to discover any logic in the behaviour of US ruling circles. Theirs is an imperial mentality which rejects everything except the right to use force, to interfere in the affairs of other countries.

"We invite those who declare the abolition of nuclear armaments to suit the action to the word," said the head of the Soviet delegation at the Session of the UN General Assembly. "Otherwise all their arguments about the inhumanity of nuclear weapons are a rhetorical mirage beyond which there looms an entirely different policy."

Indeed, as soon as it becomes necessary to act, the US Administration puts on a verbal balancing act. In this instance, too, instead of joining in the Soviet moratorium on nuclear blasts, the US President declares: "Just as eliminating all nuclear weapons is our long-term goal, so too is a total ban on nuclear testing. ... For the reality is that for now we still must rely on these weapons for the deterrence of war..." Needless to say, it is not a question of "containing war" but of a US bid to upset military strategic parity, of wild plans for the militarisation of space.

"The Soviet Union," said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Session, speaking on behalf of the Soviet government, "is ready to sign at any time and anywhere a treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests. We are ready to do it here on the premises of the United Nations, in order that the whole world community may become a party to this great act and that a historic turning point may be registered as a token of respect for the will of the Organisation."

Having taken the dangerous road to an escalation of the arms race and to torpedoing the solution of the key problems, the US Administration is trying to pressure the Soviet Union and other socialist countries into making concessions over matters of principle. In this way Washington would like both to change the military-strategic balance in its own favour and to achieve diplomatic aims by outplaying its partners at the negotiating table.

It is obvious that such devices merely aggravate the situation and East-West confrontation. They are nowhere near an indication of the wisdom of the statesmen who constantly use them. They have never succeeded in the past and are all the more certain to fail today.

What makes the latest major initiatives taken by the Soviet Union in line with decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress so impressive and effective?

It is, first and foremost, the fact that they involve fundamental problems of world relations: general disarmament, elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe, improvement of international relations, growing economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges between countries. These initiatives are effective, first, because they show nations the way to solving vitally important problems and inspire the people in various countries with optimism and with confidence that these problems can be solved peacefully, by negotiations; second, they help keep up the antiwar, anti-imperialist struggle and draw new forces into it; third, they have contributed to the rise and growth of an anti-war, anti-missile movement in the citadel of international imperialism, the United States, to the awakening of the American people, whose political consciousness and

SOVIET MORATORIUM AND ITS OPPONENTS

K o n s t a n t i n B O R I S O V

Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik has shown with greater clarity that the problem of moratorium on nuclear explosions and achieving accords on a complete ban of nuclear tests has become nowadays a watershed dividing the old and the new modes of thinking. A state's attitude to this problem is the most conclusive indicator of how seriously it approaches disarmament. Those who want to eliminate nuclear weapons are demanding an end to dangerous experiments; those who cling to those weapons want to continue tests.

Contrary to the laws of physics, it was not nuclear explosions but rather the sustained silence at the Soviet testing sites which drew a powerful response world-wide, a response which grew with every fresh extension by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium and which is, of course, also connected with the fact that our country's halt to all nuclear explosions is not a declaration but an action. Seventeen months without tests is already a political and military reality, a practical manifestation of a new way of thinking in international affairs.

Support for the Soviet moratorium and calls for the USA to follow the USSR's example have come from socialist countries, the non-aligned conference in Harare, which represents over 100 states, the Delhi Six, numerous public organisations and trade unions, authoritative political parties, including the West German Social Democrats and the British Labourites, and eminent scientific and cultural figures throughout the world. US public opinion and a large group in Congress also support the idea of an end to nuclear tests.

All this confirms that a new political thinking is gaining ground through the old prejudices and outdated ideas, through the barriers of lies about a "Soviet threat".

But there is also a "response" of a different kind. Opposition to an end to the nuclear arms race is still strong on the part of the present US administration and the powerful military-industrial complex. The underlying reason for the US imperialist circles' stubborn resistance to a nuclear test ban is the fact that they are unable or unwilling to align their political thinking with the demands of the nuclear-space age.

Washington responded hastily and nervously to the latest extension of the Soviet moratorium. Without even taking the time to study the Soviet statement (American newspaper men calculated that the first official "No" came just 40 minutes after the news of the USSR's new initiative), the White House rejected any possibility of joining the Soviet moratorium.

Actually, Washington has no rational explanation for why it does not want to follow the Soviet Union's example and end nuclear explosions; that is, of course, if one does not count the fact that the USA needs them exclusively for continuing the nuclear arms race in a futile attempt to

achieve military superiority. That is why Washington is using just about every propaganda ploy to protect its nuclear test sites in Nevada. Its methods are hardly new: tricks, ruses and even direct lies, distortion of the meaning and goals of the USSR's proposals, attempts to ignore them and conceal them from the public, and many more. The primary purpose of these manoeuvres is to seek to justify the directive to continue nuclear tests.

In his *Rudé právo* interview, Mikhail Gorbachev demolished all the main "anti-moratorium" arguments put forward by the American side, but those very falsehoods are still being repeated in the USA; true, more, it would seem, from inertia and the striving to hide their deliberately misleading character.

The thesis that the Soviet steps are mere propaganda ploys has lost force. Every unbiassed person understands that one does not assume such a heavy commitment, just for propaganda purposes, for almost a year and a half when the other side is building up its nuclear arsenals. But despite that, Washington is still calling the Soviet Union's practical, material measure—a halt to nuclear explosions—a propaganda move. But the inevitable question is: why then does the United States, too, not take the same "propaganda action"? Why does not the White House, too, agree to end nuclear tests and, what is more, back that with concrete and business-like proposals to rid humanity of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction?

Washington strongly accuses the Soviet Union of halting its tests in order to win world public opinion. But if that is so, what has our country done that attracts public circles in various countries to its side? It has for long renounced nuclear explosions and called on the other nuclear powers to do likewise. And what is so bad about that? Indeed, it can be stated with satisfaction that on this cardinal question the Soviet line wholly and completely coincides with the approach of the overwhelming majority of the world's states and meets the interests and aspirations of all peoples. That is obviously what worries official Washington.

The argument that the USSR allegedly carried out a major series of tests before the moratorium and can therefore well afford an interval no longer has the effect that it used to. Even if this were so, with today's technical level, the USA could have more than caught up in the year and more of the interval. And the moratorium has again been extended to January 1, 1987 even though at every stage of the development of nuclear weapons the USA has in reality always led in number of nuclear weapon tests.

To quote official SIPRI figures, by the beginning of 1986 the USA had conducted 805 explosions, France—134, and Britain—39, that is, a total of 978 tests by NATO's nuclear members, while the USSR had conducted 562 explosions.

Furthermore, throughout all the years of tests, the USA has been ahead both in quantity of explosions in each individual area (in the atmosphere, underwater, underground) and in number of explosions in any given period. For example, in the past 5-10 years the USA has regularly conducted almost a third more nuclear tests than the USSR. During the year of our moratorium, another 18 nuclear explosions were conducted in Nevada. (And reports of new ones keep coming in.) So the gap in number of tests in favour of the USA has widened further according to the statistics. There is no question of any American "lag".

True, in this matter as well the figures are unscrupulously juggled to mislead the uninformed into believing that the explosions conducted in the USSR for purely peaceful economic purposes, and naturally not on sites where weapons can only be tested, are in fact nuclear weapon

tests. And here it should be noted that the unilateral Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions extends to explosions for peaceful purposes as well. These include camouflet explosions (i. e. in the bowels of the earth, without craters being formed and with no escape of radioactivity into the atmosphere), which the USSR used to conduct with the aim of creating underground capacities to store gas condensates, an arrangement which produced greater economic effect as compared with the usual method of building such facilities. Nevertheless, the USSR has halted those explosions as well.

Opponents of a moratorium are also losing their old "reliable" prop—claims that it is not possible to supervise a moratorium. Nowadays this argument is refuted by the unanimous opinion of the world's geophysicists. From the scientific and technological viewpoint, the way is wide open for a treaty completely prohibiting nuclear explosions. The precise geophysical methods discussed last summer in Moscow at a representative international forum of scientists make it possible to register even very minor explosions. Proof of that is given by the joint work being conducted by a Soviet-American group of seismologists in the vicinity of our test site near Semipalatinsk.

One example which can be cited is the fact that during the first year of the Soviet moratorium the USA carried out 18 nuclear explosions, but announced only 15 of them. However, the Soviet Union detected these three unannounced explosions using only its national technical means—seismic stations, which record vibrations of the soil or seismic waves that spread throughout the globe following a nuclear explosion, and also using space satellites. As the American press later reported, these explosions were conducted in Nevada on August 15, 1985, late October 1985, and April 20, 1986 and were not powerful ones. All the circumstances surrounding the explosions give ground for supposing that they were part of the work to develop space weapons. The American administration eventually had to confirm that the three nuclear tests had been conducted, but it remains silent about their purpose.

There is no doubt that the United States not only has up-to-date technical monitoring means but also a certain advantage in this area since it receives seismic information from about 200 control stations in various corners of the globe, some along our borders. Soviet territory is "swept" throughout by such stations. American scientists themselves say that these seismic installations can record underground nuclear explosions on Soviet territory which have a force well under one kiloton. This is also confirmed by the important fact that no one in the West has questioned that the USSR is actually observing its moratorium. It is therefore obvious that both Soviet and American national means are quite sufficient for effective monitoring of an end to nuclear tests.

In addition, the Soviet Union has expressed willingness to agree to international verification measures, including the proposal by the Delhi Six that special stations be erected on their territories to supervise the test ban. Should the USA joint the Soviet moratorium, the USSR would also be prepared to agree to on-site inspection measures. The installation of American seismic apparatus near Semipalatinsk as part of an experiment by Soviet and American scientists shows clearly that the Soviet side is willing to take any constructive step to facilitate monitoring of a nuclear test ban. But only of a ban, not of a continuation.

It would seem that the matter is crystal clear, but the USA keeps on inventing new "arguments". There are many of them, but all are groundless and practically senseless. It is said, for example, that tests could

be conducted in outer space, even beyond the solar system. That this is far-fetched is obvious even to a layman.

The Western press writes a great deal about special so-called concealment measures that could supposedly be used to hide explosions. What kind of measures are these? They are a number of theoretical methods, one of which is the conduct of tests during an earthquake. However, experts do not take this seriously. The earth is a colossal massif. If a nuclear explosion is set off during an earthquake, in some areas its registration will indeed be superimposed on the signal from the earthquake, but at other points a discrepancy is bound to be recorded since the signal from the explosion will reach the equipment at a different time from that of the earthquake. What is more, scientists are still not able to forecast earthquakes with sufficient accuracy. So is one to sit and wait until one occurs?

Another method is to conduct a test during a powerful non-nuclear explosion, for example an industrial explosion. But that would require an explosion of thousands of tons of TNT, which is also improbable.

Finally, a nuclear explosion of less force can be conducted in a cavity formed from earlier powerful underground tests. Theoretically this is more or less feasible, but this "method" practically makes no sense in the testing of new, powerful weapons. So is one then to make such a gigantic cavity using ordinary means? That possibility is pure fantasy. British scientists, for example, have calculated that it would take a pit deep enough to hold the largest Egyptian pyramid to hide a small explosion of just eight kilotons (by way of comparison, the first American bomb dropped on Hiroshima had a 20-kiloton force). And naturally such a pit would be detected, for example from satellites.

Thus, even theoretically the "means of concealment" are not very effective, and practically are pointless. And if one takes into account that a system of reciprocal monitoring would be established on the territories of the relevant states, then the possibility of hiding nuclear explosions would be excluded altogether.

That is why, whatever the opponents of a nuclear test ban may contrive, one conclusion is inevitable: an end to nuclear explosions is now not a technical but a political problem. Even Washington has had to admit this in effect. The *New York Times* wrote that the administration was of the view that monitoring was not the key problem and that the administration had stated that the United States would not agree to a test ban even if the problems of monitoring were resolved since testing was necessary to develop new types of nuclear warheads. In other words, the White House was forced to acknowledge the flimsiness of its own argument which it had long used to hide an absence of political will for a nuclear test ban.

However, the opponents of ban have not given up. Aware that their main trump-card arguments of the past can no longer be played, they are inventing ever newer ones which are just as flimsy but still common in the West.

For example, they say that the stockpiles of nuclear weapons will not disappear because of a test moratorium. Is this so? After all, an end to tests is also the way to eliminate the nuclear arsenals. Experts, above all military experts, are convinced that if there are no tests, and consequently also no modernisation of existing nuclear weapons, they will gradually but inevitably lose their effectiveness and eventually will be scrapped. But even if the stockpiles of those weapons do continue to exist for some time following an end to testing, that is obviously better than a continual arms race for then it will be possible to discuss the ways and means of eliminating existing stockpiles in a calmer atmosphere.

They also say that tests need to be continued so as to check the reliability of the American nuclear arsenal, but these claims, too, are false from beginning to end.

Both Soviet and foreign experts have shown conclusively that nuclear explosions are by no means necessary to prove the reliability of existing nuclear weapons. This can be done just as efficiently, and much more cheaply and safely at that, using other methods.

Years of practice also show that testing of the non-nuclear components of bombs and warheads is enough to prove the reliability of nuclear weapons. Under an existing treaty, the USA and the USSR have since 1974 conducted tests with a yield under 150 kilotons only. Yet 70 per cent of the USA's nuclear arsenal, and an equal part of the USSR's are made up of ammunition whose force exceeds this threshold. It means that both the USSR and the USA are confident of the reliability of their weapons even without explosions.

In his *Rudé právo* interview, Mikhail Gorbachev said that if the Americans have doubts about their nuclear arsenal, let them agree to an accord banning tests, and Soviet experts will share with them the "secrets" of checking the state of nuclear charges even without tests. That argument, too, clearly does not work.

The US administration carries out tests exclusively for the purpose of improving and developing new types of nuclear weapons, primarily to develop space strike arms for offensive, aggressive purposes. It is planned to deploy in space third generation nuclear weapons designed to hit targets in space, on the ground, on the surface of seas and oceans and in the air.

For American experts, first generation nuclear weapons are those which use only fissionable materials—plutonium 239 and uranium 235. Their yield is several hundred kilotons. Second generation nuclear weapons are those in which the energy during an explosion is released not only as a result of fission but also through thermonuclear fusion. They are quite powerful (up to several megatons) and form the basis of the USA's modern nuclear arsenal. The effects of first and second generations nuclear weapons are not selective and are identically manifested in all directions from the point of explosion. According to American experts, third generation nuclear weapons are notable above all for the fact that a considerable portion of the explosion energy will be converted into form other than shock wave or thermal radiation, and will be intensified and concentrated largely in one direction.

In third generation nuclear weapons, one of the types of radiation is beamed mostly in one direction, in addition to being intensified. This means that part of the explosion energy is concentrated in a fairly narrow area, with the strike effect over considerably greater distances than in the case when "traditional" nuclear weapons of the same yield are used. That is why third generation nuclear weapons are often called beam weapons. Unlike "traditional" weapons, they have a new quality—they can instantaneously hit space targets (strategic ballistic missiles and their warheads, artificial earth satellites, etc.) far removed from the point at which the ammunition is exploded.

For precisely that reason the Pentagon is so interested in third generation nuclear weapons regarding them as the principal ones in the package of space strike arms to be used in Star Wars. In the view of American experts, the most promising types of such weapons at present are nuclear blast pumped up lasers and nuclear weapons with an intensified electromagnetic impulse, which take priority in the SDI plans.

Foreign observers explain that, while it took an average of six experimental explosions to develop a nuclear warhead of the first two generations, 100 to 200 nuclear tests are necessary to develop just one type of

the much more complex third generation weapons. That is why, the American press reports, the White House has sanctioned the carrying out of thousands of tests of varying capacity in the present and the next decade. According to the American newspaper *Newsday* the cost of just one underground X-ray laser test is estimated at \$50 million.

The USA's development of third generation nuclear weapons has already had a very negative impact on arms limitation and disarmament. Washington's Defense Information Centre reported that in 1979 when the Geneva talks between the USSR, the USA and Britain on a treaty banning nuclear tests were drawing to a close, the directors of the Livermore and Los Alamos laboratories in the USA met with President Carter and convinced him not to sign the document, arguing that it was necessary to develop third generation nuclear weapons and surmount the technological "plateau" in the development of nuclear strike weapons. It is therefore not difficult to understand what is the main reason for the Reagan administration's stubborn refusal to continue the talks on complete prohibition of nuclear tests and for its unwillingness to join the Soviet Union's moratorium on all nuclear explosions.

It is significant that apart from the USA virtually only Britain has taken a negative attitude to the moratorium, trying, out of a sense of allied "duty", to justify the American administration's position and muffle the broad positive response to the new Soviet step. In the main, the Tory government blindly repeats after its senior partner various hackneyed "arguments" against a test ban, but it also has its own. For example, London has expressed "disappointment" at the extension of the Soviet moratorium, called it a "propaganda ploy", and claimed that a criterion of a serious approach to arms control would be the "dropping of this ruse", in other words, renewal of nuclear explosions. Now, that is inverted logic carried to the extreme.

It is also claimed that limited unilateral gestures cannot replace long-term stable agreements. But who is preventing Britain from making this "unilateral gesture", let us say, bilateral? And were it supported by the West, would the Soviet moratorium be replacing long-term stable agreements? On the contrary, it would create favourable conditions and be a kind of prelude to precisely such agreements.

It is not only allied "disinterestedness" that explains London's stand. Of the 18 nuclear tests conducted in Nevada during the first year of the Soviet moratorium, two, according to Reuters, were carried out by the USA jointly with Britain. By supporting Washington's militarist plans in this area, the Thatcher government is the American administration's closest partner in beginning a new round of the arms race.

Washington has run out of arguments against a halt to nuclear tests save for the admission, now made outright, that tests are necessary to continue the nuclear arms race. President Reagan outlined the official US stand in an interview with the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* which appeared on August 19, the very day that Mikhail Gorbachev's statement extending the Soviet moratorium yet again was published. The American President declared that a moratorium does not meet the security interests of the USA or its allies and friends; that at present and for some time to come the security interests of the USA and its allies and friends must rest on a reliable and effective nuclear deterrent, which is what dictates the need to continue tests. It is as simple as that: an end to nuclear explosions does not figure on Washington's agenda. Since the *Excelsior*

(Continued on page 47)

The Coordination of Economic Plans of CMEA Countries: Major Results

V a l e r i A N D R E Y E V,

V l a d i m i r S A M O V O L

This year's congresses of the fraternal parties of socialist countries stressed the urgency of gearing the economy mainly to intensive development, which means accelerating scientific and technological progress, widely using its achievements in the economy, mobilising all organisational, economic and social reserves, and raising the social productivity of labour.

Reality demands that the socialist community countries step up their economic cooperation to a considerable degree by shifting the emphasis from trade to cooperation in production, science and technology. The task is to greatly raise the effectiveness of both internal economic development and mutual economic cooperation. This requires a creative search for new ways and means of managing economic processes on a planned basis and of coordinating national economic plans.

There is now every reason to speak of a totality of forms of joined planned activity by the socialist countries in close connection with the national planning and economic management system of each particular country. All CMEA countries consider that coordination of five-year economic plans, geared to the new requirements, is the principal method of planned organisation of their economic, scientific and technological cooperation and integration and that this also applies to the foreseeable future. This is because five-year plans play a key role in economic management within the socialist community.

Coordination of economic plans for the current five-year period has been carried out in accordance with the agreed strategic decisions of the latest CMEA economic summit, bilateral long-term programmes for economic, scientific and technological cooperation, and the Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member States through the Year 2000. The Economic Summit recognised the need to raise the efficiency of the mechanism of coordinating plans. Its documents say that in coordinating national economic plans, the member states will concentrate on priorities and that coordination will be the chief instrument for shaping durable relations between CMEA countries in the economic, scientific and technological spheres and the basis for the drafting by the cooperating countries of national plans in so far as these concern cooperation.

In conformity with the decisions of the Economic Summit, the fraternal countries and CMEA agencies are now working to improve the coordination of economic plans. The main purpose of this effort is to elaborate cooperation guidelines contributing decisively to the promotion of nation-

al production, mutual economic ties and the international division of labour.

CMEA bodies have approved a series of important organisational and technical documents with a view to carrying out decisions of the Economic Summit on coordinating national economic plans on a multilateral basis and in close connection with cooperation in science and technology.

In coordinating plans, the member countries specified the volume and pattern of deliveries as well as the details of reciprocal services with due regard to the potentialities and requirements of the parties concerned.

Mutual trade turnover of the USSR with European member states of CMEA in the period 1986-1990 will reach approximately (in billions of rubles): with Bulgaria 70, with Hungary 51, with the GDR 82, Poland 74, Romania 30 and Czechoslovakia 73. The growth of Soviet trade with these countries will amount to 30 to 70 per cent as compared with the previous five-year period. Trade between other socialist countries will grow as follows: Bulgaria—GDR, 22 per cent, Hungary—Poland, more than 34 per cent, and Romania—Czechoslovakia, 41 per cent.

One of the main tasks set by the Moscow Economic Summit for the present stage of advance in cooperation is to make coordination of national economic plans the chief instrument for coordinating the fraternal countries' economic policies. Certain steps to this end were taken in coordinating plans for the 1986-1990 period. To date the member states have signed over 20 bilateral programmes for economic, scientific and technological cooperation through the year 2000. Specifically, the Soviet Union has concluded relevant agreements with all the other CMEA countries. Long-term bilateral programmes are being carried out, for instance, in the area of specialisation and cooperation in production.

Multilateral coordination of economic policies has resulted in the drafting and adoption of cooperation programmes such as "Long-term Comprehensive Measures for Cooperation in Energy Production, Fuel and Raw Materials Until 1990 and Beyond, the programme of measures for the comprehensive development and provision of transport communications between CMEA member states and for the coordination of joint actions in this sphere through 1990, and several other programmes. A general pattern has evolved for the long-range advancement of the electric power industry within integrated power systems of the CMEA countries through the year 2000, and there is also a programme for the construction of atomic power stations before the end of this century with due regard to the possibilities of supplying them with nuclear fuel and the requisite plant. Very important in terms of implementing a long-term scientific and technological policy are the large-scale agreements that have been signed, including agreements on developing and introducing flexible production system and automated design complexes, on developing microprocessors, robots and light conduits, on using natural gas as motor fuel, and so on.

In coordinating five-year economic plans, steps were also taken to harmonise important aspects of the long-term social and economic development of the CMEA countries. There were exchanges of information on the basic proportions and trends of reciprocal trade, investment policy trends and cooperation in reconstructing and retooling production.

We have pointed out that in regard to economic policy fraternal party congresses put emphasis on the need to accelerate scientific and technological progress as the main prerequisite for a thorough transformation of the productive forces of society and its material and technical base. This is why, in coordinating plans, special attention was given to the problem of organising multilateral cooperation in fields crucial for technological progress. A major component of this activity today is the development of

a coordinated, and in some fields a common scientific and technological policy.

A stride of fundamental significance in accomplishing this task was the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress (mentioned earlier) by the extraordinary 41st CMEA Session in December 1985. The Programme sets out the perspectives for accelerating the intensification of production, greatly increasing its efficiency in fraternal countries and reaching advanced positions in science and technology. Concrete and specific in nature, the Programme made it possible even during the Moscow session of the CMEA to agree to include the tasks, for the period through 1990 formulated by the session, in the economic plans for the current five-year period which the member countries are drafting. About 700 research centres of the community countries are to be brought into solving 93 major problems set by the Programme. This year will see the results of research into 11 problems put to use in production, and by the end of the current five-year period about 80 per cent of all research projects is expected to find an application in the production sphere.

The pace of retooling the economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements will depend to a decisive extent on progress in mechanical engineering, which conditions the development of other economic fields. In coordinating plans, the fraternal countries agreed on a multilateral basis on the main development lines of the leading branches of engineering. They devoted considerable attention to the problem of raising the technological and economic standards and quality of output delivered reciprocally and of using the achievements of science and technology in production. As a result of collective efforts, reciprocal deliveries will include more items produced by the industries determining scientific and technological progress and contributing to its acceleration. Deliveries of engineering products from the USSR will increase by 50 per cent, and their share in Soviet exports to CMEA member countries will rise from 16.7 per cent in 1985 to over 21 per cent in 1990. The import of machines from fraternal countries will also increase at a high rate, its total volume the current five-year period reaching approximately 100,000 million rubles.

To make integrational cooperation more effective and put the results of joint projects to use in production as speedily as possible, the socialist countries have proceeded to draw up more cooperation agreements of a comprehensive character covering the whole cycle: science—production—reciprocal deliveries. As a result, flexible computer-controlled production systems, transfer lines, robotics, metal-cutting machine tools with numerical control, microelectronics and microprocessors, an up-to-date metallurgical plant, highly efficient machinery and other equipment for the agroindustrial complex and the light industry, plants for the chemical, oil and petrochemical industries will come to hold an important place in reciprocal deliveries of engineering industry products in the current five-year period.

Documents concerning the results of coordinated plans, long-term trade agreements and treaties of international specialisation and cooperation in production provide for reciprocal commitments to raise the technological standard of production. They set deadlines for the replacement or modernisation of obsolete products and define the parameters of new or improved articles meeting the highest world standards. Agreement has been reached on which machinery and equipment will undergo technological and economic improvement while the relevant agreements are in force.

In the context of comprehensive intensification of social production, an important line of improvement is also the technological renewal of the

means of production with a view to saving resources. The agreed economic development strategy of the fraternal countries calls for a 50 to 100 per cent reduction of material and power intensity by the year 2000. In the case of the Soviet economy, it is planned to meet over 75 per cent of fuel, power, raw materials and other requirements by conserving on resources.

The problem of cooperation in the development and application of progressive resource-saving technologies held a prominent place in the coordination of plans for the current five years. In particular, the member countries decided to use economical electric locomotives with a low rate of power consumption, to make diesel locomotives, trucks and buses driven by liquefied gas and build steam and gas installations making it possible to save fuel during transportation (the energy of 1,000 million cubic metres of natural gas equals that of 700,000 to 800,000 tons of gasoline, which takes from four to five million tons of oil to produce).

Close attention was paid in coordinating plans to the strategic task of supplying the economy of the community with fuel and raw materials. Reciprocal deliveries of power resources and raw materials are an important factor besides the use of the CMEA countries' own resources for the solution of the problem of fuel, power and raw materials. The coordination of plans made it possible to create the essential conditions for meeting the fuel, power and raw materials requirements of the fraternal states.

In most countries the adoption of a policy of saving power and effecting progressive changes in the pattern of power consumption will help reduce fuel and power consumption in the 1986-1990 period compared with the previous five years. The 40th CMEA Session approved a programme for cooperation in economical and rational utilisation of material resources through the year 2000. The programme is aimed at using important fuel, power and raw materials resources more effectively by extending integrational cooperation in this field. Its fulfilment will make possible a large saving in material resources and will lower the power and material intensity of national incomes of the socialist community countries.

Further progressive changes are to be effected in electricity production. The number of atomic power stations will increase. Water and alternative power resources are to be utilised to a greater measure. With the joint construction of the Khmel'nitsky and South Ukrainian atomic power stations in the Soviet Union by 1990 as well as of the 750 kV Khmel'nitsky atomic power station (USSR)—Rzeszów (Poland) power line and the 750 kV South Ukrainian atomic power station (USSR)—Isaccea (Romania)—Dobrudza (Bulgaria) line this country will begin to supply European members of the CMEA with about 65 per cent more electric power.

To increase natural gas deliveries from the Soviet Union to European member countries of the CMEA, the states concerned are organising cooperation in the development of the Yamburg gas deposits and the construction of a gas line over 4,600 kilometres long from Yamburg to the western frontier of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary have already signed relevant bilateral agreements. When the line is completed, gas deliveries to European CMEA countries can be increased by close to 35 per cent.

In coordinating plans for the 1986-1990 period Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Romania and the Soviet Union signed a multilateral agreement on cooperation in building the Krivoy Rog oxidised ore concentrating complex. The complex will mine and concentrate about 30 million tons of oxidised ferruginous quartzites and produce an annual 12.8 million tons of iron ore pellets from them. By way of contributing their share, the Soviet Union's CMEA partners will fully build installations, deliver the requisite machinery and other materials.

With a view to creating favourable economic conditions guaranteeing mutually beneficial cooperation and in line with a decision adopted by the Moscow Economic Summit, CMEA countries will, in exchange for raw materials and power resources, export to the Soviet Union food products, industrial consumer goods, structural materials, machinery and other equipment meeting world technological standards. Accordingly, European CMEA countries will develop appropriate industries and make the necessary investments.

Plan coordination for the current five-year period is characterised primarily by a more pronounced social trend. Among other things, the fraternal countries are to cooperate more closely in producing items of the agroindustrial complex, improving the raw material supply of industries producing consumer goods and foodstuffs, and developing the light industry as well as the printing and timber industries. There will be more extensive cooperation in the retooling and reconstruction of factories producing consumer goods; the list of products exchanged through interstate and border trade and through consumers' cooperatives will increase. In various sectors of the agroindustrial complex there is to be multilateral cooperation in conformity with comprehensive cooperation measures intended to improve the food supply of the CMEA countries.

In coordinating plans for the 1986-1990 period, much attention was also given to the need to accelerate and raise the efficiency of the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia with due regard to the socialist industrialisation tasks facing them, and to steps to draw them into the international socialist division of labour on a larger scale. These countries are therefore to develop export industries geared to meeting the requirements of other members of the socialist community.

The Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress offers appreciable opportunities for the economic advancement of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. To encourage these countries' participation in fulfilling the Programme, they will be granted easy terms ensuring the early application of scientific and technological achievements in production.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA countries are constantly searching for new forms of promoting integrational cooperation leading to closer cooperation in science and production and hence to more rapid scientific and technological progress. They do much to extend direct ties between enterprises, combines and economic organisations of the member states. At present they are engaged in creating proper conditions in the sphere of planning, organisation, currency, finance and law, for cooperation in science and production on the basis of direct ties. The Soviet Union has adopted decisions "On Measures to Improve Management of Foreign Economic Ties" and "On Measures to Perfect Management of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation with Socialist Countries" which envisage some major moves in this area. They attach great importance to setting up joint combines, designers' offices and laboratories. Last year the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia established Robot, an international scientific and technological combine. Also, two Soviet-Bulgarian scientific-production combines were put into operation in the machine-tool industry. A multilateral agreement was signed on establishing Interrobot, an international scientific-production combine. Of course, these are only offshoots of new forms of integration but the future belongs to them, as the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out.

What is particularly urgent in this context is the need to evolve appropriate forms of guaranteeing on a planned basis the implementation of

the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress and to make plan coordination an effective instrument of agreeing on economic, scientific and technological policies. This task should be accomplished by combining macroeconomic methods of cooperation with methods of planned cooperation between direct participants in the production process, that is, combines, enterprises and other entities. Involvement of the main economic echelons in the coordination and adoption of decisions on the organisation of integrational cooperation offers tremendous opportunity for substantially improving cooperation.

To promote cooperation at medium level and microlevel, it is essential to specify the areas of plan coordination and focus the attention of central planning bodies on solving strategic problems of cooperation, agreeing on common economic development concepts and specifying ways and means of implementing the economic, scientific and technological policy. The next stage of coordination, a more concrete one, should cover problems of agreeing on a planned basis on the development of individual industries and subindustries with due regard for the results of macroeconomic coordination. These problems include primarily specialisation and cooperation in science and production and the drawing up of cooperation programmes aimed at advancing production by modernising and reconstructing it, as well as the procedure and terms of delivering output. It is on this level that direct ties between the CMEA countries' economic organisations have been developing.

A practice that has gained ground within the CMEA is the drafting of long-term agreements on cooperation in developing various industries and production sectors in which the latest scientific and technological achievements are used most effectively. Such agreements could be the basis for planned cooperation between the national and international combines, complexes, enterprises, research centres and other entities concerned. Thereby they could operate as subjects of coordination of national economic plans at microlevel. Such coordination would form the pivot of ensuring direct links between the main economic echelons of CMEA countries according to plan. For the time being, the processes of coordinating plans and developing direct links still take place largely in isolation from one another. The difference in their levels is one of the reasons for this state of affairs.

At present CMEA agencies are working to improve the cooperation mechanism at microlevel and to form elements of cooperation conducive to further scientific and technological integration. The CMEA Committee on Cooperation in Planning is working at comprehensive proposals of a practical nature to create plan, organisational, monetary, financial and legal incentives for the expansion of cooperation in production, science and technology and for direct links within the CMEA. The proposals include the assignment of one of the partner organisations to work on preparing variants of cooperation and drafting appropriate agreements, contracts and treaties. This idea was carried forward in the jointly advanced concept of a head entity functioning as the central organising and coordinating link of the system of managing the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme. The 119th Meeting of the CMEA Executive Council approved proposals regarding the tasks, powers and duties of the head organisation coordinating work on the problems set by the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000.

The head organisation is responsible for the implementation of the Programme provisions within the time limits set, for the achievement of the scientific and technological results needed and for their application in production. It is also empowered to establish direct relations with the executors of specific work according to this or that theme or assignment

and also has a right to sign treaties or contracts. Dynamically developing integrational processes at microlevel require prompt decisions on the location, role and functions of head organisations and cooperating coexecutors in the course of coordinating plans, on relations between them and CMEA agencies and the national planning bodies of individual countries in the course of drafting international treaties to implement the Comprehensive Programme and reflect in protocols of the results of plan coordination and in foreign trade agreements the accords that have been reached.

To further the integrational cooperation of scientific-production combines, enterprises and other economic entities, it is necessary that the mechanism of planned organisation of cooperation and of its long-term strategic orientation be reinforced. This is an objective need also because the solution of problems of coordinated restructuring and technological reconstruction of the CMEA countries' economies with a view to intensifying them goes beyond the five-year period. The corresponding components have developed to a degree in practice, which has found expression in, among other things, the prolongation of the time limits of some integrational measures included in the plan coordination programme for the current five-year period.

However, long-term coordination of plans and programmes is still limited in scale. A pressing problem today is to work out methodological principles and methodics for the solution of problems of planned organisation of long-term integrational cooperation, in particular, with due regard to the circumstance that there are considerable distinctions between coordination for a five-year period and coordination for the longer term. Besides, account must be taken of the distinction in the various countries' approaches to long-term management and planning.

Attention in studying the problems of long-term planned coordination should be given above all to coordinating the long-term development of economic sectors which determine scientific and technological progress. The experience gained by several countries suggests that long-term coordination should consist chiefly in agreeing on long-range national programmes for cooperation and in drawing up relevant international programmes on their basis. A detailed elaboration of long-term accords with due regard to intersectoral, intrasectoral and other aspects would be the object of national economic plan coordination for a five-year period. Long-term coordination makes it possible to shape and implement a coordinated structural policy. Emphasis on the long-term approach creates the prerequisites for ending the existing differentiation of cooperation in science, technology, investment and production. A problem closely connected with this is that of extending the temporal framework of agreements on international specialisation and cooperation in production, the drafting of relevant treaties covering a period of 10 to 15 years, which would help make cooperation more lasting and reliable. This approach is particularly relevant in light of the targets set by the Comprehensive Programme, which has long-term, strategic significance.


Carrying collective prognostication and analysis deeper is an important requisite for putting cooperation between the CMEA countries in planning on a conceptual basis. In coordinating national economic plans, about 40 joint forecasts were compiled on the development prospects of diverse spheres of the economy of the socialist community. Altogether the past 10 to 15 years have seen CMEA agencies prepare several hundred long-range estimates of this kind containing varied information on economic, scientific and technological trends in fraternal countries. Analytical research into the long-range character of the trends and patterns of important general economic indicators of development of the CMEA countries is going on continuously; a good deal of forecasting has been done at the sectoral level. Work on substantiating collective prognostica-

tion and analysis theoretically and methodically has made some headway.

To strengthen the strategic trend of integrational cooperation, it is essential to impart an appropriate orientation to collective long-range analyses, primarily of the problems of accelerating socio-economic development in step with scientific and technological progress, intensifying production and fostering cooperation between fraternal countries. Macroeconomic projects are particularly important in this respect. Their results could serve as initial guidelines for determining the extent of development of various economic fields and areas of cooperation. However, these projects are far from being used to the full as yet, with the result that sectoral forecasts fail to take in adequate measure a general economic approach to estimating development prospects.

As far as collective prognostication and analysis are concerned, there is a dividing line between projects relating to science and technology and prospects involving production and the economy at large. The former are geared chiefly to the technological aspects of the matter and give little attention to economic problems of scientific and technological progress. The latter are more comprehensive as we see it; they combine analysis of economic, scientific and technological trends in production with analysis of cooperation. At the same time, these forecasts take a very narrow approach to the problems of the technical reequipment of the economy on the basis of scientific and technological progress. They do not spell out in sufficient measure the problem of the quantities of resources needed for the realisation of the development variants under examination or of ways of using them judiciously, in particular on collective lines. In recent years greater attention has been devoted to these aspects of collective long-range projects. The search for ways of conserving important raw material, fuel and power resources now holds an important place in a number of sectoral forecasts. It is essential to finalise and carry forward this positive trend in collective prognostication and analysis.

In the course of coordinating plans, a change for the better took place in the content of collective projects of this kind. These came to be geared to analysing priority lines of cooperation. Their quality improved as a result of studying the problem of making economic, scientific and technological development more effective, primarily in the sense of rational and thrifty utilisation of diverse resources. The practice of drawing up lists of important forecasts to be discussed at the level of the Bureau of the CMEA Committee on Cooperation in Planning—a practice evolved in recent years—has produced some positive results. To promote this approach to making of forecasts, it is necessary to work out a definite set of forecasts and analyses closely interconnected both in content and in methods and time limits. The chief task, however, is to gear these collective projects to the priority directions of integrational cooperation and to the problem of ensuring their realisation according to plan.



The experience gained in coordinating five-year economic plans has confirmed the enormous advantages of planned organisation of the economy and cooperation between fraternal socialist countries. In this way "socialism has demonstrated its ability to resolve social problems on a fundamentally different basis than previously, namely a collectivist one," to quote the 27th CPSU Congress.

Implementation of the integrational measures planned by the fraternal countries will enable them to use their scientific and production potential more judiciously and effectively as a means of accelerating the pace of socio-economic development and raising the people's living standards.

GROWING TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Victor AZOV,
Grigori RUBINSTEIN

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and developing countries has become an important international factor. It covers politics, economic activities, culture and sports. Trade with new Asian, African and Latin American nation states plays an appreciable part in this cooperation and so does Soviet economic and technological assistance to them.

Trade and economic links between the Soviet Union and some of these countries began to develop in the 1920s and the 1930s but there were few opportunities for their growth at the time. By far most of the economically underdeveloped countries of the three regions were in a state of colonial and semi-colonial dependence on imperialist powers, which did not allow them to maintain contacts with the Soviet Union. Besides, Soviet export resources, especially of the heavy industry, were modest.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the Soviet Union did much from the early days of its existence to establish friendly relations with the countries, wherever and whenever possible, primarily its neighbours in the East. Acting on Lenin's initiative, the USSR abrogated the shackling treaties imposed on these countries by the tsarist government, and signed with them trade agreements based, for the first time ever, on complete equality of the partners, non-interference in their internal affairs and mutual benefit. In the 1920s, the Soviet Union began to help them in developing their national industries and other economic sectors. This policy ushered in a new type of international economic relations that made significant progress in the 1950s and 1960s, following the breakdown of imperialism's colonial system and the attainment of political independence by most countries of Asia and Africa.

The number of trading partners of the Soviet Union and the volume of trade with them have increased over recent decades. From the mid-1950s to 1986, the number of developing Asian, African and Latin American countries with which the Soviet Union established trade relations on a treaty basis rose from 13 to 86. Soviet trade turnover with this group of countries rose from 800 mln rubles in 1960 to 3,000 million in 1970 and 17,200 million in 1985 (in current prices). * These indices were influenced to a degree by world price fluctuations (the prices of most commodities went up in the 1970s). Even so, the physical volume of trade between the Soviet Union and the developing countries between 1970 and 1984 increased by 150 per cent. The share of developing countries in the Soviet Union's trade with the non-socialist part of the world now exceeds 30 per cent.

Bilateral intergovernmental commissions for economic, scientific and technological cooperation and trade play an important role in trade re-

* All figures relating to trade between the Soviet Union and developing countries are borrowed from statistical surveys of *Vneshnyaya Torgovlya SSSR*. Exports include complete plant and materials for projects built abroad with Soviet assistance.

Soviet Trade with Some Developing Countries
(mln rubles)

	1970	1980	1985
Asia			
Afghanistan	66.9	504.7	873.2
India	364.9	1,739.8	3,072.2
Iraq	63.5	731.7	824.2
Iran	231.2	334.6	347.9
Syria	59.1	321.0	508.3
Turkey	83.3	443.2	315.6
Africa			
Algeria	118.3	155.1	405.2
Angola	—	84.9	96.5
Egypt	606.4	383.7	585.1
Ethiopia	2.1	146.5	314.7
Guinea	14.2	64.0	98.5
Morocco	50.1	198.0	178.5
Libya	12.9	450.9	961.2
Mozambique	—	19.6	85.4
Nigeria	31.2	99.6	190.1
Tunisia	5.7	25.0	23.0
Latin America			
Argentina	29.9	1,192.6	1,292.3
Brazil	23.2	275.0	450.3
Colombia	10.9	21.1	26.4
Mexico	1.0	13.8	20.3
Nicaragua	—	5.6	212.9

lations between the Soviet Union and developing countries. Meeting at regular intervals, the commissions analyse the results achieved in commercial and economic links between the partner countries over the past period and make proposals aimed at expanding and improving them.

The majority of the trade agreements between the Soviet Union and developing countries provide for most-favoured-nation treatment. Furthermore, the Soviet Union neither imposes any duties on imports from the developing countries nor limits in any way purchases of products of these countries. (By contrast, developed capitalist states impose more and more new restrictions of every sort on many imports from developing countries).

These trade agreements stipulate that the prices of the goods sold or purchased by either side shall be fixed according to current world prices. The procedure of settling accounts and making payments on foreign trade operations is established by agreement. Most of the agreements signed in the 1980s provide for reciprocal payments in freely convertible currency. This form of settlement suits both sides, for it enables them to use earnings according to their needs and helps lend trade a multilateral character. Along with this, the clearing form of settlement adopted in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s is also used in Soviet trade with certain major developing countries, such as Afghanistan, India or Egypt.

The Soviet Union grants many developing countries easy-term credit. In a number of cases the countries concerned repay the credits by delivering traditional export items or products of enterprises built with Soviet assistance. Also, Soviet foreign trade agencies often grant their partners who purchase machinery and equipment commercial credits or accept payment in installments.

Soviet trade with many developing countries has assumed a long-term

and stable character; with some of them the Soviet Union has signed agreements for terms ranging between three and five years. Besides, the partners generally sign protocols on reciprocal deliveries specifying the lists (and in some cases the quantities) of the commodities to be exported or imported. All this helps developing countries introduce plan principles into their economies, and carry out plans for the promotion and reorganisation of their economic activities.

The implementation of the measures of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted last September will further facilitate trade and economic relations of the USSR with other countries.

In furthering trade and economic cooperation with newly free countries, the Soviet Union never imposes its political or social views upon them. In recent decades, the growth of cooperation in various fields has been particularly dynamic with countries which have chosen a socialist orientation. Moreover, experience has shown that there are tangible opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation with other new states as well. Most of them aspire to become less dependent on Western powers and transnationals, to develop on their own, without foreign interference, and have become convinced that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries help consolidate their independence.

Recent decades have seen the greatest progress in *Soviet trade with newly free Asian states*, a development to which a long-standing tradition of friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern countries has contributed its share. Asian countries account for more than half of the USSR's trade with the developing countries. India is the largest trading partner of the Soviet Union, which, in turn, holds first place in the foreign trade of that country.

The bulk of Soviet exports to India is made up of machinery, equipment and means of transport. The Soviet Union has long aided India in industrialisation. Soviet-made equipment has been used for building upwards of 70 plants in India. They include the Bhilai and Bokaro metallurgical complexes, which now produce about 40 per cent of India's steel and rolled stock. By 1990 their expansion, now under way, is to be completed, and in addition, a new metallurgical complex will go into operation at Visakhapatnam.

The Ranchi, Hardwar, Bangalore and Durgapur machine-building plants erected with Soviet assistance are pioneer units of the heavy engineering industry in India and throughout South and Southeast Asia.

Besides complete plant, the Soviet Union supplies India with means of air transport, oil and derivatives, nitrogenous fertilizers and other items and helps it expand coal and oil production and build large power stations.

Farm produce holds an important place in Soviet imports from India. For instance, in recent years, the Soviet Union has been on the receiving side of nearly one-fourth of the tea and tobacco, over half of the cashew nuts, 40 per cent of the black pepper and a substantial proportion of the coffee and spices exported by India.

What the Soviet Union imports from India in increasing quantities is not only "traditional" raw materials but products of that country's national industries and domestic crafts. Finished articles and semifinished items add up to some 60 per cent in USSR imports from India. They include cotton fabrics, clothing, medicines and hand-made goods plus in recent years certain types of machinery and equipment.

The Soviet Union and India are steadily improving the forms and

methods of their trade and economic relations, in particular by cooperating in the machine-building and other industries of both countries. They explore the possibilities of coproduction and the joint construction of industrial and civilian projects in third countries.

During the visit which Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India paid to the Soviet Union in May 1985, the two countries signed an agreement on the main lines of economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation through the year 2000 and an agreement on economic and technological cooperation in the construction of a number of new major projects in India. A new Soviet-Indian trade agreement signed late in 1985 provided the basis for expanding trade.

Afghanistan is one of the Soviet Union's major trading partners. Over half of Soviet exports to that country is now made up of machinery, equipment and means of transport. Economic and technological cooperation with the USSR's southern neighbour covers industry, including the power industry, transport and communications, agriculture, the health services and the training of national personnel.

The Soviet Union exports to Afghanistan large shipments of trucks as well as means of air transport, sugar, articles for cultural needs and household goods.

A key item imported from Afghanistan is natural gas, which is piped in to the Soviet Central Asian republics. We also purchase from Afghanistan raisins, fresh and dried fruits, wool, cotton fibre and other agricultural products. Soviet purchases include urea, a product derived from natural gas.

Trade with Syria has grown noticeably in recent years. Machines, equipment and means of transport make up about 60 per cent of Soviet exports to that country. The USSR has assisted Syria in building railways and a sleeper plant and supplied it with trunkline diesel locomotives. The USSR exports motor vehicles and air transport facilities to Syria.

In turn, Syria supplies the Soviet Union with cotton and products of its light industry. A new Soviet-Syrian trade agreement that will be in force till 1990 provides for a larger volume of trade covering a wider range of items.

Africa accounts for about one-fourth of the Soviet trade with developing states although trade and economic relations with the majority of African countries were only recently established, since many of them did not gain political independence until the 1960s while some of them, such as Angola, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau, won it only in the 1970s and Zimbabwe in 1980.

Soviet trade with North African countries has registered the greatest expansion because these countries are geographically closer and more developed than those to the south of the Sahara.

Libya has lately moved into the lead in trade with the Soviet Union. What is particularly important to that country with its small population is the trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union that have existed in recent years, a period marked by boycotts and acts of aggression against Libya on the part of the United States.

The main items of Soviet exports to Libya are means of air transport and complete plant for enterprises built with Soviet assistance. In Soviet imports from Libya mineral fuels and raw materials top the list. In October 1985, agreement was signed on a long-term programme for Soviet-Libyan economic, scientific and technological cooperation and trade under which bilateral relations are to be extended.

Egypt is second in trade between the Soviet Union and African coun-

tries. Trade and economic relations established between the two countries in the 1960s enabled Egypt to set up a heavy industry of its own. The Soviet Union helped that country build the Aswan High Dam, the Helwan metallurgical complex, an aluminum plant and a number of other important economic facilities. Soviet-Egyptian trade has made great progress.

In the second half of the 1970s, the policy adopted by the government under Anwar Sadat led to reducing trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt. In the first half of the 1980s, however, relations gradually returned back to normal, with the overall volume of trade coming close to that of the early 1970s.

Machinery, equipment and means of transport are the main items of Soviet exports to Egypt. In recent years the Soviet Union supplied Egypt with appreciable quantities of trucks, cars, tractors and road-building machinery as well as spare parts and other items for machines and equipment sold earlier. The USSR holds a key place in Egypt's imports of solid fuels and softwood and supplies that country with mineral fertilizers, cement and frozen fish.

Cotton yarn, textiles, clothing, essential oils, perfumes and other articles and semifinished products predominate in Soviet imports from Egypt. The Soviet Union also purchases certain food products, primarily oranges and fresh vegetables. Recent years have seen a resumption of cotton imports from Egypt.

Soviet-Algerian trade and economic relations have been stable and mutually beneficial in the 1980s. The Soviet Union supplies Algeria with machines and equipment, in particular for that country's metallurgical industry and gas pipe lines, as well as means of air transport. Softwood is a further important item of Soviet export to that country. Fuels, minerals and agricultural products are the main commodities imported from Algeria.

Trade and economic cooperation with Algeria through 1990 is to grow under long-term agreements. A credit agreement signed in 1986 between the Soviet Union's Bank for Foreign Trade and the National Bank of Algeria will be instrumental in the implementation of bilateral contracts.

We also have stable trade and economic relations with Morocco based on long-term agreements. The main item of Soviet export to that country is liquid fuel; the USSR also exports power equipment, tractors, nitrogenous fertilizers and softwood. Morocco supplies the USSR chiefly with oranges, phosphate fertilizers, cork and sardines.

In recent years, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Ghana have been the most important trading partners of the Soviet Union in Africa south of the Sahara. There are objective opportunities to increase trade with these and other African countries by a substantial margin.

The Soviet Union established trading and economic relations with *Latin American countries* as far back as the period between the two world wars. However, pressure from US monopolies and West European countries prevented these relations from developing. In recent decades, the progress made by some Latin American countries in building their independent national economies has created greater opportunities for increased trade with them.

Argentina is the USSR's largest Latin American partner. It refused to give in to the United States, which demanded a boycott against the Soviet Union, and has shown deep interest in mutually beneficial trade with it. Argentina plays a prominent role in Soviet imports of fodder grain and meat. We also purchase wool and hides there.

Soviet exports to Argentina are growing even though the growth rate is still inadequate. Major contracts have been signed for deliveries of ~~oil~~ ^{equipment} for the power, metallurgical, coal and oil industries of Argentina. The chief prerequisite for a further expansion and consolidation of Soviet-Argentine trade links is to create favourable conditions for increased Soviet exports to Argentina.

The main item of Soviet export to Brazil, our second biggest trading partner in Latin America, is oil and derivatives, which that country needs badly even though it has an oil industry of its own. The Soviet Union also exports considerable quantities of potash fertilizers. Soviet sales of machinery and equipment to Brazil are steadily increasing. In earlier years we delivered, among other things, units for large hydroelectric power stations under construction there.

Brazil exports to the Soviet Union mainly soybean oil and soybean oil cakes, raw sugar, cocoa beans and coffee. We have also purchased rolled ferrous metals in Brazil.

Trade and economic relations with Nicaragua were not made possible until 1980. That country, which has set out to effect progressive changes, is wrestling with great economic difficulties due to sustained subversion by imperialist forces, with the United States in the lead. The Soviet Union renders Nicaragua assistance in various fields and supplies it with machinery, equipment, means of transport, liquid fuels and mineral fertilizers. Aided by Soviet organisations, Nicaragua is bringing more land under cultivation, organising farm machine and motor vehicle repairs and expanding its textile industry. In 1985, the two countries set up an inter-governmental commission for trade and cooperation in the economic sphere, science and technology.

Trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and developing countries is, now as in the past, of considerable benefit to both sides. It helps many developing countries build their independent national economies and strengthen their international positions. At the same time, Soviet imports from developing countries are used for raising Soviet people's standard of living. In this way a new, equitable international division of labour is forming between the Soviet Union and these countries.

Recent decades have witnessed the emergence of yet another important area of cooperation between the Soviet Union and developing countries. It is joint struggle to eliminate vestiges of colonial rule from international economic relations and to restructure them on a just, democratic basis. In the 1970s, developing countries prepared a detailed programme for the solution of these problems and adopted common tactics within the framework of the non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 (which now comprises over 120 countries). The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which participate in the activities of the UN and its specialised agencies, have from the outset given active support to these well-founded demands on industrial capitalist states from developing countries. Their support made it possible to approve at representative international forums the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, an integrated raw materials programme and some other important documents intended to put international economic relations on a sound basis.

In the first half of the 1980s, however, the international situation deteriorated. The United States and its NATO allies set about escalating confrontation with the socialist countries and the arms race. Also, the economic situation of developing countries took a sharp turn for the

worse. This was due both to the crisis that hit the world capitalist system between 1980 and 1982 and to imperialism's neocolonialist foreign economic policy. Today the US ruling circles are seeking a "social revenge" with regard to newly free countries, whose economy they would like to bring under the undivided control of transnationals and international financial organisations. Washington and its NATO allies have tightened protectionist curbs on imports and proceeded to discriminate and apply sanctions and boycotts against Asian, African and Latin American countries committed to a progressive domestic and foreign policy. All this has disorganised international economic relations, affecting above all the developing countries. Most of these have had to put off the execution of large-scale projects already started and to cut back imports of vitally necessary machinery, equipment and industrial products.

The economic upturn in developed capitalist countries in 1983 brought no tangible relief to developing countries. The prices of raw materials exported by these countries went on falling. Data released by GATT indicate that in 1985 the developing countries' imports and exports showed an absolute decline. In 1985 and 1986, many of these countries had to spend from 30 to 40 per cent of their export earnings on paying off their increased debt to developed capitalist countries and their financial institutions.

Developing countries have learnt by experience that the only way to end their economic lag is to abolish unequal international economic relations, and that the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries are, as they always have been, their natural and reliable allies in the struggle for a new international economic order.

Asian, African and Latin American countries realise more and more that the concept of guaranteeing the economic security of states advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress is entirely in keeping with the principles of a new international economic order. It calls for the exclusion of all discrimination from international practice, a fair settlement of the debt problem and joint efforts by all countries to solve global problems, including that of development. The Soviet proposal to convene a world congress on economic security in order to discuss all that hampers world economic links is winning increasing support in developing countries. The world hailed the new important initiative which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries took at the 13th Special Session of the UN General Assembly called to discuss the critical economic situation in Africa. They proposed that the UN draw up a comprehensive programme for the solution of the economic problems of African countries and for the elimination from relations between states of arbitrary practices, illegitimate embargoes, boycotts, blockades in the spheres of trade, credit and technology, and the use of economic relations as an instrument of political pressure.

The Soviet stand vis-à-vis young nation states is clear and disinterested. The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says: "The Party is consistently pursuing a policy of expanding contacts between the Soviet Union and the newly free countries, and regards with profound sympathy the aspirations of the peoples who had experienced the heavy and humiliating yoke of colonial slavery. The Soviet Union is building its relations with those countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equality, and supports the struggle of those countries against the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, against the survivals of colonialism, and for peace and universal security". The Soviet Union is persistently carrying this general line into practice. Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said in June 1986 at the Supreme Soviet session as he submitted a draft plan for

SOVIET-TURKISH COOPERATION

Vitali ALEXANDROV

It was no easy task to bring about an atmosphere of friendship and good-neighbour relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey, especially in view of the centuries-long legacy of the Russian and Ottoman empires. The problem was also compounded by the fact that the imperialist powers of the West, being committed to their traditional "divide and rule" policy, provoked discord between the two neighbours in an effort to weaken them and thus to derive notable advantages for themselves. However, the founders of Soviet Russia and new Turkey, V. I. Lenin and Kemal Atatürk, showed the greatest statesmanship by effecting a fundamental change in Soviet-Turkish relations at a crucial stage in the history of the two countries and by placing these relations on the solid basis of peace, good-neighbourliness, mutual confidence and cooperation.

Soviet Russia was the first state to formally recognise the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey headed by Atatürk and to establish diplomatic relations with new Turkey at embassy level on June 2, 1920. "The Soviet government", said a letter to Atatürk from the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Georgi Chicherin, "is following with the keenest interest the heroic struggle which the Turkish people are carrying on for their independence and sovereignty, and is happy in these days so hard for Turkey to lay a solid groundwork for friendship, such as should unite the Turkish and Russian peoples".¹ On March 16, 1921, the two countries signed in Moscow a Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood that is still in force. This international treaty, virtually the first equal treaty in Turkish history, proclaimed "inseparable sincere friendship between the Soviet and Turkish peoples... based on the reciprocal interests of the two sides".² The treaty was of particular importance to the Turkish people, who were continuing their hard struggle for independence. It explicitly confirmed the complete and unqualified independence and sovereignty of the new Turkish state founded on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire.

Lenin spoke highly of the Soviet-Turkish treaty. Even while the delegations of the two countries were engaged in negotiations which resulted in drafting the final text of the treaty, he expressed confidence that "now that there is an opportunity of reaching an understanding... we feel sure that a firm foundation will be laid for closer relations and friendship".³

The Moscow treaty, which provided a dependable legal basis for friendly and good-neighbour Soviet-Turkish relations, played a big role in promoting and consolidating relations between the two countries in various spheres. By its terms Soviet Russia, though experiencing serious economic difficulties, rendered Turkey considerable military and financial

¹ *Foreign Policy Documents of the USSR*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1958, p. 555 (in Russian).

² *A Collection of Treaties, Agreements and Conventions Concluded with Foreign States*, I-II Printing, Moscow, 1945, p. 157 (in Russian).

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 147.

aid which enabled the Turkish people to defeat the foreign imperialist invaders and clear their territory of the enemy in a shorter time and with much fewer casualties, than would otherwise have been possible. The policy of developing good-neighbour cooperation with Soviet Russia became a priority line of Kemalist Turkey's foreign policy. "Our foreign policy", Atatürk stressed, "is to strengthen fraternal links with the Russian Soviet Republic, which was the first to sincerely and openly recognise our complete and genuine independence and to hold out a helping hand to us".⁴

The Soviet-Turkish rapprochement and the development of mutually beneficial relations and cooperation between the two neighbours resulted to a considerable extent from the operation of objective and lasting factors, such as a common stake in peace and security in their regions and adjacent ones, the pressing need for rapid economic, scientific and technological progress as a means of solving urgent economic problems, geographical proximity and the existence of a long land and sea frontier, and hence favourable conditions for the development of mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation.

The peace established on the Soviet-Turkish border and the invaluable experience of cooperation in various fields on the principles of equality and mutual benefit became lasting determinants of the main lines of relations between the two countries for many decades. In spite of a certain cooling in the past, the treaty and legal basis of Soviet-Turkish relations has been strengthening, virtually without a break, ever since the late 1950s and the early 1960s, with cooperation taking more suitable forms, growing in scale and spreading to new spheres. The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence has become established even more firmly in these relations as a result of the resumption of political contacts, reciprocal visits and negotiations at top state level. It found due reflection in the 1972 Soviet-Turkish Declaration⁵ and the Political Document signed by the heads of government of the two countries in 1978.

The signing of the Political Document regarding the principles of good-neighbour and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey marked, in effect, the beginning of a new period in the development of the vastly varied relations between the two countries. The document laid special emphasis on the political aspects of these relations. Specifically, it stressed the commitment of the two sides to promote relations and cooperation between themselves on the principle of respect for sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs, to preserve the borders between the two countries as frontiers of good-neighbourliness and friendly cooperation, to respect in their mutual relations the principles of non-use of force or the threat of force, and to refrain from allowing their territory to be used for aggression or subversion against other states. The document also defined the main lines of further intensification and extension of trading, economic, scientific and technological relations and cultural and sporting contacts.⁶

Trade and economic cooperation, whose extension was necessitated by the growing economic requirements of both countries, have been gaining in importance in Soviet-Turkish relations over the past two decades. Under an agreement signed in 1967, several major industrial enterprises were built in Turkey with Soviet technological and economic assistance.

⁴ K. Atatürk, *Selected Speeches*, Moscow, 1966, p. 228 (in Russian).

⁵ See *Pravda*, Apr. 18, 1972.

⁶ See *Pravda*, June 24, 1978.

They include a metallurgical complex, an aluminium plant, an oil refinery, a sulphuric acid plant and some other facilities. They are all operating successfully, contributing their share to the national economy and enabling the Turkish Republic to save a considerable amount of foreign exchange and to export part of the output.

Soviet-Turkish economic cooperation includes the construction of industrial plants with Soviet aid as well as projects intended for joint use. Among these are a dam and a reservoir being built on the Akhuryan, a border river, on a parity basis. Joint exploitation of the reservoir will make it possible to irrigate sizable land areas and develop intensive farming on either side.

Trading relations have been developing along with economic cooperation. Both sides have been making proper efforts to place reciprocal goods deliveries on a lasting basis. This was the purpose of the three-year agreement signed in early 1983 to extend the range of products involved in trade turnover.

An invariable effort on both sides to improve mutually beneficial cooperation and make it more effective has been a salient feature of Soviet-Turkish trade and economic cooperation in late years. This yields positive results. Worthy of special note is the intergovernmental agreement, signed in September 1984, on Soviet deliveries of natural gas for a period of 25 years beginning with 1987. Whereas gas deliveries in the first year are to amount to 1,500 million cubic metres, by 1993 they will have increased to 5,000 or 6,000 million cubic metres per year. These deliveries will help Turkey solve its difficult fuel and energy problems, and will contribute to the growth of its chemical industry.

New major advances towards closer good-neighbour cooperation were made during an official visit to Turkey by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers late in 1984. The two sides signed a long-term programme for economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation as well as a trade agreement for the 1986-1990 period. They are convinced that the long-term programme is an important contribution to good-neighbour relations and defines the principles and lines of Soviet-Turkish trading and economic links for the long term. It is fair to say, therefore, that the agreement on deliveries of Soviet gas, coupled with the long-term programme, offers both neighbouring countries new vast opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation on an equal footing that goes far beyond this century.

High-level Soviet-Turkish meetings and talks during which the participants define the main lines and ways of furthering cooperation between the two countries in various spheres, make fundamental decisions on the more important and pressing bilateral problems and discuss the world situation in broad and constructive terms contribute increasingly to the development of good-neighbour relations.

It is from the standpoint of this approach that the official visit to the Soviet Union paid by the Turkish Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, from July 28 to August 1, 1986, should be assessed for its part.

During the Soviet-Turkish talks and personal conversations between Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Prime Minister Turgut Özal there was an in-depth and detailed exchange of opinion on a wide range of current international problems. It took place in the atmosphere of frankness and goodwill proper to neighbours and in the constructive spirit of a reciprocal desire to understand each other better and draw their positions closer together where possible regardless of the fact that their countries belong to different socio-political systems.

The attention of the Turkish side was called to the large-scale programme for the prevention of nuclear war and the abolition of weapons of mass destruction advanced by the Soviet Union in the Statement of January 15, 1986. The Soviet side also spelled out other peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Soviet side devoted special attention at the talks to elucidating to the Turkish leadership the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech with a view to promoting international security and peaceful cooperation between states in the Asian-Pacific region. Inasmuch as Turkey, like the Soviet Union, is both a European and an Asian state, the proposals have a direct relation to it. In view of this, Prime Minister Özal stressed that Turkey is following the constructive initiatives of its Soviet neighbour attentively and with interest. He spoke of the stake which Turkey has as a developing country in the early achievement of mutually acceptable accords at the Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space armaments and at other forums on disarmament, peace and security.

During the talks, the Soviet side set out its fundamental assessment of the US administration policy of militarising space and turning it into an arena of armed struggle. It expressed the firm opinion that the Soviet Union can not but regard any support for the SDI programme, let alone any involvement in it, as outright aid in realising US plans which endanger international peace and security.

The two heads of government gave much attention to European problems. They declared for extending mutual understanding and spheres of action in favour of peace and cooperation in Europe, and stressed the importance of continuing the general European process of improving the situation on the continent.

Both sides showed understandable interest in an exchange of views on regional problems. They noted with satisfaction their close or coinciding positions on current problems, such as a Middle East settlement or the need for a speedy end to the Iran-Iraq war.

The Soviet side spelled out its new initiatives aimed at safeguarding peace and security in the Mediterranean. It emphasised the relevance of Soviet proposals for a comprehensive, just and durable solution of the Cyprus problem with due regard to the legitimate interests of all Cypriots—Turks and Greeks alike.

An examination of the whole range of Soviet-Turkish political, commercial, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other bilateral relations produced concrete results.

The head of the Soviet government stressed during the talks that a vital national interest of the Soviet state consists in having invariably good and peaceful relations with all neighbouring countries. This is an essential objective of Soviet foreign policy, and it is in this context that the Soviet Union sees its relations with Turkey.

In discussing bilateral relations, the two sides proceeded from the need for new approaches to both international problems and the task of achieving truly good-neighbourly cooperation.

Nikolai Ryzhkov and Turgut Özal devoted a great deal of attention to the perspectives of trading and economic relations, specifying their new spheres and forms, increasing the volume of trade and extending the range of commodities delivered on a reciprocal basis. They pointed out that in the first half of the next year the volume of trade between the two countries will begin to grow in step with gas deliveries. Under the accords reached, a substantial part of the gas is to be paid for by supplying the Soviet Union with Turkish commodities in which it is interested. However, both sides took account of the circumstance that after gas deliveries had reached the planned maximum, that is, 5,000 to 6,000 mil-

tion cubic metres a year, the limited export potentialities of Turkey might make it difficult for the Turkish side to pay for the Soviet gas. The constructive and responsive approach of the Soviet Union to the matter and its desire to foster good-neighbour relations helped find a way out. The Soviet side offered, among other things, assistance in building or expanding industrial enterprises in Turkey on a compensation basis for the manufacture of products in which the Soviet economy is interested. Subsequently some of these products will be delivered to the Soviet Union in payment for Soviet gas. To make it easier for Turkey to pay for the gas, the proposal was made to consider the possibility of Turkish firms building hotels, motels, campings and other facilities of a similar nature in the Soviet Union, chiefly on the Black Sea coast. The firms in question have the requisite personnel, machinery and equipment.

Thus the Soviet Union and Turkey will assist each other in the construction of projects which they can execute, having great experience and the necessary facilities.

The two sides also discussed many other problems of furthering their mutual trading and economic relations. As these relations are built on a durable, long-term basis, an agreement was signed during Turgut Özal's visit on cooperation between the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the State Planning Organisation of Turkey. The agreement will enable the planning agencies of both countries to take account of the development prospects of these relations more effectively and in great measure.

Proper attention was also devoted to steps needed to expand contacts and exchanges in the spheres of science, technology, culture, sports and tourism, which both sides are convinced make for greater mutual confidence and understanding between the peoples of the two countries and help them acquaint each other with their traditions and achievements in these spheres. The intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the sphere of tourism that was signed as a result will undoubtedly contribute to the achievement of the above goals.

Prime Minister Turgut Özal of Turkey was received by Andrei Gromyko, Political Bureau Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There was a frank and useful exchange of opinion on a wide spectrum of current international problems and questions concerning bilateral relations. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the state and development prospects of these relations and a desire to continue extending them on the solid basis of good-neighbourliness. The talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, Political Bureau member and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and Vahit Halefoglu, Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs, who accompanied Prime Minister Turgut Özal in his trip, took place in a business-like and constructive atmosphere.

The Moscow talks between the heads of government of the Soviet Union and Turkey gave a new spur to mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries in various spheres and widened its horizons.

Put on a lasting basis, Soviet-Turkish good-neighbour relations, which both sides are convinced should not be affected by any fluctuations, have entered a new and higher stage of development. The mixed intergovernmental Soviet-Turkish Commission for Economic Cooperation has stepped up its activity. Delegations of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the USSR Supreme Soviet have exchanged visits. Lately the Grand National Assembly has reconstituted the parliamentary group of friendship with the Soviet Union, and the USSR Supreme Soviet has recon-

stituted the Soviet-Turkish section of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR. Scientific, technological, cultural and sporting exchanges have attained a higher level in the recent period. More extensive contacts in the military sphere should be seen as a further sign of increased mutual confidence. In September 1986 Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR, paid a return visit to Turkey.

The dynamic development of Soviet-Turkish relations in recent decades is evidence of the creative power and significance of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence in present-day international affairs, of its beneficial impact on the relations linking the Soviet Union with the neighbouring and other countries. The aspiration of the Soviet Union and Turkey to continue promoting good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of the above principle is a factor for stability in the region contributing to the preservation of world peace.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

(Continued from page 11)

will be under sustained pressure from the bourgeois mass media; fourth, they are conducive to the emergence of new anti-war forces belonging to social democratic and bourgeois liberal movements as well as to government quarters in the capitalist world, and make for increasing differences between the militant imperialist reaction and the forces adhering to realistic positions; last but not least, in spite of stubborn resistance from the US and NATO ruling quarters, our initiatives are becoming a solid political basis for a remoulding of the thinking of statesmen and the triumph of a new thinking in harmony with this nuclear-missile age.

In short, the Soviet Union's initiatives and unilateral moves are operating effectively in the interest of preserving peace and strengthening the international positions of socialism.

GROWING TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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the economic and social development of the Soviet Union between 1986 and 1990 that "the plan provides for unfailing implementation of the CPSU policy of cooperating extensively with the developing countries and supporting their efforts for bringing about progressive economic and social changes. The principles in this respect are the same as ever: equality and effective assistance to the peoples aspiring to economic independence".

It is beyond question that, given an overall improvement in the international climate plus disarmament, both of which the Soviet Union is championing, the scope of mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation with developing countries can be notably extended.

WHO BENEFITS FROM THE MYTH OF THE SOVIET THREAT

Valeri T O L S T O V,
V y a c h e s l a v K A T A M I D Z E

In the last few decades, the world has time and again witnessed the American propaganda machine, spurred on by the reactionary and militarist elements of the United States, step up its anti-Soviet claptrap to beguile public opinion into overrating the military potential of the socialist countries, above all, their missile and nuclear arms holdings, and so create a propaganda smoke-screen behind which the West could altogether change the overall power balance to its own advantage.

There are many variations of the "Soviet threat" fraud which Washington can choose from to fuel fresh campaigns whenever they are needed about a "dangerous Soviet build-up" in a particular region or in a particular weapons system. The decision on which "Soviet threat" version to choose depends on where in the world the United States wants to strengthen its own positions and on what particular project it wants to launch to build up its own military potential. When such goals crystallise, the Soviet Union is accused of being their initiator and they are said to require a "response" from the USA.

For all the fuss kicked up over any particular "new" military doctrine or concept which each successive presidency brings with it, as a rule the goals of the US foreign policy strategy remain the same, even if the means for reaching them is new. Military-political thought in the United States has each time returned to the starting point—the guidelines for relations with the USSR that were laid down right after the Second World War. For example, the US National Security Council's Directive 20/1, issued in 1948, stipulated in the section dealing with the US objectives in respect of Russia that US goals were to make and keep the Soviet Union politically, militarily, and psychologically weak compared with the United States.

It is this triple objective that those in Washington are trying to achieve by trumping up claims of a "Soviet military threat", which West German researcher Gerhard Kade has called "the lie of the century".

This multi-faced and relentless lie is designed to justify and disguise imperialism's aggressive plans against the USSR which, unlike the alleged "Soviet threat", do exist and lie at the root of the long-term strategy of the NATO countries. "It is no secret," Mikhail Gorbachev underscored in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "that scenarios for a nuclear strike against us do exist." The present plans, which have come to replace the old "Charioter", "Cogwheel", "Fleetwood", "Dropshot", to mention just a few, are still camouflaged with noisy propaganda campaign about the notorious "threat". The White House has well learned John Foster Dulles' precept: to make a nation bear the burden of keeping a powerful armed force, you have to create an emotional atmosphere akin to the psychological situation of war time; you have to create the impression of a threat from

without.¹ That is the impression that the anti-Soviet myth-making machine is working non-stop to produce.

HOW THEY DO IT

Since 1977, yet another technique was put to use in the USA for fabricating anti-Soviet stories. The CIA began to produce reports for the Administration as guides and "support for US policy". In particular, such files were to play a special part in reinforcing the US positions in the Middle East and getting a fitting leverage to pressure the countries of that region. To this end it used the findings of a whole series of "papers" produced in the CIA and immediately made public through "leaks" that invariably followed. Each of those "studies", like those on petroleum production in the USSR or on the world energy situation, contained the same conclusion about a "threat" to the Persian Gulf oil fields from the Soviet Union. For instance, the paper on the international energy situation before 1985 predicted that starting from 1980, oil production in the Soviet Union, as it is expected, will be falling off, and by 1985 the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe will already be importing from 3.5 to 4.5 million barrels of oil a day. With this prediction as the starting point, Washington began to talk about "the bid of the USSR to break through to the warm seas", about its "attempts to strangle the West with an oil lasso" and about all kinds of other "cunning Soviet intentions" in the spirit of the notorious fake story about the will of Peter the Great. As part of that campaign, the Carter Administration attempted to resolve the Iranian problem at the expense of the Soviet Union: as the then Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown declared in the Council on Foreign Relations in New York in March 1980, the threat to Iran "comes from the Soviet Union, not from the United States".

Then, the abortive American venture to free the hostages laid bare undercover CIA operations just as it exposed its methods of manipulating public opinion. In preparing that act of aggression against Iran, the USA, as *The Washington Post* put it, carried out a thoroughly conceived campaign of deceiving not only of Iran but of the rest of the world as well.²

The immediate upshot of that campaign ought to satisfy its organisers: the United States "obtained the moral right" to declare the Persian Gulf a zone of its "vital interests", create a 100,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force, expand arms sales to certain countries of the region and deploy its naval forces off the shores of the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, the USA got some West Europeans to make their presence quite clear in the Gulf, so much so that West Germany, for example, sent its ships into that region. The enlargement of the area of NATO operations became feasible. It was at the same time, too, that its defence planning committee adopted a communique that referred already to the "right" of that bloc to intervene in whatever events might be undesirable for the West, wherever they might take place. The then Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, referring to NATO in an interview for the French *L'Express* weekly, declared: "Yes, the whole world is its business."

Now, in their reasoning to justify those military preparations, neither the US Administration, nor the CIA, nor Western political observers any longer mentioned the notorious plans of "oil expansionism" by the Soviet Union which, to judge by all estimates, ought to have long since "depleted" its oil resources. Yet the actual fact, as one can easily find from the

¹ Cited from *Militarism. Facts and Figures*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1985, p. 177.

² See *The Washington Post*, Apr. 20, 1980.

statistical year-book *Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR*, (USSR National Economy), was that the production of oil and gas condensate in the Soviet Union in 1980 was 603.2 million tons, in 1981—608.8 million tons, in 1982—612.6 million tons, and in 1983—616.3 million tons. According to the same statistics, the USSR was a major oil producer and exporter in 1985, and still is.³

Still before Jimmy Carter's inauguration, but, nevertheless, already on orders from the new Administration, the CIA prepared a report with an evaluation of the "long-term military intentions of the Soviet Union". The conclusion of that document was that in the coming 10 years, the Soviet Union will, as never before, be seeking military superiority which would go beyond equality or parity with the USA. The report was followed up by a series of "studies" of this kind. For example, in 1978, the CIA prepared a report on SALT-2 which claimed that in spite of the Treaty, Soviet defence spending would grow, principally through increased appropriations for conventional arms. The content of the document found its way into the press straight away due to yet another "leak", which happens at such opportune moments that even Western journalists have come to qualify these "leaks" as nothing short of well-staged news conferences.

These CIA reports, just as the accompanying "leaks", pursued several objectives: first, to prepare the public for accepting the refusal to ratify SALT-2, by rendering it worthless by alleging that the USSR was more than offsetting the limitations it imposed by building up conventional weapons; second, to persuade the US Western allies to allow more medium-range missiles to be sited on their territory; third, while talking of a "Soviet tank threat", to reinforce the NATO countries' armour and, along with that, to settle the question of equipping the armies of that bloc with neutron weapons as a "means to fight Soviet tanks".

The "leak" campaign has born fruit: at the NATO session held in May 1978, the then President Jimmy Carter spoke about an alleged "Soviet threat" for NATO. The upshot was a decision to launch an arms programme costing \$80,000 million over a period of 10 to 15 years. *Stern* magazine noted: "To ascribe to the Warsaw bloc states a triple superiority in armour, they counted all tanks without exception. Those statistics included machines that have been in service since World War II and even the antediluvian T-34s. At the same time, they counted what they claimed to be modern supertanks which soon turned out to be of 1960 vintage. But when it came to counting the Western defence weapons systems, a thousand reserve armoured vehicles turned out to have been 'forgotten'."⁴

The fear of a "tank threat" from the East proved to be persistent: in December 1981, the NATO Council decided that the countries of that bloc would phase in 400 basic combat tanks and 850 other armoured vehicles, as well as 1,400 anti-tank missile systems, in addition to the 16,000 tanks they already had. The measures taken to reinforce the North Atlantic "armoured shield" were presented as a response to the "Soviet tank threat" to Western Europe. To "reassure" the public, the US Administration and the American media launched an all-out anti-Soviet campaign with a view to discrediting the idea of detente and subverting the Helsinki accords. The argument about the "militarisation" of the USSR struck root, solid and deep, in Western propaganda. Noteworthy in this context is the comment by the former Under Secretary of Defense of the United States, Charles Duncan who said in March 1979 that one may ask why many hold the Soviet Union has become the Number

³ See *Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR*, 1984. Moscow, 1985, p. 166.

⁴ *Stern*, Nov. 2, 1978.

One Great Power; the answer boils down to this: the USA had itself largely created this impression in an understandable attempt to overcome the anti-war feeling and a temptation to cut the military budget which became evident in the early 1970s.

The US military-industrial complex, invariably on guard for the interests of arms manufacturers, has been quite instrumental in playing up the "tank threat". In the late 1970s and in the early 1980s, the American press carried reports to the effect that the exercises conducted by the Pentagon had shown the US ground forces to be incapable of effectively accomplishing their tasks in the context of modern highly mobile warfare. That was attributed to the low technological quality and battle-field performance of American tanks and, in general, to the "deplorable condition" of all US tank production which was alleged to be hopelessly behind that of the Soviet Union for lack of adequate budget outlays. Taking advantage of that press campaign, the Pentagon brought pressure to bear on Congress to get close to \$20,000 million to make a new combat tank, M-1. The money settled in the coffers of Chrysler, the Pentagon's standing arms supplier, which at once launched the volume production of that new model. That seemed to be a routine transaction between the Defense Department and industrialists. However, the fact is that just at that time Chrysler was on the point of bankruptcy, which the Pentagon knew only too well, and the only thing that could save it was a munitions order worth billions.

Rockwell International was in a similar state of affairs. It was the Pentagon again that helped it avoid a financial collapse, by letting it build the strategic B-1 bomber, once again alluding to an imbalance in respect to the USSR in this field. It is noteworthy that the blueprints for the tank and for the bomber had been prepared by those companies long before the congressional go-ahead for the respective military programmes. The French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* noted in this connection that "speculation about a threat to the USA from without usually gains momentum when a government contract with this or that firm is due to expire. This threat makes quite indispensable a new type of arms which just 'happens' to conform to the feasibility studies the firm has in its order book."

The process of militarisation of American political thinking logically leads to far-reaching decision-making becoming the domain not only of the generals well entrenched in the "Situation Room" of the White House, but those of the representatives of what Dwight Eisenhower called the "huge permanent munitions industry". So it is only natural that one of the powerful generators of the "Soviet threat" hoax is the military-industrial complex itself, seeking as it does more and more budget appropriations for military purposes. Tom Gervasy, Director of the military research and analysis center in New York, admitted, that to justify that growth the US munitions manufacturers overstated the demand for arms by playing up the threat these arms were designed to counter. Therefore, the community of munitions manufacturers was the first to cultivate fear over the growing Soviet military power.⁵

A NEW EDITION OF THE OLD FAKE

In a summary of the anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns of the late 1970s and the early 1980s, which brought with them a marked build-up of the American offensive potential, Assistant Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle said that the massive psychological campaign on the "Soviet

⁵ T. Gervasy, *Arsenal of Democracy II. American Military Power in 1980's and the Origins of the New Cold War*, Grove Press, 1981, p. 34.

threat" has worked well; to maintain its interests the USA had to keep on cultivating this fear by all means.

That is what is going on now. There was yet another propaganda show at the Brussels NATO Headquarters in the spring of 1986, with the same old protagonists—the "growing Soviet threat" and the boundlessly "peace-loving" NATO bloc, the would-be "victim of a Soviet nuclear attack". This time, the propaganda stories, apparently to make them fit in with the call of the times, were put afloat out in space: the NATO services organised a satellite-relayed telebridge that linked Washington with Brussels, Bonn, Seoul and Tokyo. In a 90-minute programme direct from the Pentagon, its chief, Caspar Weinberger put into a near-Earth orbit the old, though slightly modernised anti-Soviet fake—another Pentagon pamphlet—"Soviet Military Power. 1986". This edition can well be taken as documentary evidence of a massive effort to brainwash the public, an embodiment of the old Pentagon propaganda ploy of making black look white and the other way round.

The main arguments Caspar Weinberger insisted on most proved to be common in campaigns of this kind. Presenting his pamphlet to his audiences in five capitals, the Pentagon chief maintained that the USSR was dead-set on achieving military superiority over the West and that the gap in the arms levels was widening to Moscow's advantage from day to day. On the other hand, the only concern of the USA and NATO was, according to Weinberger, to maintain the overall balance and parity of forces between the USSR and the USA. Everyone who watched the huge screen of the NATO press centre heard it claimed several times: the Russians believe they can not only wage a nuclear war, but win it. So the Defense Secretary made what he found to be the only conclusion that "the Russians are coming" and that the West had to make yet another effort to build up its military potential "for the salvation of freedom and democracy".

The Pentagon chief had nothing to offer by way of evidence beyond a few charts and schedules drawn up in the Pentagon. He must have found all other arguments and references to any official Soviet statements to be unnecessary, presuming that the preceding anti-Soviet campaigns had already done their job and their quantity had passed into quality, that is, the a priori acceptance of the "Soviet threat" as a hard fact that had gripped the minds of the masses in the West.

However, it is impossible to prove the unprovable, all the more so since a propaganda story flops once set against hard facts. It is the USA that made confrontation with, and victory over the USSR its objective as early as 1948. Memorandum No. 7, which was adopted by the National Security Council at the time, said that the defeat of the Soviet-led forces of world Communism was vital for the security of the United States. In the 1970s that objective was translated into a thoroughly elaborated Directive No. 59, signed by Carter in 1980, where the former guideline was formulated in a clear and matter-of-fact military style: destruction of socialism as a system, to be the first to use nuclear weapons in a war with the USSR, victory over the Soviet Union in a nuclear war and bringing it off on terms that would be beneficial to the USA—anything that would allow, according to the incumbent President, to dismiss Communism as a "sad, bizarre chapter in human history".

Ever since this President came into office, the achievement of a victory in a nuclear war against the USSR has been regarded in the USA as a feasible goal in its military policy. Back in June 1981, the Pentagon chief officially announced that the strategy of "direct confrontation" with the USSR would be basic to the US military doctrine for the 1980s. The new strategy was directed, he said, towards achieving complete and unchallenged US military superiority and the restoration of America's

leadership in the world. To dot the i's and cross the t's on the issue of military confrontation with the USSR, Caspar Weinberger said that the United States must win the war and get an opportunity to force the Soviet Union to seek its earliest termination on terms that would be favourable to the USA.⁶ That is the outspoken way in which the USA has been declaring its intentions with respect to the USSR, which Western propaganda is spuriously ascribing to the exclusively defensive Soviet military doctrine.

So the very substance of the booklet so widely advertised by the Pentagon has been at variance not only with the true state of affairs but with many documents and statements of the US Administration itself. As far as the "growing Soviet military superiority" is concerned, one may recall that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee made a diametrically opposite assertion in a report to Congress on the military situation of the United States in 1986. It said that in this period, there is rough nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. Having studied the matter, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has confirmed the existence of parity at this juncture as well, unequivocally pointing to the USA as the leader of the arms race intent on superiority over the USSR. It was, incidentally, none other than Weinberger that once admitted it in the heat of a debate that the USA would spend whatever it would have to spend to build up its power and get advantages over the Soviet Union.

The evil designs behind the fake stories and the arrogance of deception that the men in Washington have been resorting to in a bid to play up the alleged "threat" are all the more glaring if seen against the backdrop of the all-embracing peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. Many of them, even though never supported by the USA, are actually furthering the cause of peace, asserting a new approach to the issues of war and peace, contributing towards the victory of a new political thinking, the only possible kind in the nuclear age. The Soviet test sites have been silent for over a year now, with the unilateral test suspension extended four times. The American side has been "responding" to this and other peace initiatives of the USSR by developing more and more new weapons systems, invariably invoking the alleged "Soviet threat". Everything is transpiring just as the *Stern* magazine once said: "Whenever American politicians and military men want to get the go-ahead for phasing in new weapons systems they all of a sudden discover the alleged superiority of the Soviet Union. This game has been going on for just about thirty years". Few appeared to be concerned over the fact that the US reply to the "growth of Soviet military power" has been to phase in fundamentally new systems, creating a fundamentally new military-strategic situation and threatening to upset the power balance. The USSR has invariably found a way to redress the balance, producing adequate types of weapons and so the USA has just as invariably had to battle with the jinn it has itself let out of the bottle. As Robert McNamara and Nobel Prize winner Hans H. Bethe write, literally all technical initiatives in the nuclear arms race come from the United States, but the net result has been the progressive erosion of American security.

Having tested an atomic bomb in 1945, Washington obtained what Truman described as a "good stick for those Russian guys". The USSR responded by developing its own nuclear weapons in 1949, thereby depriving the American strategists of their superiority. And the United States has been wasting the entire post-war time trying to regain the "stick for those Russians" which it had lost, by taking the lead each time in starting yet another round of the arms race. Thus, the USA was the

⁶ See *The New York Times*, May 30, 1982.

first to set off a thermonuclear device in 1952, while the USSR tested a transportable thermonuclear bomb in 1953. The USA launched the world's first nuclear-powered submarine with ballistic missiles on board in 1960, while the Soviet Union did it four years later. Washington started fitting its intercontinental missiles with multiple warheads in 1970. The USSR developed such systems in 1975. It was the USA which first conceived, designed and developed neutron weapons, cruise missiles and binary munitions. Now it is busy producing space weapons for Star Wars. So the circle closed—there will be many, very many Manhattan Projects, gleefully ejaculated James Jonson, the man in charge of long-range hi-tech research under the SDI Programme, one of the key Star Wars missionaries.

A MESH OF LIES

What the American strategists failed to achieve in the '40s, '50s, '60s and in the late '70s—absolute superiority over the USSR—is now believed in Washington to be quite possible. Foreign policy extremism and unchecked technological euphoria goad the White House into carrying out yet another Manhattan Project, this time on a global scale.

The Pentagon's booklet "Soviet Military Power. 1986" advertised the SDI as America's "shield" against a Soviet nuclear strike. That is how the US President dished up his initiative to the nation in his address on March 23, 1983, in which he said that the USA was getting down to carrying out a programme to counter the formidable Soviet missile threat with measures of a defensive character. So this new round of the arms race began in accordance with a well-developed scenario of long standing featuring the Soviet challenge in the form of a "formidable missile threat", on the one hand, and the American reply of a "defensive" character, on the other. What the world has to face is a sinister mesh of lies that had the "Soviet threat" hoax mixed up with false assertions about the alleged defensive character of the space programme. To get the SDI project going, there are the all too familiar arguments about the USA "lagging behind" the USSR in the arms field, notably, in laser weapons, and Americans are being frightened by an alleged Russian "red shield" in space with the USA being defenceless in the face of Soviet missiles.

There has been a deliberate drive to scare the public with a non-existent threat, for it is none other than the Soviet Union that has been persistently persuading Washington all along that there must be no arms in space (Soviet memoranda of March 18 and April 30, 1957 and of March 15, 1958). It has called for treaties to be concluded on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space (1981) and on the prohibition of the use of force in space and from outer space with regard to earth (1983). This approach of the USSR is a consequence of its consistent policy of principle, as shown by all of its recent foreign policy gestures. In his message of August 24, 1986, in reply to the one from the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the importance of an early agreement between the USSR and the USA to ban space-to-earth and space-to-space strike weapons and the anti-satellite systems, with both sides scrapping whatever facilities of this type they already have. "The Soviet Union," he said, "is willing to resolve either the whole set of problems involved or to work for individual accords eventually leading to the said goal—so as really to bar weapons in space."⁷ So it has long since been up to the USA itself to put an end to the very "threat" which the SDI

⁷ *Pravda*, Aug. 24, 1986.

is claimed to be designed to counter. All it had to do was to positively respond to the Soviet proposals, which the USA has all along greeted with only one kind of reaction—a purely negative kind, inevitably following from the very logic of the US military-political leadership dead-set on achieving scientific and technological superiority in the use of space for military ends.

The US Chief Executive made quite clear how things stand as far as the Soviet "superiority over the USA" is concerned and who was eager to see the parity broken when he declared in his speech on May 22, 1984 that the Russians would not be able to rival the USA and will not endure the competition in the arms build-up. So, as the White House leader went on to say, the Soviet Union would have to sit down with the USA at the negotiating table so as not to run the risk of the USA being superior to it militarily. Now, Washington perceives such negotiations only "from a position of strength", as stated and re-stated in the USA. That position of strength is designed to assure the USA the same strategic superiority, but in that case under a treaty.

As to the lie about the defensive character of the SDI, supposedly intended to make nuclear weapons "powerless and obsolete", the actual point is, according to General D. Graham, who was at one time involved in the elaboration of the "High Frontier" ABM Project—the prototype of the present SDI, to capture the commanding heights in space in the context of military balance. Logically, that would mean breaking the existing parity, and General Graham, no longer mincing words, admitted that he did not see why people were worried by the idea that if the USA deployed the Star Wars system, the power balance would again shift in favour of the "free world". However, this concern is quite easy to understand because breaking the parity in the present circumstances will be a prelude to a nuclear war which the USA is preparing to start and win. The US President had to admit in one of his statements that the availability of a powerful ABM system coupled with an offensive nuclear potential can be considered an "encouragement of aggressive policy". Having said that, the President remarked in the same breath that "nobody wants that". But his aides, when they do not find themselves committed to advertising the SDI as the "salvation" of humanity from a nuclear nightmare, said outright: "If we succeed in creating such an effective system which, as we know, will make their arms powerless," the Pentagon chief said, speaking before the Senate Armed Services Committee in February 1984, "we would again find ourselves in the position we were in when we were the only nation to possess nuclear weapons, but did not use them to threaten anybody else."

It is the SDI, Washington believes, that will allow the USA to win in a nuclear conflict, as the Assistant SDI Director, J. Gardner said before a closed-door conference of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in winter 1985. The presidential initiative, he claimed, would drastically change the nuclear balance in favour of the USA and would enable the United States, following a bilateral nuclear exchange, to preserve the strike force of strategic offensive arms. The US military-political strategy has been developing like a spiral: Washington invariably comes back to its initial offensive military doctrine providing for a first strike against the USSR and having new logistics support at the next level of its development. That spiral has been turning round one axis—the notorious "Soviet military threat" hoax that it has been so consistently exploiting for decades.

ver since the first years of the Soviet state aggressive anti-Soviet acts have been invariably staged behind the cloak of struggle against the

"Soviet menace" and the "Communist danger". The same anti-Soviet military hysteria has been serving as invariable propaganda orchestration for the modern-day trans-Atlantic strategists hatching plans for winning world supremacy and all too willing and ready to enlarge on a universal nuclear Armageddon in which "godless Communism" will perish at long last.

There has been a rather indicative experiment in the United States once. A group of scientists have been given the pronouncement to read that the Communists seek to destroy the country; Russia threatens with her power; the Republic is in danger; yes, in danger from within and from without. The test contained some other warnings about the "Soviet and Communist menace". Then, those involved in the experiment were asked to name the author of those words. Most of the answers named many American politicians. The scientists were really surprised to find that these words were uttered by Adolf Hitler in 1932.

Naturally, it would be a risky oversimplification to draw a straight parallel between modern Western strategists and the Nazi ringleaders, but the fact is that story-telling about a "Soviet threat" has all along been the business of aggressors themselves as they prepare their marches on the East. It was once said that those who fail to draw lessons from history have to re-live its bitter lessons. To avoid that, the world community has to know who benefits from the bogus stories and why and whence comes the real threat to peace and civilisation.

This country and the Soviet leadership have more than once declared that the Soviet Union is not seeking any unilateral advantages, nor any military superiority over the USA. But neither will it tolerate any American superiority over itself. To prevent that, the USSR possesses a tremendous industrial and scientific potential and a considerable stock of raw materials and it can swiftly and dynamically respond to any US attempts at upsetting the present rough parity in the military-strategic field. Vain are also the hopes that by dragging the Soviet Union into yet another round of the arms race, they can wear it out economically and assure the USA the commanding positions in the world and an opportunity to tell its bidding to other peoples and nations.

The Soviet people consider their security as sacred. As Mikhail Gorbachev says, that must be clear to all. That is a point of principle. Nobody can scare us. If need be, the Soviet Union would quickly find a response and that will not be the kind of response that is expected in the USA. But it would be an adequate response both to the Star Wars programme and to all other militarist projects of the latter-day aspirants to world supremacy.

SOVIET MORATORIUM AND ITS OPPONENTS

(Continued from page 17)

interview, US officials have been quoting the President word for word like an incantation whenever the question of the administration's attitude to the moratorium is raised.

But still we would like to see the United States to eventually give a fitting and appropriate response to the USSR's call. The moment of truth has come, and that truth is that the Soviet moratorium is a unique historical chance for all states to put an end to the nuclear arms race. History will never forgive those who will miss this opportunity.

THE MOUNTING CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL

Professor Stal Y E R S H O V,

D. Sc. (Hist.)

As is pointed out in the CPSU Programme "*the general crisis of capitalism is deepening. The sphere of its domination is shrinking inevitably, its historical doom is becoming ever more obvious*".¹ One of the basic factors accelerating the deterioration of the exploiter system last in history from the *inside* is the exacerbation of contradictions between labour and capital.

In the last 15 to 20 years there occurred profound quantitative and qualitative shifts in the composition of hired labour. We witnessed working people's mounting dissatisfaction with their living conditions and with their subordinate status in capitalist firms and within bourgeois society as a whole. The state-monopoly ruling circles responded to this discontent by embarking on an all-out offensive on the economic interests and democratic rights of the working class.

THE EXPANSION OF THE SOCIAL BASIS OF THE ANTI-MONOPOLY PROTEST

As the scientific and technological revolution expands and deepens, the growth of capitalism's inherent trend towards social polarisation of bourgeois society can be observed. Today, more than 80 per cent of the gainfully-employed population in the industrially developed capitalist countries are hired labour.² Their ranks are being swelled by ruined craftsmen, artisans and other petty "business owners" in towns and rural areas, as well as by those formally belonging to the petty and even middle bourgeoisie who have been squeezed out of the competition by the monopolies. At the same time, the numerical strength of the working class is rising, although its boundaries are somewhat narrower than those of hired labour at large. While in the 1970s the proletariat in the capitalist countries embraced 170 million people, by the mid-1980s this figure grew to 240 million.³

The quantitative growth of the working class was accompanied by the profound transformation of its composition by individual sectors and professions, of its qualification pattern. These processes received a powerful impetus with the intensifying introduction of automation in the capitalist economy since early 1960s. From that time on we could see a growing influx of labourers from the branches of material production—industry and agriculture—into services in which in different countries are working from 49 to 66 per cent of all employed.⁴

In industry itself there is an ongoing regrouping of the labour force:

¹ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, p. 14.

² *Le Travail dans le monde*, t. 1, Geneva, 1984, p. 52.

³ See T. T. Timofeyev, *The Exacerbation of Contradictions of Capitalism and the Working People*, Moscow, 1986, p. 163 (in Russian).

⁴ *Le Travail dans le monde*, t. 1, Geneva, 1984, p. 52.

the number of those employed in the traditional sectors—mining, textile, shoe-making, garment and others—is decreasing, while there is an influx to the technologically advanced branches such as radioelectronics, electrical engineering, instrument-making, aerospace and other industries. In the USA, for instance, over the last 25 years the number of textile workers has decreased from 924,400 to 699,500 or by almost 25 per cent, while the corresponding number in the electrical engineering and radioelectronics industries has grown by 51.6 per cent, from 1.4 to 2.2 million workers.⁵

Simultaneously, there is a steadily expanding layer of skilled labour in the working class, while the number of workers involved in standard production is decreasing, relatively or even sometimes in absolute terms. Former professions and skills based on craftsmanship give way to new jobs demanding theoretical knowledge acquired through extensive schooling (for a duration of 10 to 12 years) and a thorough apprenticeship.

A most significant phenomenon of the past few years is the evolvment within the working class of a group of "technology-oriented workers" who participate in designing, production and servicing of various automated machinery, including computers and robots. According to some estimates these people vividly named "gold collar workers" by an American sociologist R. Kelly comprise up to one-third of all employees. By the end of the 20th century this segment of the "technology-oriented workers" may double. Experts on the subject are increasingly inclined to regard them as the new nucleus of the modern working class.

The growing skill of the working class provides capitalists with an opportunity to step up labour productivity and intensify it thereby creating a higher surplus value, the basic source of wealth for the bourgeoisie. However, this trend entails a simultaneous rise in the expenditures involved in the reproduction of highly skilled labour, and first of all the expenditures for continuous training for the entire professional life span, as well as expenses involved in the preservation of its capacity for work. *All this further exacerbates one of the cardinal contradictions, i. e. between the drive of capital to cut down its "unavoidable" expenditures on salaries and wages and the objectively growing, in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, expenses involved in the formation of the new type of worker needed to create an increasingly more substantial part of the national wealth.*

The situation is further aggravated by the monopolies' attempts to re-compensate their "losses" at the expense of other groups of the working class. Due to the extreme contradictoriness of their economic development the capitalist countries preserve a wide stratum of low-skilled hired labourers engaged in unproductive or purely manual labour. This part of the working class is dispersed throughout many services and industries and performs tedious routine jobs whose high degree of intensivity is conditioned by the still existing conveyor-belt system of production and work. These people are most hard-hit by unemployment, wage cuts and the reduction of social benefits provided by the state.

The basic link in the intricate chain of the socio-economic consequences resulting from the introduction of new technologies is the alteration of the social status of the above-mentioned "technology-oriented workers". By gradually transgressing the bounds of the traditional status of, as Karl Marx put it, a "simple appendage" of the production equipment, they are becoming more professionally independent. Thus, along with qualitative changes in the productive forces—man and technology—shifts in the organisational principles of their interaction *there emerge basic trends in the transformation of relations of production of modern capitalism.* These pro-

⁵ Calculated from *The Handbook of Basic Economic Statistics*, February 1986, pp. 31, 48.

cesses are visible both at the intra- and inter-class levels. On the one hand, workers performing high-tech functions inevitably develop the need to pool their efforts since the smooth functioning of flexible, comprehensively-automated design-production-marketing systems depends not only on the high quality of work at each stage but, to a decisive degree, on the work of the entire collective of workers. On the other hand, and this is particularly important, production relations are being modified in a much broader sense. Pressured by the objective demands placed on it by the latest automated technologies, capitalists cannot afford to ignore the creative potential of a man incorporated in the most sophisticated production systems. The flow of imperative administrative instructions issued "from the top down" has dwindled considerably, that is, the instructions that until recently controlled every minute action taken by the worker, and with that the significance of the latter's independent professional initiative has risen considerably.

So as to forestall the emerging contradiction between the two opposite trends—one towards increasing subjugation of hired labour, and the other towards its production emancipation—capital resorts to new and diversified means. Among the latest "innovations" are "quality teams" in Japan and "quality circles of working life" in the USA and Britain, as well as "autonomous" and "semi-autonomous" labour groups in Sweden and France. However, these and similar narrow "self-management teams" used by business to pool together and take full advantage of people's creative abilities are actually aimed at further intensifying labour.

Therefore, this new approach to making use of the qualitatively different labour force is filled with a new and more acute contradiction. The polls conducted by bourgeois researchers at industrial enterprises show that the extension of the so-called production democracy in the form of "workplace management" not only evokes among the workers the inclination towards greater independence, but usually engenders an intense feeling of social inequality which builds up and leads to a conscious protest against the essentially authoritarian relations of production. The bourgeoisie is equally worried over the prospect that the growing active dissatisfaction of the working class with the methods used by the bourgeoisie to belittle the working class' role in production, methods which are carefully concealed behind talk about the "community" of interests of labour and capital, is bound to infect the entire society.

The present-day transformations in the composition of the working class is used by the bourgeois science and propaganda to substantiate all sorts of "deproletarianisation" theories. These theories are used by the monopoly apologists to prove that the broad social basis of the working class is being "eroded" since its very foundation, the proletariat, is, as they claim, "vanishing". According to them the proletariat is being replaced by a "middle class" which is remote from the ideas of any radical socio-economic and political transformations and is content with its status in the society of "equal opportunities". The ultimate goal of all these concoctions is to convince the public that the once "rebellious" working class has nowadays become reconciled with the economic system of exploitation and meekly accepts the political structure, moral values and the capitalist way of life.

Reality itself repudiates the attempts made by bourgeois scientists to disclaim the increasingly antagonistic class nature of bourgeois society. *Despite any and all quantitative and qualitative changes in the composition of the working class, there is nothing radically new in the working class' social status* The relatively privileged position of the "gold collar workers" in production does not to any significant degree change their place in the hierarchy established in social life and production of the capitalist society. As before, most of them are separated from real participa-

tion in running enterprises, offices or companies. Moreover, as before, most of them are doomed to share exploitation and to suffer from inflation and, frequently, unemployment. This all unites the interests of the "gold collars workers" and other categories of skilled hired labour with the interests of the rest of the working class.

Consequently, despite its certain stratification the proletariat as an integral class increasingly opposes state-monopoly capital, and this serves as a prerequisite for consolidating the common stand and political aspirations of all the segments of the modern working class and the contingent social strata.

The inherent logic of private property assigns the working class just one role, that of the main object of exploitation which makes it wage the struggle for its emancipation from exploitation and oppression. And the growing share of intellectuals in its ranks elevates this struggle to a new, higher level, this struggle now being waged not only to safeguard the basic economic interests and extensive democratic rights but also for the legal consolidation of their rights. In this social setting equally important is the struggle of the factory proletariat, in the first place those of its segments employed at the technologically advanced major monopoly complexes in the key industrial branches.

Therefore, life itself indicates that there is an inseparable link between the expansion of the working class, its central position in capitalist production due to its qualitatively new status and its importance as a constantly growing and stronger mobilising political force of anti-monopoly protest and social progress as a whole.

THE PROLETARIATS' DECLINING POSITION UNDER THE IMPACT OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

The founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, defined the status of the proletariat as being the basis and the starting point of the inevitably growing class confrontation of labour and capital. They believed that this status was the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery engendered by capitalism.⁶ They noted that the main aspect of the whole problem was the intensifying precariousness of the workers' existence due to the stepped-up exploitation of hired labour.⁷

In our time the ultimate result of the exploitation of the working people, that is, the denial to them of access to the greater part of the material and spiritual values which they produce, can be seen in two spheres: production and personal consumption. The bourgeoisie has perfected a wide range of the means allowing it to rob the working people outside the production sphere. It includes, first and foremost, the system of direct and indirect taxation, high monopoly prices on basic necessities and services, consumer credit which is used to stimulate artificial demand neglecting the need to satisfy real, urgent requirements, and many other means. All this is an inexhaustable source of the essentially parasitic profits made by the ruling class.

However, as before, the "centre of gravity" of the exploitation of hired labour lies in the sphere of production. From there the basic and steadily mounting profits are flowing into the vaults of the monopolies as the portion of the working class' labour results appropriated unpaid is growing. Thus, *exploitation in production forming the economic foundation of the entire capitalist system is simultaneously the root cause of the unrelenting and intensifying class antagonisms in capitalist society.*

Naturally, the scientific and technological revolution has introduced

⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975, p. 302.

⁷ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. Three, Moscow, 1973, p. 431.

major transformations into the forms of exploitation and the methods of coercion to make labour more intensive. As it is pointed out in the CPSU Programme "the mechanism of exploitation has become more complex, more sophisticated. The skills, intellectual powers and the energy of the worker are being exploited for gaining more and more profit."⁸

With the automation of production, workers in that sphere are exploited personally, morally and psychologically. Capital has turned a partial satisfaction of such human needs as the feeling of belonging to a collective, the feeling of being useful and the wish to win respect of the others into the levers of exploitation. With this aim in view the staff of an enterprise is subdivided into small groups whose labour activity is incited by encouraging intensive competition between them. Besides, the workers are inculcated in a spirit of loyalty to their "own" company and are told that they and the owners are pursuing "common goals" and, therefore, the well-being of all depends on their concerted actions. "Friendly" relations between the personnel and the administration of an enterprise are encouraged and used to forestall any possible discontent on the part of the workers and the clerical staff.

The intensive moral and psychological exploitation of the labour force has brought many benefits to capital. The profits reaped by the latter considerably outpace the growth of salaries and wages, while the advantages gained from rising labour productivity far outstrips more efficient use of production equipment.⁹

Pointing to the intensifying rivalry in which the victory of some monopolies over others can guarantee improved living conditions for a particular section of the working people, the apologists of capitalism spare no effort to inculcate into the consciousness of the exploited masses the idea that it is imperative that a "new social consensus" be reached incorporating all major social strata: the working people, entrepreneurs and the administration. This "trilateral centralism" and the participation of trade unions in the activities of various commissions and other bodies is presented by the bourgeoisie to the working class as the "only opportunity", if realised, of averting the negative consequences entailed by the introduction of new technologies. Thus, the unremittingly intensifying exploitation is accompanied by large-scale brainwashing of the working people using the concept of the "common interests" allegedly uniting labour and capital which eliminate all class conflicts, social hostility and mutual mistrust.

Another facet of that problem should be mentioned as well. The present-day realities confirm the still relevant idea advanced by Karl Marx that the working people suffer not only from the rapid development of capitalism—they also suffer from the insufficiency of that development. Due to the chaos inherent in the functioning of the capitalist economy, there continue to exist outdated systems of organisation of production and work along with the expansion of the boundaries of the organisational and technological mode of production based on automation. In that "outdated" sphere of the economy, which is at present going through an acute structural crisis, a "redundant" labour force emerges thereby feeding the tremendous unemployment in the West.

The CPSU Programme states that, "under capitalism the scientific and technological revolution has grave social consequences. Millions of working people, thrown out of the factory gates, are doomed to losing their skills, and to material hardships, and can have no confidence in the future... Mass unemployment remains regardless of the economic situation,

⁸ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 15.

⁹ For details see *The Working Class and the Modern World*, No. 2, 1986, pp. 61-76 (in Russian).

while the real prospect of its further growth is fraught with the most serious upheavals for capitalism as a social system."¹⁰

By mid-1986 the reserve army of hired labour in the capitalist world numbered about 30 million people, with Western Europe accounting for about 17 million. In the USA about eight million people were jobless.

Modern unemployment has a number of peculiarities. It engulfs more young people than ever before, in particular those who have just entered the labour market. It has spread to almost all strata of hired labour, from the workers directly involved in production to engineers, technicians and managerial staff, while the average time-span of unemployment tends to be more protracted. Besides, due to the general reduction in state allocations for social needs, unemployment benefits have been cut thereby raising the number of people in the capitalist countries living below the official poverty line.

Most of the new poor, as the bourgeois press now calls the category of the people who very recently were well-to-do and now find themselves in dire need, have been drawn into the so-called shadow economy. Millions of people, omitted from statistics, getting meagre wages for their hard work and deprived of even the most elementary social and legal protection and trade union support, nowadays work at home or in small, semi-domestic sweatshops, while their very existence is carefully concealed so as to avoid taxes and other payments required by law.

Wages are a particular factor determining the status of the working class. They, as well as unemployment, reflect the class-antagonistic nature of bourgeois society. At present, wage levels have a direct bearing on the monopolies' investment policy: the higher the average wages, the stronger the monopolies' urge to use so-called labour-saving technologies which result in layoffs. Moreover, with the advent of the scientific and technological revolution, wages have become an instrument in inter-monopoly rivalry since the victor in this struggle is the monopoly that has managed to cut down labour expenses to a greater extent than its rivals. That is how the vicious circle is created.

In a recent decade there were the underlying factors impeding the growth of wages in many capitalist countries, and some of them even witnessed an absolute reduction of wages. In the USA, for instance, despite a certain decline of the per annum average inflation rates, in 1986 the real hourly wages of the production workers, with overtime excluded, in the manufacturing industry stood at the 1970 level.¹¹ The remuneration of the workers and office personnel who were employed in the sectors hit by the structural crisis stands at a low level throughout the capitalist world, and there is a widening gap in the remuneration of the workers belonging to different professional categories and with different qualification levels.

The bourgeois state exerts strong pressure to lower salaries and wages. This is done under the pretext of fighting inflation and, as was explained, it was the wages of the working class that engendered the mounting inflation, rather than the profits reaped by the monopolies and the war business. However, the measures taken by the governments of the Western countries to "combat" inflation pursue a totally different goal, that of *holding back the aggregate fund of salaries and wages to preserve the existing ratio in the distribution of the national wealth created by the working people.*

¹⁰ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, pp. 15, 17.

¹¹ Calculated from *The Handbook of Basic Economic Statistics*, February 1986, pp. 24, 25, 99-101.

CHANGES IN THE ESSENCE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Until recently, the organisational, technological and structural transformations in the industrial basis of the capitalist society made it possible for the working people to wrest sometimes substantial concessions from the bourgeoisie. Here are a few examples: a shorter workweek in some countries due to the need to at least partially recompense the vitality of the workers performing super-intensive work in the period when the conveyor production system was introduced; the development of the educational and professional training system for a large segment of the semi-skilled workers in the period of transition to the initial stages of automation; the improvement of the hourly wage remuneration system in connection with the expansion of the contingent of skilled workers and with the expanding range of the intellectual functions performed by the workers which excluded the possibility of applying the piece-work remuneration system.

However, as the capitalists view it, the expanded reproduction of the work force required by production automation is too costly. So, they opted for investing more money into labour-saving equipment with the aim of raising their competitiveness, as well as preventing a probable reduction of the "normal" profitability level caused by the shifts in the organic composition of capital which are mostly due to mounting labour costs.

The broad offensive launched by the bourgeoisie on the organised labour movement is an integral part of the general strategy elaborated by the monopolies. Trade unions were picked as the main target. Monopolies wanted to weaken the ability of these mass organisations of the working class to defend its interests in collective bargaining and the right to strike. There existed a social situation which favoured these designs of the ruling class: by that time for a number of reasons the trade union movement was experiencing serious difficulties undermining its spirit. Decreasing membership and the rising influence in the union leadership of those favouring class collaboration were among the major problems.

The bourgeoisie took some special measures intended to curtail the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people. The anti-strike law has been toughened still further, and the legal reprisals and police harassment of labour movement activists have been stepped up and there have been cases of trade unions being dissolved. The monopolies are increasingly sabotaging contracts. Simultaneously, a more extensive propaganda campaign has been launched to brainwash the public in the spirit of "social peace".

At present, capital views the extinguishing of the resistance put up by the working class as an imperative requirement for the introduction of the latest scientific and technological achievements. And here big capital not only relies, and not without reason, on the support of the bourgeois state, but is insistently demanding that the state vigorously intercede in its relations with the working class for the sake of safeguarding the "supreme national interests".

Now trade unions concentrate their efforts on the problems which are inevitably exacerbated and brought to light by the scientific and technological revolution. These problems are unemployment and declining living standards even of those who still have jobs. As distinct from the past, the trade unions nowadays advance their own constructive programme of economic development and strongly oppose the monopolies when the latter resort to large-scale dismissals and wage cuts. As a realistic means of mitigating the unemployment problem trade unions in many countries suggest substantially reducing the workweek to 35 hours, lowering the retirement age, increasing state allocations and monopolies' contributions towards education, professional training and re-training, as well as on-

the-job-training. An important demand is the reduction of military expenditures and the conversion of these funds to civil production and the upgrading the social infrastructure.

The mounting resistance of the monopolies to the inclusion in the collective contracts of the provisions meeting the interests of the working people forced trade unions to simultaneously launch a struggle for adopting laws that would restrain the arbitrary sway of business. For instance, the trade unions in Canada demand that laws be adopted granting them the right to repudiate collective contracts in force and request the conclusion of new contracts if the terms of the former contract inadequately protect the interests of the workers or have been violated by management. In West Germany trade unions are demanding a law that would make it obligatory for the entrepreneurs to hold consultations with the representatives of the workers as regards the schedule of the introduction and the types of automated production lines to be installed. So as to deprive the monopolies of the opportunity of sidetracking the laws, trade unions of many West European countries suggest setting-up a special body composed of broad sections of the community which would oversee compliance with these laws.

As recent events have shown, even in the present unfavourable political and economic situation the proletariat has managed to a certain extent to mobilise its forces to repulse the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. As before, the main weapon of the proletariat is the strike movement. In only the first half of the 1980s in the industrialised capitalist countries some 340 million people, or almost 40 million more than in the preceding five-year period, took part in economic strikes, political and other demonstrations, protest marches, national days and weeks of struggle. The tactics of the strikers have diversified impressively: protracted and brief work stoppages are more frequently supplemented with boycotts of products and services of individual companies, mass demonstrations and meetings at plant gates and petitioning. The working class today more actively resorts to such radical forms of struggle against dismissals like the seizure of enterprises.

In recent years, the West German trade unions have adopted the tactic of "mobile manoeuvrability", i. e. the holding of warning strikes lasting from one to three hours. Britain saw the wide spread of so-called intermittent strikes, i. e. temporary work stoppages at different enterprises owned by one and the same company or in different though interconnected enterprises in the state sector of the economy. The Japanese trade unions have set themselves the task of combining a set of offensive methods for exerting pressure in a "single plan for the unification of actions taken by the workers' front" which, as was planned, should serve as the basis for yearly workers' campaigns—"spring" and "autumn" offensives. The national strikes remain a most effective means for creating an atmosphere of unabating and acute tensions in the capitalist countries. Actions by the Italian proletariat can serve here as an example: on October 3, 1985 eighteen million people took part in a two-hour strike which engulfed almost the entire country, and on November 15 of the same year Italy was the scene of yet another strike with fifteen million participants. In France millions of people take part in national days and weeks of protest against deteriorating living conditions, events sponsored by the leading trade union centre—the General Confederation of Labour.

The strike movement has acquired an ever more pronounced political character, which is reflected in the growing number and the expanding scale of actions organised not so much against certain individual aspects of exploitation policy pursued by the monopolies as against the entire capitalist system. The number of working people taking part in strikes for political reasons, as well as in socio-class conflicts, steadily expanded

from 55 per cent in 1975-1979 to more than 66 per cent in the next five-year period.

The trend towards tighter cooperation and unity between the strike and mass democratic movements is of cardinal importance for the class struggle. The CPSU Programme states the following: "The antagonism between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the population is deepening in the capitalist countries. Professionals and office employees, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national minorities, women's organisations, young people and students are taking an ever more active part in the struggle against the dominance of the monopolies and against the reactionary policy of the ruling classes".¹²

In the capitalist countries the strike movement and the struggle against racial discrimination and social and economic inequality of individual social groups is merging with the mass-scale antiwar movement and the actions in defence of human rights and for environmental protection. As socio-class confrontation with the entire system of state-monopoly exploitation and oppression is growing more acute, more frequently voices are heard advocating a radical restructuring of the taxation system and the improvement of health care, general education and social security. Revealing the true causes underlying that confrontation V. I. Lenin wrote: "...the workers' struggle against the factory owners for their daily needs automatically and inevitably spurs the workers on to think of state, political questions..."¹³

Despite disruptive actions taken by the reactionary circles and the splitting tactics of some reformist trade union leaders, in the capitalist countries an irreversible process of the radicalisation of the goals and the growing effectiveness of the methods used in class struggle can be witnessed. In their fierce battles with the bourgeoisie the working people are becoming ideologically stronger and more inclined to act in unison or, in other words, the necessary prerequisites are emerging for advancement towards radical socio-economic and political transformation in bourgeois society.

With every passing year the "force field" of the class struggle draws into its orbit new social strata of the population in the capitalist countries. It promotes the expansion and deepening of mass political consciousness, is endowing the participants in the democratic movement with the experience amassed by the proletariat, is enhancing and expanding the prospects for anti-monopoly protest as a whole.

¹² *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 20.

¹³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, p. 115.

WASHINGTON'S STRATEGY IN SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST ASIA

Victor G E O R G I Y E V

Washington has of late been noticeably more active in South and Southwest Asia. High-ranking American officials have become ever more frequent visitors in the capitals of these states. And there were other visits. Last year US warships called at the ports of Karachi in Pakistan, Trincomalee in Sri Lanka and Chittagong in Bangladesh.

The upgrading of South and Southwest Asia in Washington's global policy is a sign of the growing significance of the whole Asian and Pacific region in the present US Administration's plans. It is here that the US economic, military and political interests are most evident. Regarding this vast region as a second front (after Europe) against the USSR, the US ruling circles pay particularly close attention to South and Southwest Asia. Speaking about South Asia's importance for global American interests Peck, a high State Department official, stressed that the region, which is the home of 20 per cent of the world's population, occupies a strategic position close to the energy sources of Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf and borders on the Soviet Union and China. Besides, the US ruling circles see South Asia as a key link between the American forces in the Pacific and the outposts in the Middle East.

However, that is only one side of the problem. Another and equally important side is this. Washington's attention to the region is to a large extent prompted by the processes going on there which are unfavourable for American imperialism because they are threatening its hegemonistic plans.

For example in Afghanistan, despite the fierce opposition of foreign-backed counter-revolution, the popular democratic government is growing stronger and expanding its social base. The USA fears the revolutionising effect of the Afghan people's successes on other Muslim countries, first of all neighbouring Pakistan, which following the collapse of the Shah of Iran has been the stronghold of American imperialism in South and Southwest Asia. India is playing a growing constructive role in world affairs with its foreign policy directed against militarism and colonialism acting as an objective obstacle to Washington's plans in the area. There is mounting opposition to the Zia ul-Haq regime in Pakistan. Anti-American sentiments are on the rise in Turkey.

Indicative of the US's stepped-up foreign political activity in the Asian states are their efforts to prevent the growth of anti-American trends, by securing new levers for influencing the Asian states in that region. As the experience of recent years shows, the US ruling circles, while not abandoning power politics in its relations with the Asian countries which pursue policies contrary to Washington's liking, have been adjusting their policy and resorting more and more to the tactics of differentiated, "flexible response" in pursuit of global goals.

Of late Washington has been declaring more and more often that the United States would like to see an atmosphere of peace and goodneighbourliness in Asia. The mass media, in collaboration with the White House, is trying to portray America as an advocate of peaceful solutions

of disputes, mutually beneficial regional cooperation and "stronger democratic institutions". Vigorous efforts are being made to convince the South Asian countries that the USA is now pursuing a balanced policy in that part of the world and is departing from old ways of operating. During his visit to India and Pakistan in the autumn of 1985 US Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost even spoke in favour of normalising relations between India and Pakistan.

However, despite a semblance of change, the US policy in South and Southwest Asia is still determined by American imperialism's desire to strengthen its military and political positions there. An equally important goal is to weaken the positions of the anti-imperialist forces.

One salient feature of US present-day policy in South and Southwest Asia is growing reliance on the Pakistani regime. The Calcutta newspaper *Telegraph* rightly pointed out that links with Pakistan are part of US world strategy. Indeed, there is evidence to show that the strategic plans of the present US Administration rely more and more heavily on turning Pakistan into an outpost of American imperialism close to the southern borders of the USSR, of transforming it into a docile instrument of American interests in this vast region of the world. It is not for nothing that US Secretary of State George Shultz has described Pakistan as a frontline state situated in a militarily important place. The territory of Pakistan is the base for waging the undeclared war against the Afghan people. Afghan counter-revolutionary bands are being trained by Pakistani and American instructors at bases in Pakistan. Pakistani troops are helping to bring the bandits into DRA and have even been involved in operations inside Afghan territory.

Washington tries to use its Pakistani ally to strengthen its influence in adjacent regions, notably in the Persian Gulf and in the Middle East countries. To this end Pakistan has been included within the US Central Command (Centcom) covering 19 states in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. The Pentagon thus hopes that its interventionist "rapid deployment force" would have the use of military bases in Karachi, Peshawar, Sargodha and Gwadar in the event of a "crisis situation". Proceeding from its plans in Asia, Washington is more and more actively pushing the Pakistan army and navy under the command of Centcom. The United States is pursuing that goal with regard to the 13,000-strong Pakistani military units deployed in Saudi Arabia. As part of the same strategy, the USA has actively helped to set up special forces in Pakistan patterned after the US "green berets"; and it is helping Pakistan expand the network of radioelectronic surveillance stations on its territory.

Underlying all this are plans to create a US-led military political bloc in Southwest and West Asia in which Pakistan would play a key role. The Pentagon, writes V. D. Chopra, an Indian political observer, has not abandoned hopes of setting up a Middle East Treaty Organisation to replace the CENTO bloc which has fallen apart. There is no doubt, writes Chopra, that Pakistan would provide a springboard for such a treaty. The Washington strategists are trying to further this end by giving every form of encouragement to the military political and economic links between Islamabad and conservative Muslim regimes. In doing so, Washington is planning to make more active use of its Pakistan ally in the struggle against anti-American and anti-imperialist trends developing in Muslim countries and in the non-alignment movement which Pakistan joined in 1979.

Military and economic aid is still the main lever Washington is using to influence Islamabad's foreign policy: Pakistan is among the five major

recipients of American aid. Under an agreement signed in March of 1986 the total volume of US aid to Pakistan will grow from \$3,200 million in 1983-1987 to \$4,020 million in the period between 1988 and 1993, an increase of 35 per cent. Of this sum, 1,800 million is earmarked for military purposes. Meanwhile a giant share of US aid to Pakistan is already under the heading "Military Needs". In 1987 this item will account for more than a half of the total aid.

The Islamabad regime is receiving more and more modern American weapons, mostly offensive. These include Sidewinder rockets for F-16 planes, Harpoon naval rockets, armoured personnel carriers, howitzers and Cobra helicopters, to name just a few. The USA has recently agreed to provide the Pakistan army with laser-targeted "Copperhead" anti-tank rockets.

There is every indication that the price the Pakistan leaders are paying for Washington's military-political and economic aid is the country's national interests. As Attaullah Khan Mengal, former Chief Minister in the Pakistan province of Baluchistan, attests, Washington and Islamabad have reached a secret agreement about the use of military installations by American armed forces on the strategically important Makran coast of Pakistan. The network of highways linking Karachi with that region is being expanded and improved to bring supplies to US "rapid deployment forces" in case of need.

There are other symptomatic consequences of the strengthening American-Pakistani strategic cooperation. As indirect Pakistan-Afghan talks on a political settlement of the Afghanistan question have shown, the Islamabad regime is in fact obstructing in every way such a settlement. On orders from the USA the Pakistan side is trying to reduce these talks to the issue of a timetable for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. However, this disregards the factor on which political settlement hinges which is that armed and other interference in Afghanistan's affairs must be put to an end and guarantees must be made that such interference would not resume.

To please his Washington bosses, President Zia ul-Haq has called on the Arab states to recognise Israel (no less!). And yet it was only recently that the Pakistan leaders vaunted their "opposition" to Tel Aviv and trumpeted their solidarity with the vast majority of the Muslim countries. The true worth of this solidarity was highlighted during the barbaric US aggression against Libya in April 1986 when the Islamabad regime virtually opposed the whole of the developing world by refusing to condemn America's brigandage.

In spite of mounting domestic opposition to the Pakistan regime's policy, it continues to put its stake on expanding strategic cooperation with the USA. This was made amply clear by the results of the Washington visit by the Pakistan Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo in July 1986. One can not help noting that the closer the military-economic ties between Washington and Islamabad become, the greater is the scope of Pakistan's militaristic build-up, and the more active becomes its destabilising role in South and Southwest Asia.

Recent years have seen Washington pursue a more active policy with regard to India, especially after Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister. In the first half of 1986 alone India was visited by six high-ranking American delegations and various emissaries, among whom were Assistant US Secretary of State Dean and Attorney General Edwin Meese. US-Indian trade and economic ties have increased. In 1985 trade between the two countries amounted to \$4,500 million. American capital and the

multinational corporations under its control are showing greater interest in the Indian market. American companies now are biggest foreign private investors in India. Many of them are trying to gain a foothold in the Indian market banking on the demand of the growing Indian economy for high technology, computers and electronics.

Washington's political lexicon features new formulas. Washington is lavish in acknowledging India's important role in Asian affairs, and its high international prestige in general. It now treats the improvement of relations with that country as a high priority of the US policy in the whole Asian-Pacific region.

The novel features in the American approach to India have not appeared by accident. The USA had to make these changes because its former hardline, often overtly anti-Indian policy was increasingly seen to be ineffective. This became more and more evident (especially in the past few years) as India's economic and defence potential grew and its influence in Asian affairs, the non-alignment movement and in the world as a whole increased. Commitment to the methods of confrontation in the political relations with India threatened to result in new and considerable difficulties for American policies in the developing world.

However, behind the "new US approaches" one discovers the same imperial goals which objectively run counter to the national interests of India and the tasks of strengthening security and stability in Asia. There is no doubt that the underlying aim of the US policy vis-a-vis India is to weaken, if not undermine, its friendly links with the Soviet Union. As before, Washington would like to see that country reorient its policy towards the West, which would reduce its independent role in the non-alignment movement and in the world at large. The US ruling quarters are openly displeased with the fact that peaceful, independent India takes a constructive stand on key world problems, notably disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, and actively supports a nuclear test ban and the barring of the arms race from outer space. India's backing of anti-colonial struggle in Southern Africa and its firm solidarity with Libya during the difficult time of the US aggression are clearly at odds with the expansionist aims of US imperialism. Nor is Washington happy with Delhi's balanced position on the so-called "Afghan" and "Kampuchea" problems, because India invariably speaks in favour of their political settlement with strict respect for the sovereign right of the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to freedom and independence.

That is why the USA, seeking leverage on India, is resorting to a wide range of methods and is stepping up economic, scientific, technological and trade ties.

It has to be said that the democratic public opinion in India is aware of the true goals underlying Washington's "new approach" to that country. As the Delhi newspaper *Patriot* wrote, the USA has made it understood that it is ready to provide India with high technology, but in exchange it requires a "slight" change of the government's foreign policy, especially as regards its friendship with the Soviet Union and its relations with Afghanistan. The US ruling quarters would like the Indian authorities to signal a departure from the policy of Jawaharlal Nehru.

One must also bear in mind that in advocating better American-Indian relations, Washington is bringing a degree of pressure to bear on Pakistan to make it more amenable to the US military-strategic claims.

And yet for all the importance Washington attaches to a "new approach" to India, it is only of secondary importance. There is no doubt that the pivot of the US policy in South Asia is the military-political cooperation with Pakistan, which is spearheaded not only against the DRA and the USSR, but also against India.

During the debates in the Indian Parliament last spring, Prime Mi-

nister Rajiv Gandhi pointed out that although American weapons were ostensibly being supplied in view of the Afghanistan developments, many of these weapons are unsuitable for the rugged terrain on the Pakistani-Afghan border. The underlying alarm in his words is well justified if one considers that most of the arms coming from the USA are concentrated on the Indian-Pakistan border where the main Pakistan forces are deployed.

Yet even today, in the conditions of peace, provocations and interference in Indian affairs form part and parcel of Islamabad's foreign policy. They go a long way towards explaining the continuing tensions in the strategically important border states of India—Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. Pakistan, the USA and some other Western countries are rendering diverse aid to the Sikh terrorists and separatists seeking to sever Punjab from India. Between 1,500 and 2,000 Sikh extremists, *India Today* attests, are being trained by Pakistani officers in a dozen military camps along the border with India. They are practicing subversion and sabotage methods. These camps provide a sanctuary for terrorists returning after subversive operations inside Indian territory.¹ Incidentally, more than 60 terrorist training centres in the United States are offering intensive training to Sikh extremists. Often Sikh terrorists and Afghan counter-revolutionaries are being trained in the same camps, both in the USA and in Pakistan. The training programme is supervised by CIA instructors.

Islamabad's intention to develop its own nuclear weapons poses a particular threat to the security of India and other countries in the region. The signs are that work in the direction is well advanced. According to *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, Pakistan can well be included in the category of "threshold" states.

In spite of Washington's assiduous efforts to create the illusion that it is opposed to its ally's nuclear preparations and to restrain them, the actions of the US Administration testify to the contrary. The exemption of Islamabad from the Symington Amendment adopted by the US Congress banning American aid to countries developing the nuclear weapon is nothing if not connivance with the dangerous plans of the Pakistani rulers. But for the more than tolerant attitude of the US rulers to Islamabad's nuclear plans Pakistani agents could hardly have managed to take out of the United States the components of a nuclear bomb fuse and avoid being put on trial for violating American laws.

The saturation of Pakistan with modern American weaponry, generous and diverse aid to Sikh extremists and Afghan counter-revolutionaries and the encouragement of Islamabad's nuclear preparations—all this is in stark contrast to Washington's professed desire to normalise the situation in South Asia and the adjacent areas.

The gulf between Washington's peace phraseology and real policies is apparent in other elements of the US Asia policy as well.

Many observers note Washington's interest in Bangladesh, one of the most populous Asian countries, which, as American policy-makers note, occupies a strategically important position at the entrance to the Bay of Bengal and close to China and India. No wonder, the American military is seeking access to Bangladesh ports with an eye to creating US naval bases there. They have singled out the country's biggest port, Chittagong, for building refuelling stations and army dumps, the port of Chalna for organising recreation for the crews of warships, and the island of St. Mar-

¹ *India Today*, May 15, 1986, p. 44.

tin for building navigation facilities. Of late, American warships have been making more frequent calls at Bangladesh ports. Last year the American tank-landing ship the "Touscalouse" visited Chittagong and was followed by the frigate the "Capodanno". According to the newspaper *News Today*, following the 1985 visit to Dacca by American Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead, the government of Bangladesh officially agreed to regular calls of American warships at Bangladesh ports.

The US policy with regard to the island state of the region—Sri Lanka, the scene of the Tamil-Singhalese ethnic conflict for several years, is also geared towards gaining new bridgeheads for expansion in South Asia. Washington officials while paying lip service to peaceful settlement, behave in a very different way, orchestrating military and political actions by Pakistani, Israeli and British allies that exacerbate the situation in Sri Lanka. Americans, writes the *Hindustan Times*, are back-seat driving, letting its docile allies do the dirty work.² According to press reports, retired British airforce pilots take part in air raids against Tamils in the northern provinces of Sri Lanka. The same is true of Pakistan air force officers.³ Taking an active part in the hostilities in Sri Lanka are officers of the Israeli sabotage services supervised by the Department of Israel's Interests set up specially for the purpose at the US Embassy in Colombo several years ago. Acting with the knowledge and tacit approval of Washington, its closest allies are kindling strife between the Singhalese and the Tamils keeping up tensions on India's southern borders.

In other words, external interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka does not only add to the destabilisation in that country but tends to complicate the situation and undermine India's positions on the sub-continent. In the final analysis, this poses a threat to peace and stability in Southeast Asia as a whole.

American imperialism's hegemonistic aspirations underlie its sabotage of the proposal on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace adopted by the UN General Assembly back in 1971. An international conference designed to be a milestone along that road has been blocked. Initially scheduled for 1981, the conference has been postponed several times. Preparation for the conference has hardly got off the ground. Washington and its allies are trying hard to make the special UN Committee on the Indian Ocean to prepare the conference curtail its activity. They are trying to throw overboard whatever has been accomplished in preparing the conference. They are trying to mislead the international public opinion by declaring that the political climate in the region has to be improved first before convening the conference. This is a case of putting the cart before the horse.

Official US circles have taken a dim view of other initiatives designed to stem the dangerous trends in the Indian Ocean basin. This applies, in particular, to the 1982 Soviet proposal to the effect that all the states whose ships use sea routes in the Indian Ocean refrain from sending major naval units there and holding military exercises without waiting for the conference to convene. Nor did the USA heed the Soviet call (backed by the developing countries, like the first one) that the littoral states should not expand and modernise the military bases in the region.

The US line is closely connected with the policy of military build-up in the region. Washington strategists now see the Indian Ocean basin as

² See *Hindustan Times*, June 10, 1986, p. 13.

³ *Ibidem*.

a major target in the struggle for military superiority. Only in the period between 1980 and 1985 the USA spent over \$30,000 million to build up its military presence in the region. It seeks to turn the Indian Ocean into a forward base for its nuclear weapons similar to Western Europe and the Atlantic. This is evidenced by the active introduction in the Indian Ocean of the strategic components of the American armed forces—nuclear-capable submarines and aircraft carriers with nuclear-capable planes on board. Similarly, the saturation of American military bases in the region with nuclear weapons and other mass annihilation weapons (including chemical) are also linked with the fact that the Indian Ocean has been included in the global US plans. Many of them are bases for strategic nuclear bombers.

There are many other facts to prove the quantitative and qualitative build-up of the US military presence there. More notable are the measures to create a fifth operational fleet comprising as many as 50 battle units and the replacement of Trident-1 missiles by Trident-2 on the *Ohio* submarines planned for 1989.

Far-reaching US programmes to include the Indian Ocean in the Star Wars plans represent a particular danger to peace and international security. The US bases on Diego Garcia and ground control, tracking and information processing centres serving military satellites on the Seychelles and Australia are being slated for these purposes. US submarines and aircraft carriers plying the waters of the Indian Ocean are also being equipped with an eye to Star Wars. American aircraft carriers are to receive F-15 planes from which "miniature self-targeted systems" (MSS) can be launched to intercept enemy satellites. Washington strategists estimate that by 1990 work is to be completed to build up a system to knock out satellites, 24,000 kilometres above the Earth.

The extremely dangerous activities in which nuclear and space weapons play a growing role pursue the dual aim of threatening the strategic security of the Soviet Union from the south and adding to the arsenal of blackmail and intimidation of the littoral states.

Ever wider political and public circles in Asia are becoming convinced of the danger of the US military preparations for the newly free countries. Not surprisingly, the dangerous course of the US imperialists meets with growing resentment in the developing countries. These sentiments have been reflected in the work and results of the 8th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Harare in early September this year. The struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and eliminate foreign military bases there is a major element in the activity of the non-alignment movement and the majority of its participants.

The important process in South and Southwest Asia, like in other regions of Asia, can not but affect the position of the Soviet Union, most of whose territory is in Asia. The Soviet Union is working consistently to improve the situation in that part of the world and to bring about a breakthrough towards peace and international security there. Under present conditions, it is vitally important that constructive efforts in this direction be made by all the peace-loving states, irrespective of their socio-political systems. This presupposes bilateral and then multilateral consultations to be followed later by a broad forum to seek mutually acceptable solutions while strictly observing the principles of equality and respect of the sovereign rights of all states.

Peaceful development and security of the Asian countries would be strengthened by the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons along with other mass destruction weapons before the end of this century and

the prevention of the arms race in outer space, as the Soviet Union is proposing. Steps like preventing new military blocs being formed and old ones from expanding and renunciation of backing anti-government and terrorist armed groups would elevate Asian security to a qualitatively new stage. A very important step towards peace and security would have been made if the Soviet proposals were realised whereby every permanent member of the UN Security Council should undertake to strictly observe the principles of non-interference and non-use or threat of force in relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries, and not to involve them in military blocs.

A full presentation of the Soviet position on securing and strengthening peace in the vast Asian-Pacific region, and the solution of other problems facing the countries there, has been given by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech. Having outlined the concrete Soviet ideas of how to involve this region in the general process of comprehensive international security, as envisaged by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, he said: "The Soviet state appeals to all the Asian-Pacific countries to cooperate for the sake of peace and security. Everyone who strives for these goals and hopes for a better future for their peoples will find us to be sympathetic interlocutors and honest partners".⁴

Purposive and vigorous actions by all the peace forces can and must normalise the situation in the whole Asian-Pacific region, including the South and Southwest area, which would make a tangible contribution to the preservation and strengthening of universal peace and international security.

⁴ *Pravda*, July 29, 1986.

CENTRAL AMERICA: GREATER OPPOSITION TO THE US POLICY

I r i n a S T R O K

One of the most dangerous seats of tension in today's world is in Central America and is primarily the result of the militarist policy of the United States, which refuses to accept that in a region where it held absolute sway for over a century some countries are now putting up an increasingly resolute resistance to their powerful northern neighbour.

The USA's paramount concern is that if it is unable to restore order in its "historical patrimony", doubt will be cast on its very ability to play the decisive role in world affairs as a whole. Washington portrays the heightened anti-American sentiments in Central America as a result of "the intrigues of world communism" rather than a law-governed historical development.

In actual fact, the events in that region, including in Nicaragua, are merely a part of the worldwide objective anti-imperialist, national liberation process. For many decades, a whole range of both economic and political contradictions have been accumulating between the USA and countries of Latin America, whose complete economic dependence on the USA made them politically dependent as well. However, recent years have seen the awakening of the peoples' political consciousness, a process that is expressed in condemnation and greater opposition to US imperialism's policy. The Nicaraguan revolution provided the catalyst for this process. There is increasing evidence that Latin American countries now understand more clearly that if the USA's aggressive anti-Nicaraguan policy is not opposed, if that tiny republic is left at the mercy of imperialism, every other country in Latin America could sooner or later suffer the same fate. Such evidence is provided by the Contadora Group and the Contadora Support Group, which are seeking a peaceful settlement in the region. However, the USA is doing its utmost to hinder greater Latin American independence, resorting both to economic and military pressure.

US imperialism's increased aggressiveness since the turn of the 1980s is actually the reaction of the USA's most bellicose groupings to the heightened socio-economic contradictions of capitalism, to the increased might and influence of existing socialism, and to the expansion and deepening of the revolutionary liberation processes in the world. Their conservatism is nothing but the form of political thinking and behaviour of those classes, social strata and groups whose position is threatened by the objective tendencies of social development. Hence also the main thesis of conservatism: to mobilise the entire "rearguard" for a counter-offensive internationally. It is not for nothing that a basic concept of the Republican Administration since taking office has been to restore the USA's role as "the leader of the free world". Accordingly,

Washington regards any event that occurs without US knowledge and involvement as a threat to the very existence of the United States. And this fully applies to events in Central America, notably in Nicaragua.

The US President's second term in office has brought an especially sharp rise in anti-Nicaraguan hysteria in Washington. However, speaking on national television on May 9, 1984, even prior to the presidential elections, Reagan did say that it was the USA's lawful right and moral duty to seek a military solution to the problems of Central America. In his May 1, 1985 message to Congress he virtually declared a complete economic blockade of Nicaragua, stating that he believed that the policy and actions of the Nicaraguan government constituted an extraordinary and exceptional threat to US national security and foreign policy, and announcing emergency measures to remove that threat. They implied: a ban on the import of Nicaragua-made goods into the USA and on the export of US-made goods to or for Nicaragua, with the exception of those intended for the organised "democratic opposition" [i. e., the *contras*—*I. S.*] or for its operations.

In other words, the President's formulations in relation to Nicaragua were the same ones adopted by the Truman Administration during the cold war when the Truman Doctrine used "national security" considerations primarily to screen the USA's striving to secure its influence over other countries and peoples, and actually to place them under American diktat. The USA is again employing that slogan to justify its subversion of the national liberation movement, pressure on neutral countries, and attempts to maintain the status quo in the states that are part of the capitalist system. The White House political course known as the doctrine of "neo-globalism" was also prepared in the Truman spirit and calls for unlimited US interference in the affairs of sovereign states, above all the developing countries, through support for the counter-revolutionary forces in those states. And this applies not only to certain regions of "American influence" but to the entire world. The US policy towards Nicaragua is a part of that doctrine. There is good reason why the President's February 1986 message to Congress states categorically that North Americans must understand that Nicaragua is the most important foreign policy issue directly affecting the freedom and future of the United States.

Nowadays, almost in every speech by high-ranking US officials mention is made of the "threat to US national security and strategic interests" posed by this tiny Central American republic, accompanied by outright attacks on Nicaragua's political leaders, and they grossly distort the essence of events in that country. This whole campaign has but one aim: to disinform the American and world public about the situation in Central America, to prepare them psychologically for possible US military action in the region, and to get unconditional support of the US Congress for this extremely dangerous policy.

The USA makes no secret of the fact that its goal in Central America is to topple the Sandinista government, which is why, while verbally approving the activities of the Contadora Group and the Support Group, Washington is actually using all means at its disposal to make it impossible to reach a political settlement in the region. It therefore becomes clear why the USA unilaterally broke off the talks with Nicaragua which were being held in the Mexican town of Manzanillo.

However, the White House cannot ignore the public sentiments resulting from the so-called Vietnam syndrome and the general disapproval of the government's interventionist course. To all appearances the White House therefore plans at this stage to achieve its goal without direct military intervention, which is probably why it was so persevering on the question of granting \$100 million in aid to the *contras*. During

the drawn-out debate on a corresponding bill, the President himself deemed it necessary to address the House of Representatives on the eve of the decisive voting. Finally the House eventually approved the funds requested by a vote of 221 to 209 on June 15, 1986.

Still, the hectic lobbying by the President between the first and second stages of the voting is evidence of the unpopularity of the US Central American policy. According to a joint ABC and *The Washington Post* poll, the majority of the Americans are against military aid to the Nicaraguan contras: 62 per cent of the polled opposed this aid and only 29 per cent supported it.

On the whole, the aggressive US policy in Central America faces many difficulties both at home and abroad, but the main stumbling block to the White House is the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for their freedom and independence, the mounting anti-American sentiments throughout the region, and the stepped-up efforts by Latin American countries to prevent direct US interference in Central American affairs and to bring about a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

As the Latin American peoples' political consciousness grows, they are increasingly understanding that it is the United States which is to blame for their sorry plight, and that real political and economic independence will only come through their own efforts. Perhaps the first post-Cuban revolution example of unwillingness to submit to US diktat and accept its interference in Latin American affairs was the opposition on the part of Mexico, Uruguay and Chile to the US military units being given an inter-American character during the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic. That was the first time that the Organisation of American States (OAS), set up in 1947 by Washington and always used as an obedient instrument of US economic, political and ideological expansion in Latin America, attempted (even if only partially) to oppose the USA. And that attempt has left its mark. Since then the United States has not been able to secure unanimous support for its actions in the region, failing, for example, to create an interventionist inter-American army and to prevent the reestablishment of diplomatic and economic relations between Latin American countries and Cuba.

The crisis of faith in the USA as a "good neighbour" worsened during the 1982 Falkland (Malvinas) conflict when Washington betrayed Latin America and breached the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio de Janeiro Pact) by supporting Britain, thereby clearly demonstrating that the USA interprets treaties exclusively in line with its own interests. Latin America well remembers that during this crisis US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger stated flatly that it suited the USA more to strengthen its influence in Western Europe than to meekly comply with the 1947 Rio de Janeiro Pact.¹

That showed the Latin American peoples yet again that only they themselves can resolve their problems, which is what led to the formation in January 1983 of the Contadora Group and then of the Contadora Support Group. But that is precisely why the US was greatly disturbed by the appearance of the two groups as an independent body of Latin American countries. While supporting Contadora in words, the USA has in practice been trying to thwart the Contadora peace efforts, including getting the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala to float proposals unacceptable to Nicaragua during discus-

¹ See A. Diaz-Callejas, *Contadora: desafio al Imperio*, Bogotá, 1985, p. 123.

sion of the Contadora peace formulae, an action which would deadlock the Latin American countries' peace efforts.

As soon as the Contadora Group advanced an Act of Peace and Cooperation in Central America in November 1984 for discussion, the American government started to bring political, diplomatic and financial pressure to bear on those countries and the Contadora Group itself to adjust the text in favour of the USA, with the result that in September 1985 the Contadora Group prepared a new draft that took account of the wishes of Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica, which were clearly suggested by the United States. Still, they continued, no doubt prompted by the USA, to make new proposals even on that variant, proposals which did not further a resolution to the regional crisis and were advantageous for the United States.

Nevertheless, realising that a further escalation of US intervention in Nicaragua is fraught with serious consequences for the political independence of Central and South America, the Contadora Group and the Support Group persistently seek a peaceful settlement of the regional crisis. A new step in that direction was the drafting of a third variant of the Act of Peace, which was submitted for consideration of the participating countries at the June 1986 meeting in Panama. Although the Act was not signed at that time as well, the Contadora Group is fully determined to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Central American crisis and to maintain opposition to the USA's aggressive course.

In assessing the prospects for a peaceful settlement in the region one must take into account the situation obtaining in a number of Central American states. The taking of power by civilian governments in those countries is all a part of the plans of the American administration, which deemed it expedient to remove the military from the political scene and thereby complete the process begun with President Duarte in El Salvador. Speaking at a conference of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, US Vice-President George Bush declared that the White House was pursuing its policy despite criticism, and that five years hence democracy flourished. In this way Washington hopes to create the impression that Nicaragua is the only "undemocratic" state in the region and to smear it in the public eye. However, the new governments in Central American countries, including Guatemala and Honduras, are in fact a US concession to the democratic aspirations in Central America and a success for the region's progressive forces.

As regards those governments' stance on a settlement in Central America, it is undoubtedly influenced by both the domestic political situation of the countries themselves and by their dependence on the USA. The Western press writes, for example, that five million of Guatemala's eight million residents live in poverty. While foreign debt servicing absorbs 40 per cent of the country's currency earnings annually, according to data cited by President Vinicio Cerezo himself, 95 per cent of the population have no access to education at any level, and 65 per cent of the Guatemalans are illiterate. Infant mortality is one of the world's highest; and 46 to 50 per cent of the population are jobless and can not even feed themselves.² In the President's words, Guatemala has virtually no hope of obtaining the \$300 million it badly needs to stabilise the national economy except from the USA.

El Salvador is naturally completely dependent on the USA. When Duarte first became President, he admitted in a *Newsweek* interview that he was President only because of the full support of the army as well as the United States. That same support won him the presidency in 1984 as well. Meanwhile, the level of unemployment and partial employ-

² *Le Monde*, Apr. 25, 1986.

ment is nearing 50 per cent in El Salvador, and inflation stands at about 30 per cent, despite the US-approved austerity programme. In 1986 El Salvador expects to receive \$350.7 million in US economic aid, and \$132 million in military aid.

The situation is even worse in Costa Rica, whose foreign debt soared from \$1,000 million in 1981 to \$4,200 million in 1985.³ Since 1982 the USA have given that country \$700 million, which has allowed the government to plug some of the budgetary gaps. Naturally, the huge indebtedness seriously affects the country's foreign policy as well.

Yet there are certain peculiarities in Costa Rica's stand as regards the Central American crisis. The government has so far adhered to the principles of demilitarisation of the country enshrined in the 1949 Constitution and the 1983 declaration on perpetual neutrality, while the American Administration has been seeking to force Costa Rica to be an active participant in the anti-Sandinista fight. As soon as the Oscar Arias Sánchez cabinet took office, Costa Rica defied the USA and began to establish bilateral relations with Nicaragua. The Presidents of the two states exchanged messages which supported the idea of forming a permanent control and supervision in the border zone within the Contadora framework, that is, without the USA. Such a commission would set a precedent for a peaceful settlement of differences with other Central American states.

At the same time, Costa Rica's attitude to the signing of the Act of Peace and the arming of the rural and National Guard—the country's only para-military formations—could mean that the White House is resorting to threats to halt economic aid to make Costa Rica more like Honduras, which has been virtually turned into a US military base in the region.

The American press quotes Costa Rican leaders as admitting that they are simply torn between displeasure at the increased appropriations for the contras and dire need of American aid, and also the hope that the USA will help to reschedule the country's crippling foreign debt. Yet the President of the country stated that "Costa Rica will not be converted into a dormitory for contras. ...They may not use Costa Rican territory for any kind of military act".⁴

Regarding Honduras, Azcona Hoyo, President since January 27, 1986, stated his intention to pursue a more independent foreign policy, a declaration that immediately met with a hostile reception in Washington, which sent more than a few threats to cut off aid to Honduras. *The Washington Post* wrote that such statements could give rise to the kind of problems which Honduras—one of the poorest countries in the Western hemisphere—could encounter if it tries to take an independent course.⁵

Honduras has the highest level of poverty after Haiti in Latin America. Official data of international organisations show that 65 per cent of the population live in abject poverty; 71 per cent of the able-bodied population (1.2 million) are out of work; and 54 per cent are illiterate.

Foreign indebtedness has reached \$2,500 million. At the same time, \$67 million of \$800 million state budget are appropriated to the armed forces. Direct US military aid is close to \$86 million.⁶ Says Ramón Oqueli, Honduran writer and social sciences Professor at the university centre for general studies: "We go along not because we are in sympathy but because we are poor."⁷

³ *Le Monde diplomatique*, February 1986.

⁴ *The Washington Post*, July 19, 1986.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1986.

⁶ *Excels*, Apr. 1, 1986.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

One can now say with certainty about a virtual occupation of Honduras by the United States, which has built 27 military bases there. In the last few years, about 100,000 officers and men of the American army have participated in military exercises on Honduran territory. In June 1986, obviously echoing the tone set by Washington, the President of Honduras states: "As long as there is a totalitarian regime in Central America that has expansionist ambitions and is supported by an enormous military apparatus... [the USSR and Cuba—I. S.], the neighboring countries sharing common borders with the country that is the source of the problem, will be under constant threat."

Summing up the situation in the Central American region in a *Prensa Latina* interview, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said that among the governments and military circles of these states "predominate neither a militarist spirit nor a positive attitude to American military intervention, but there are constant concessions to pressure, blackmail and threats".

Yet it would be a mistake not to take account of the numerous nuances that are present in the positions of Central American states and are often conditioned by their relations with each other and with the United States. Although these republics' economic and military instability does play a substantial role in determining how they see their place in the regional crisis, in the present situation the growth in their peoples' political consciousness cannot but influence their policy. That is precisely why the governments of Central American states continue to participate in the activities with—in the Contadora Group and the Support Group, preventing the complete halt to its work that Washington obviously desires.

Many facts point to Latin America's growing unwillingness to give in to White House pressure, for example, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and the Support Group held in the Venezuelan town of Caraballeda on 11-12 January 1986, and the meeting which took place later in Guatemala between the Central American Foreign Ministers and their colleagues from the Support Group. The document adopted at Caraballeda stresses the urgent need for a "Latin American solution to the crisis"; in other words, one reached through the efforts of the Latin American countries themselves. A similar idea was expressed during the meeting in the Uruguayan town of Punta-del-Este (February 27-28, 1986) of the representatives of the Contadora Group, the Support Group, and the Cartagena Group.⁸

The February 1986 Managua conference of Latin American and Caribbean political parties could also be assessed as a landmark in consolidating the efforts of Latin American states. It was attended by representatives of very varied political orientation: socialists, Christian Democrats, conservatives, liberals, Communists, etc. Despite this heterogeneity, the conference condemned US interference in Nicaragua and expressed complete support for the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group and the Support Group. Addressing the conference, Armando Hart Dávalos, head of the Cuban delegation and Member of the Communist Party of Cuba Political Bureau, emphasised the idea that only "Latin-americanism", that is, the unity of the countries of Latin America, will be able to protect their independence in the face of imperialism's aggression. "Our enemies are uniting against us," he said, "as the Malvinas crisis showed. They are uniting in a policy of economic enslavement of

⁸ Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Venezuela, Mexico and Brazil met in the town of Cartagena (Colombia) from June 20 to 22, 1984, to discuss their foreign debt and the repayment terms and conditions.

our countries. The only possible response to that is our unity in defence of our common interests." ⁹

Of great significance from this viewpoint was the May 1986 Esquipulas (Guatemala) meeting of Central American Presidents, which considered creating a Central American parliament as a political mechanism for settling regional problems.

The US interventionist policy was scathingly criticised at the meeting of the OAS Inter-American Economic and Social Council which was held past October in Washington. Delegates from Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina and Mexico condemned the intention of the White House to force Nicaragua succumb to its pressure. A similar stand was taken by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and the Support Group. The document adopted at that time and called *Peace Is Still Possible in Central America* refutes the attempts made by certain circles to "resolve" regional problems by military means and condemns the violation of the principles of free self-determination and non-interference.

Worried by growing Latin American unity, the United States spare no effort to divide the countries of the region using blackmail, threats and even attempts to discredit high-ranking political figures prominent in the Contadora process in the eyes of the Latin American and world community. As was noted by Fidel Castro, "all this is being done with evil intent, including the attempts to sow distrust, discord and suspicion".

The majority of the Latin American states, at least the most influential ones like Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, condemn these provocations, as also the American administration's aggressive course as a whole. They fear that the US policy towards Nicaragua could negatively affect the entire Latin American continent since every blow at the national sovereignty of this tiny Republic means a blow at the whole continent, which is fighting for its economic and political independence. This concern was expressed at the extraordinary session of the Latin American Parliament which completed its work on April 5, 1986 in Guatemala and whose final statement, approved by almost 20 countries of the continent, noted that "the present crisis in Central America constitutes the greatest ever threat to the existence of the countries of the region as independent and democratic states".

In Central America as throughout the Latin American continent solidarity is broadening with the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, and there is an ever stronger movement for a negotiated settlement of the region's problems, for the peoples' free and peaceful development, and for elimination of the existing seats of tension and of the possibility that they can emerge, in the future.

⁹ *Granma*, Feb. 13, 1986.

SOVIET PROGRAMME FOR FULLY ELIMINATING MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS

Yuri TOMILIN

Because the principal aim of the foreign policy strategy of the CPSU and the Soviet Union is to enable the Soviet people to work in conditions of lasting peace, the main direction of the party's activities internationally shall continue to be the struggle to eliminate the nuclear danger and the arms race, and preserve and strengthen universal peace.

The character of modern weapons makes it impossible for any state to protect itself by military and technical means alone, for example, by establishing even the most powerful defences. Today, security is a political question that can only be decided by political means. There can be no security for each individual state; security can only be for all, which is why international security cannot be built by taking care of one's own security interests while ignoring those of others. Such an approach rules out serious talks.

Proceeding from this interpretation of international security on which Soviet foreign policy rests, Mikhail Gorbachev told a November 21, 1985 press conference in Geneva following his talks with the US President that it would not be advantageous to the Soviet Union for the USA to enjoy less security than the USSR because that would give rise to distrust and instability.

With respect to Soviet-American relations, security should only be reciprocal; and with respect to international relations as a whole, it should only be universal. Only equal security brings stability. One state's unfavourable security position relative to its rival engenders unpredictability in policy and makes it difficult to foresee concrete actions, and that could be disastrous in the nuclear age, especially since new mass destruction weapons have been steadily reducing the time and the possibility for taking political decisions on war and peace in crisis situations.

At the same time, a mere balance of the sides' nuclear potentials is not a guarantee of security. The present inordinately high level of that balance ensures only equal danger, and the higher the level the greater that equal danger, until a stage is reached where even parity ceases to be a military and political deterrent. In our day, real equal security is achieved by lowering the level of military confrontation and is guaranteed by the lowest possible level of strategic balance, which should fully exclude nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons. The overall military power of each state should be limited to reasonable sufficiency. That is what the USSR advocates, but the character and level of this limit is set by the positions and actions of the USA and its military and political allies.

The course of history and social progress is making increasingly

imperative constructive cooperation between states and peoples throughout the planet, and is also creating the necessary political, social and material prerequisites for it. Cooperation is needed to prevent a nuclear holocaust so that humanity could survive, and it should result in the establishment of an all-embracing international security system. With this end in view, the 27th CPSU Congress put forward specific proposals on the military, political, economic and humanitarian bases of such a system, bases which follow logically from the CPSU Programme and which could be a guide to making peaceful coexistence the supreme universal principle of interstate relations.

Concern over the fate of the world and the peoples' future prompted the Soviet Union and other socialist states to propose that the 41st Session of the UN General Assembly discuss the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. The draft resolution submitted to the session calls on states to concentrate their efforts on ensuring equal security for all and in every sphere of international relations, and to that end to contribute to the drafting of a document containing the basic principles of an all-embracing international security system.

The core of an all-embracing international security system should be disarmament, which is why it was decided that the central direction of Soviet foreign policy in the years ahead should be realisation of the programme to eliminate mass destruction weapons and remove the war danger advanced in the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary's statement of January 15, 1986. Implementation of this programme, which is of historic significance, would usher in a fundamentally different period of development for humanity and enable it to focus entirely on construction.

In general, the January 15 programme is a fusion of the philosophy of shaping a secure world in the nuclear space age with a platform of concrete actions. Its essence is to ensure universal security via disarmament. The USSR proposes that the problems of disarmament should be approached as a single package but this does not mean rigid linkages or attempts to "yield" in one direction in order to erect barricades in another; rather it means a plan of concrete actions that is based on a strict time schedule.

The groundwork for the proposal fully to liquidate nuclear weapons was laid by all previous foreign policy activities of the Soviet state, which in 1946, at the dawn of the nuclear age, urgently raised the question of banning the production and use of atomic weapons.

The novelty of the present programme lies in the fact that it does not merely speak of a final goal for an indefinite future but puts forward clear-cut outlined specific measures over a foreseeable historically short period of just 15 years to eliminate nuclear weapons completely and everywhere while prohibiting space strike weapons.

The first stage of the programme calls for the USSR and the USA to halve, over a 5- to 8-year period the nuclear arms targeted at each other's territories, both sides naturally renouncing space strike weapons. Agreement on this could be reached at the bilateral Soviet-American Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Prohibition of space strike weapons is a natural prerequisite for eliminating nuclear arms. Preventing the spread of the arms race to outer space means eliminating an obstacle to drastic reductions in nuclear weapons and then gradually liquidating them. This is not an arbitrary linkage of two different issues; there is an objective material interconnection between them. In aiming to wipe out one danger—the

nuclear danger—the USSR is simultaneously suggesting that another, equally terrible danger should be prevented—the danger from outer space.

The concept "space strike weapons" (SSW) includes all space-based weapons designed to operate against targets in space and on earth, including the earth's atmosphere, and weapons of all basing modes designed to operate against targets in space. Among them are anti-satellite weapons of all basing modes and all principles of operation, space-based anti-missile systems and space-based arms of the "space-earth" class designed to strike targets on Earth and in the atmosphere. SSWs do not include military communication, navigation and early warning satellites, which do exist but which enhance rather than upset stability. The appearance of SSWs in space would be highly inimical to stability and would greatly increase the danger of nuclear war.

A qualitatively new element of the programme is the bold and far-reaching proposal to liquidate all Soviet and American medium range ballistic and cruise missiles in the European zone already at the first stage. The USA would undertake not to supply other countries with its strategic and medium range missiles, and Britain and France would undertake not to build up their corresponding nuclear arms.

As regards the Soviet missiles in the eastern part of the country, they were deployed there primarily because the USA has its own nuclear weapons in that region targeted at Soviet territory. These are both the carrier-based and delivery aircraft located, for example, in Misawa on the island of Honshu. It is envisaged that our missiles and those they are ranged against will be reduced. The Soviet programme thus resolves the matter of medium range missiles, including those in the east.

Although the first stage of the programme calls for only the USSR and the USA to reduce their nuclear arms, this does not mean that the Soviet Union sees nuclear disarmament as merely a bilateral process. The programme includes a carefully worked out and balanced procedure for involving the other nuclear states in the nuclear disarmament process. The USSR presumes that it is the USSR and the USA that should set an example for other nuclear powers. Agreement between the USSR and the USA would create necessary prerequisites allowing involvement of the other nuclear powers at the second stage, that is not later than 1990.

During the second stage, the Soviet-American agreement prohibiting space strike arms would become multilateral, with the leading industrial powers acceding to it.

The third stage, to begin by 1995, should see an end to the process of eliminating nuclear arms completely and in all places on Earth by the end of 1999.

A universal comprehensive agreement (or agreements) should be elaborated to prevent forever the revival of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet nuclear disarmament programme also envisages a ban on non-nuclear arms such as particle beam, radiowave, infrasonic, and genetic weapons which are based on new physical principles and whose strike capabilities are similar to those of nuclear or other mass destruction weapons.

The Soviet Union's programme for nuclear disarmament and non-deployment of weapons in space is aimed at speeding up the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons. Unfortunately, the USA has taken a negative stance on the Soviet proposals advanced at the talks on the basis of the programme's first stage measures.

Because of the situation at the talks, the Soviet Union, continuing its practical search for a mutually acceptable agreement, has proposed the following intermediate variant:

a) agreement to comply with the anti-ballistic missile defence treaty

for at least 15 years, while the work on the SDI will be confined to laboratory research, that is to the stage which the United States has actually reached;

b) strategic offensive weapons—intercontinental ballistic missiles (IBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and heavy bombers—to be limited to the equal level. The matter of medium range arms targeted at the other's territory, including land-based long range cruise missiles, to be settled separately.

The Soviet Union also introduced at the talks a draft agreement on medium range missiles in Europe under which British and French nuclear missiles would remain at the present quantities if there is a zero ratio between the Soviet Union and the USA in this type of weapon in the European zone. At the same time the USSR declared that it would not increase its medium range missiles in Asia.

Prohibition of nuclear weapon tests can and should play an important role in removing the nuclear danger for it is through tests that weapons are modernised and even more sophisticated ones are developed and tested. What is more, test explosions are conducted to check the reliability of stockpiles and to test new models. Explosions also provide data necessary for theoretical calculations of future types of the weapon which will use the energy of a nuclear explosion.

The USA recently began a programme of nuclear tests in Nevada to develop lasers triggered by nuclear explosions, in the hope of using that mechanism in the Star Wars plans, which are officially known as the Strategic Defence Initiative.

It is therefore understandable why the overwhelming majority of states are now focussing on the problem of ending nuclear tests. Easily accomplished technically, this measure would be a very effective means of limiting the nuclear arms race and liquidating those weapons since it would prevent the appearance of new types of nuclear weapons and help to freeze the nuclear arsenals.

The Soviet Union's efforts have brought some progress in resolving the problem of tests. Since 1963 the 113-state Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water has been in effect. It does not, however, ban underground tests, and furthermore two nuclear powers—China and France—have not acceded to it.

In 1974 the USSR and the USA signed a treaty limiting underground nuclear weapon tests to a threshold of 150 kilotons. The 1976 Soviet-American treaty also set strict rules regarding underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Substantial progress was made at the 1977-1980 trilateral (the USSR, the USA and Britain) talks on a complete and universal ban on nuclear weapon tests.

However, the 1974 and 1976 treaties have not come into effect because of the US refusal to ratify them. With regard to the tripartite talks, they were broken off by the American side. The USA is also unwilling to hold multilateral talks on a complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, for which the bulk of other states at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament are striving.

In an effort to set things in motion on a test ban, the Soviet Union unilaterally ended all types of nuclear explosions on August 6, 1985 and called on the US government to do likewise. This unilateral moratorium, which was to last until January 1, 1986, was prolonged several times by the Soviet Union, expiring on August 6, 1986. However, after comprehensively and scrupulously weighing all the pros and cons, and

guided by their responsibility for the fate of the world, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government decided to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until January 1, 1987.

In an attempt to justify its refusal to join the moratorium, the USA claims that the Soviet Union halted its tests only after it had conducted a major series of tests and that it is not possible to monitor a moratorium.

The first argument is refuted by data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) which say that as of August 1, 1985 the United States had conducted approximately one-third more nuclear explosions than the Soviet Union, and along with other Western nuclear powers 50 per cent more. In 1985 the USA carried out fifteen nuclear tests, France eight, and the Soviet Union only seven (no Chinese or British explosions were registered over that period)¹. During the period of the Soviet moratorium, the USA conducted over 20 tests. Therefore, by refraining from tests for both military and peaceful purposes, the Soviet Union has consciously made sacrifices in the military and economic areas.

Arguments regarding monitoring difficulties were demolished by the Soviet Union's agreement to very far-reaching measures. It is common knowledge that the USSR and the USA have very up-to-date national technical means of reliably monitoring a moratorium. An additional safeguard would be to refuse—as the USSR has done—to conduct any nuclear explosions, either military or for peaceful purposes, thereby excluding the possibility of conducting tests under the pretext of peaceful nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union has gone even further. Supporting the idea of using an international monitoring system, it expressed willingness, provided the United States does likewise, to accept the offer by six states—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden—to assist in monitoring a test moratorium, including on site inspections, and to establish on their territories special stations to supervise the agreement to halt tests. A proposal was also made to the American side to agree to allow observers from both sides to make visits, on a mutual basis and as required, to the sites of nuclear events in order to clear up possible concerns that such events might be linked to nuclear explosions.

Further confirmation of the flexibility of the Soviet stand on monitoring was its agreements to have an American monitoring and measuring apparatus set up in the Semipalatinsk region based on an accord reached between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the US Natural Resources Defense Council and supported by the Soviet government. Under this accord, Soviet scientists will conduct similar experiments in the State of Nevada in the USA, the aim being to research methods of monitoring the non-conduct of nuclear tests.

The Soviet Union recently made an important contribution at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to the elaboration of international seismic methods of monitoring a complete prohibition of nuclear tests, advocating a system of prompt transmission of seismic signals as the basis for international seismic supervision of a test ban. These data would be transmitted from seismic stations included in a global network using satellite communications and processing and analysis of the data at international centres. These data would be automatically exchanged between the centres along special communication channels. The USSR proposed that an international experiment in such exchange be conducted.

¹ These data were cited by the Swedish delegation at a session of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament on February 4, 1986.

This new Soviet proposal was widely supported at the Geneva conference.

Of course, the problem of tests cannot be fully resolved without a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in all spheres and by all states under international law. However, given the realities, the Soviet Union, as is evident from Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15, 1986 Statement, is at this stage raising only the question of a halt to nuclear weapons tests by the United States and the Soviet Union, with the other nuclear powers doing so later—from 1990. A bilateral end to tests could be achieved both through a moratorium and on a treaty basis. A moratorium would create favourable conditions for a treaty, which could be worked out during talks. The Soviet Union proposes that talks on this question should be renewed or begun in any form—bilateral, tripartite, multilateral—without linking it with any other issues.

Between July 25 and 31 this year the first round of Soviet-American talks were held in Geneva on a whole range of issues—both monitoring and the ways to achieve a complete halt to nuclear tests. The talks were continued in September.

The American stance remains an obstacle to a test ban, which is why, when announcing extension of the moratorium, Mikhail Gorbachev appealed, on behalf of the Soviet people, to the reason and integrity of Americans not to miss again this historic opportunity on the road to ending the arms race. He called on US President Reagan once more to make an unbiased assessment of the situation, discard all that is superficial, and overcome the delusions about the Soviet Union and its foreign policy.

An agreement ending nuclear tests could be signed this year at a Soviet-American summit and would be the principal result of the meeting and a major step toward an end to the arms race.

The Soviet decision to prolong the unilateral moratorium was hailed throughout the world and is regarded everywhere as an important move in the USSR's consistent work to end the arms race, achieve disarmament, remove the nuclear threat. In a special statement, UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar stressed the vital importance of ending the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and expressed the hope that the recent Soviet initiative would facilitate an agreement to prohibit nuclear weapons tests.

In many countries the White House's hasty negative reaction to the extension was sharply criticised and condemned, and has prompted a desire to influence Washington's position.

American Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy welcomed the extension of the Soviet moratorium and called on the US President to seize this unprecedented opportunity and immediately begin working toward talks on a verifiable agreement forever banning nuclear weapons tests.

In Western Europe the Soviet initiative was favourably received not only among opposition but also among government circles. FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the extension "could be useful for an agreement fully prohibiting nuclear tests". Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag Volker Rühe called on the United States to give a constructive response to the USSR's proposal. SDPG Chairman Willy Brandt welcomed the extension, criticising the American administration in a *General-Anzeiger* interview for refusing to join the moratorium because it supposedly "does not meet the security interests of the USA and its allies". He expressed confidence that the US allies would recommend that Washington not brush aside the Soviet Union's initiative.

"Another gesture of goodwill" is what the French bourgeois newspaper *Le Monde* called the extension. The mass media of a number of other Western countries described the Soviet decision as a reflection of its

consistent course toward nuclear disarmament and the present US Administration's refusal to join it as "ill-advised".

Broad support for the extension and the appeal to the USA to join the moratorium was expressed in socialist and non-aligned countries. The Indian newspaper *Patriot* wrote that the USSR's decision to prolong the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions to January 1, 1987 was a fitting response to the call of the Delhi Six for the Soviet Union and the USA to extend the moratorium, and that this foreign policy step by the USSR deserves the sincere gratitude of all peace-loving forces.

CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15, 1986 Statement underscored that the Soviet Union is for the earliest and complete elimination of chemical weapons and of the very industrial base for their production. It expressed readiness to provide information in good time on the location of chemical weapons enterprises and to halt production, begin working out a procedure for eliminating the production base, and also to start liquidating the chemical weapons stockpiles soon after a convention takes effect. All this would take place under strict supervision, including international on-site monitoring.

In April 1986 the Soviet Union took steps to make the January 15 Statement more concrete, proposing that the elimination of the chemical weapons stockpiles should be started by each signatory state not later than six months after a convention comes into force and should be completed not later than 10 years after that date; that as soon as the convention takes effect all activities should cease at chemical weapons plants, save for such activities as are necessary to close them, and that in the next three months measures should be taken to ensure that the plants do not function (buildings to be kept vacant, dismantling of all communication and protective facilities at the site, etc.). In order rapidly to liquidate the industrial base completely, the destruction or dismantling of chemical weapons plants should begin not later than one year after the convention comes into force.

Under the Soviet proposals, not later than 30 days after the convention takes effect the participating states would officially declare that they have (or had) chemical weapons plants on their territory, the number of such plants irrespective of their form of ownership (state or private), and the exact location of each one.

In seeking an early prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, the Soviet Union attaches great importance to an effective and reliable monitoring system and proposes that strict supervision, including regular international on-site inspections, should be used to ensure that all chemical weapons plants, including privately-owned ones, cease to function. This would mean verifying the declarations, sealing the closed plants, and periodically checking them until the destruction or dismantling of the plant begins. With a view to effective monitoring, the Soviet Union proposes that there should be regular international on-site inspections and a procedure for visits by international inspectors should be worked out whereby they would be present at every important operation to destroy or dismantle such a plant. A final international verification would be carried out on completion of the process of destroying or dismantling the entire plant.

Previously, the Soviet Union had proposed that regular international inspections should also be used to monitor the whole process of eliminating chemical weapons from beginning to end and the production of lethal

supertoxic chemicals for permitted purposes at plants specially designated for that.

All the measures that would rid human society of chemical weapons would thus be under strict international supervision.

Following the new Soviet proposals, the way is practically open for an early agreement on a convention, including the issue of control. As Mikhail Gorbachev stated on Soviet television on August 18, this would make it possible to sign either this year, or next a convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles, and the industrial base for their production.

There is actually but one obstacle that could make it very difficult to conclude a convention: the danger that the United States might start producing binary weapons. The relatively harmless components of binary weapons could be produced commercially under the guise of chemicals for peaceful purposes. Thus, on the one hand, the danger arises of the convention being breached, and, on the other, the problem of monitoring is becoming greatly complicated.

Having declared the need for a new way of thinking in the nuclear-space age, the Soviet Union convincingly displayed that thinking at the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan held at the Soviet initiative in Reykjavik, capital of Iceland, on October 11-12 past year. The Soviet Union proceeded there from the principles of equality and equal security taking into account the interests of both countries, their allies, all nations. The new approach to the burning problems of our time is reflected in the compromise Soviet proposals advanced at that meeting on a radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons, the elimination of the American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe with a simultaneous reduction of such missiles in Asia, on freezing the number of missiles with a range of less than one thousand kilometres, on strengthening the ABM Treaty and on a complete and final prohibition of nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union, striving for a mutually acceptable compromise and making substantial concessions, requested to establish the most reliable control over the proposed package of measures since it is necessary to have guarantees that none of the parties would attempt to attain military superiority while eliminating nuclear weapons.

The implementation of these proposals would allow in a short span of time to achieve a radical improvement in international affairs to ensure a sharp turn in the struggle for disarmament, to avert the threat of nuclear war and to embark on the path leading to a nuclear-free world. However, the unconstructive stand of the American side which insisted in Reykjavik that the USA should have a chance for research and testing of everything related to the SDI both in and outside laboratories, including in outer space, frustrated potential accords.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the following on Soviet TV on October 14, 1986: "After Reykjavik the infamous SDI became more conspicuous as a symbol of obstruction in the way of peace, as a concentrated expression of militaristic designs and unwillingness to avert the nuclear threat looming larger over mankind." The world could once again see for itself that Washington still hopes to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union and does what it is told to do by the military-industrial complex.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee in approving Mikhail Gorbachev's activities at the meeting with President Reagan stressed that "there emerged a qualitatively new situation, and that the

USSR-MADAGASCAR RELATIONS ARE MAKING HEADWAY

"I have come to Moscow to meet my old Soviet friends and to make new acquaintances here, the birthplace of the Great October Socialist Revolution whose traditions are sacred and are passed on from one generation to another by the continuers of Lenin's cause". That is what was said by Didier Ratsiraka, General Secretary of the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution Party (VMRP), President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar (DRM), at the dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace arranged in his honour by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government. The President of Madagascar was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit and vacation from September 24 to October 2, 1986. That was the second official visit of the Malagasy leader to the Soviet Union; the first was paid in 1978.

At the meeting held during the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and D. Ratsiraka and at the talks where the Soviet delegation was headed by Andrei Gromyko, Member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the parties stressed mutual interest in the development of bilateral relations on the basis of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's affairs.

A decade and a half has passed since the Soviet Union and the Malagasy Republic established relations.

For a long time Madagascar had been among those countries which had practically no relations with the socialist community states. The situation had radically changed only when the reactionary pro-colonial regime of Philibert Tsiranana was toppled in 1972 and state power was taken by progressively-minded officers who proclaimed a new foreign policy course of the young state. Having departed from the one-sided orientation towards the West, Madagascar began to develop relations with the socialist countries within the framework of the government's policy which came to be known as the policy of "all azimuths". In September 1972 the republic established diplomatic relations with the USSR and, later on, with a number of other socialist community countries.

These relations became more active and friendly in 1975 when the Malagasy people opted for developing the country on the basis of progressive democratic transformations.

The advent to power by D. Ratsiraka has markedly invigorated the foreign policy of the DRM, making it distinctly anti-imperialist. The following was noted in the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution adopted in December 1975 by popular referendum: "The development of relations with the socialist countries must allow Madagascar to ease the

pressure of one-sided dependence of our policy in the field of economy, finances and trade as well as in the social and cultural spheres". The socialist countries are regarded as natural allies of the DRM in the struggle against neocolonialism, for strengthening its political and economic independence, for carrying out progressive socio-economic reforms. The leadership of Madagascar pays particular attention to the development of friendship and cooperation with the USSR which is perceived as one of the revolutionary gains.

The two countries carry out cooperation in political, economic, commercial, scientific, technological and cultural fields which they have placed on a solid legal basis. They have signed agreements on economic and technological cooperation, a trade agreement, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation, on air flights, on merchant shipping, on cooperation in postal and electric communications, etc. These documents provide a solid foundation for the development of relations on a regular and mutually beneficial basis.

Close or coinciding positions of the two countries on a wide range of international problems such as the struggle for peace, aversion of a nuclear war, discontinuation of the arms race, support for the national liberation movements, settlement of regional conflicts, etc., indicate the growing political accord between the DRM and the USSR. As D. Ratsiraka said in the Kremlin, "the long road of the Malagasy people towards creating a socialist society and establishing social justice intertwined from the very outset with the path traversed by the Soviet people for the attainment of the shared goals". The DRM leadership supports major Soviet initiatives in the UN and at other international forums. At the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev and at the talks D. Ratsiraka once again noted the peace-loving creative nature of the Soviet foreign policy. He declared that Madagascar fully supports the Soviet programme providing for a complete elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000. The decision of the Soviet Union to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till January 1, 1987 was described by the President of Madagascar as a bold and responsible step in the interest of strengthening international security which should be acceded to by the USA and other nuclear powers.

The participants in the talks stressed that a successful solution of the urgent international problems depends to a considerable degree on stronger unity of all progressive anti-imperialist states and their ability to meet the challenge posed by the aggressive and militaristic forces. The participants praised the role played by the non-aligned movement in world affairs and Madagascar's positive contribution to that movement, its efforts to improve the international situation.

The exchange of opinion confirmed the common approach of the USSR and the DRM to regional problems such as the situation in the south of Africa, the Namibia settlement, the proclamation of the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and the situation around Afghanistan.

Exchange of delegations and representatives of various state and public organisations at various levels helps expand ties between the USSR and the DRM in the political field. In 1979 the Soviet Union was visited by a parliamentary delegation of the DRM, and in 1983 the Prime Minister of Madagascar paid a working visit to the USSR. In September 1985 President D. Ratsiraka travelled to the USSR on a working visit. At the talks held by D. Ratsiraka and Andrei Gromyko the parties expressed their intention to place bilateral relations on a long-term planned basis.

A Soviet parliamentary delegation paid a reciprocal visit to Mada-

gascar and more than once visits to the country were paid by the delegations of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and others.

The CPSU is developing ties with the Madagascar Independence Congress Party (MICP) and public organisations associated with it. The CPSU is also expanding contacts with the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution Party headed by D. Ratsiraka. Representatives of these parties attended the 27th CPSU Congress.

The Declaration on the Principles of Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between the USSR and the DRM signed during D. Ratsiraka's stay in Moscow gave a new impetus to the development of political cooperation. The declaration stated, in particular, that both countries were resolved to strengthen their friendship and all-round cooperation in the interests of their peoples and to lay the foundation for their future development. This document is of great political importance because it shows that Madagascar has a reliable friend and ally which the opponents of the progressive development of the country have to reckon with.

The participants in the talks noted that a further deepening of ties between the CPSU and the VMRP would facilitate the expansion of bilateral relations in all fields. To this end they signed a plan of party contacts which serves as a sound foundation for strengthening inter-party cooperation.

The DRM leaders, and President D. Ratsiraka in particular, more than once stated their desire to use the Soviet experience in the construction of a new society on Madagascar. The Republic of Madagascar and the Soviet Union are steadily developing their economic ties. At present, several projects of economic cooperation credited by the Soviet Union are underway in Madagascar. In 1981 the latter built a powerful radio station with Soviet assistance which broadcasts *The Voice of the Malagasy Revolution* throughout the country. A centre for training farm machinery operators built with Soviet assistance has been commissioned in the country. Since 1980 about 700 qualified machinery operators have been trained at it. The centre will satisfy in the near future the country's demand for farm machinery mechanics.

The Soviet Union assists the republic in setting up a large farm with a crop area of 200 hectares near Antsirabé. It planted wheat, corn, soy and other crops. The setting up of such a farm and the transfer of Soviet experience in agriculture help Madagascar solve one of its major problems, that of becoming self-sufficient in foodstuffs. That is why the DRM leadership, striving to expand cooperation with the Soviet Union, invariably stresses that this cooperation is instrumental in raising the living standards of broad strata in the country.

One of the major projects of Soviet-Malagasy cooperation is the construction of a 225-kilometre-long Ampitabe-Marulambu road. This is a significant project because the road will run through an important agricultural region in the country.

The Soviet Union assists the republic in setting up a large veterinary station which will be the first establishment in the country not only to vaccinate cattle but to elaborate methods of scientific selection.

The USSR began to provide technical assistance in constructing a mill in Toamasina, prospecting for hard minerals, drawing a metallogenic map of the island and elaborating a scheme for the development of the power industry in the central part of the country, and prospecting for bauxites in the Manantenina region.

Mindful of the friendly nature of relations between the two countries

the Soviet Union grants a substantial amount of its aid gratis. It donated 200 tractors, *Niva* cars, a Yak-40 plane, ambulances, etc. Some of this aid is humanitarian and granted in connection with natural calamities that hit the DRM. In particular, in the summer of 1986 the USSR granted cement, other building materials and medical supplies to fight the consequences of the Onorinina cyclone.

Soviet-Malagasy trade is expanding with every passing year. The Soviet Union buys coffee, claver, black pepper and cizal in exchange for lorries, planes, helicopters, garage equipment, cement, cameras, film pictures, printed matter.

The expansion of Soviet-Malagasy cooperation in the commercial and economic sphere made it necessary to set up a special body to coordinate and direct bilateral ties in these fields, so the parties established in May 1979 a mixed intergovernmental commission on economic and technological cooperation and trade.

The fifth session of the commission was held in Moscow at the time of President Ratsiraka's visit to the USSR. As was noted by Andrei Gromyko, "The Soviet-Malagasy intergovernmental commission which began its work these days has to tackle an important task—to evaluate the prospects for the development of ties in the commercial and economic fields". In order to make better use of the available opportunities for the development of cooperation in these fields and put it on a long-term, planned basis, experts of the two countries drafted a long-term programme for trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and the DRM for the 1986-2000 period, which was signed during the visit of the President of Madagascar.

The USSR and the DRM expand their contacts in culture and sports. Weeks of Soviet Films and fairs of Soviet books have become a good tradition on the island, as have the Days of the USSR featuring one of the constituent republics. The two countries organise large-scale exchanges of performers, scientists, athletes. About 50 Soviet teachers work in the DRM, including 15 Russian language teachers with all expenses covered by the Soviet side. The Centre of Soviet-Malagasy Friendship works successfully in Antananarivo, where more than 300 Malagasy people study Russian, which is also taught in schools, lycées and the university in the capital. The number of those studying Russian in Madagascar has exceeded 2,000 people. A group of Soviet coaches has been sent to the island. Malagasy athletes participated in the Good Will Games in Moscow. In December 1980 Antananarivo became a sister city to Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia. Contacts are being kept between sister cities. The DRM-USSR and USSR-DRM friendship societies play an important role in strengthening friendship and understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

Soviet assistance in training local personnel is of particular importance for the country. More than 1,200 Malagasy citizens have graduated from Soviet technical schools and institutions of higher learning, and more than 1,600 people are studying now in the USSR. At the request of the Malagasy government Soviet specialists have drawn up recommendations for restructuring higher-level education and organising research at the DRM institutions of higher learning. The USSR assists in equipping regional university centres.

Undoubtedly, cultural ties will be further facilitated by the Protocol on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation Between the USSR and the DRM signed during the President's visit to the Soviet Union.

HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

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It was held for ages that world politics rest on three pillars reflecting three directions: military, political and economic. The 27th CPSU Congress expanded this traditional notion by placing humanitarian cooperation in the same category of the indispensable components of international security. This is not simply a mechanical increase in the number of pillars of support with the intent of making the system of interstate relations stronger but a recognition of the objective reality that today humanitarian ties between nations in the broad meaning of this word have acquired such importance and scope that a search for ways of improving the international situation is unthinkable without them.

By itself the idea to create an all-embracing system of international security is directed at the solution of the most humane of all present-day tasks—to avert war, save mankind and ensure man's right to live in conditions of peace and freedom. The entire foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state, the peace initiatives of the USSR during the past years are subordinated to this loftiest of aims. The USSR programme of ridding the earth of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms as well as the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions and its prolongation till January 1, 1987 are imbued with lofty humanism and concern for the fate of human civilisation.

Likewise, the USSR's stand in the economic sphere, directed at solving such burning problems as hunger, poverty, diseases, the general backwardness of tens of young emergent states, saving them from imperialist plunder and the mounting foreign debt, accords with the fundamental interests of the majority of states and nations. The fulfilment of the known Soviet proposal to switch a part of the money saved as a result of disarmament to finance social and economic development and also the implementation in practice of the Soviet concept of an all-embracing system of international security in the economic field would greatly contribute to improving the living conditions virtually of billions of people.

In recent years the Soviet Union made a number of proposals directed at utilising scientific and technological progress in solving mankind's so-called global problems. As an example one can recall the proposal made at the United Nations to develop large-scale cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, this opening truly boundless prospects.

In other words, whatever sphere of international relations we take—military-political, socio-economic or scientific-technical—the USSR's principled proposals and concrete actions are invariably oriented at creating more favourable conditions for mankind's existence and peaceful development.

The 27th CPSU Congress intensified this humanistic thrust of Soviet foreign policy by raising even more resolutely and in a still more principled manner the burning questions of mankind's life or death, by making new proposals to develop international cooperation, including directly in what is called the humanitarian sphere. And this was done not out of any desire to adjust oneself to the present-day international situation. The new approach organically stems from the beneficial processes developing in the Soviet society after the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the growing democratisation, the expansion of the arsenal of the socio-political and individual rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens, the growing attention to the human factor at the present stage of communist construction.

As the legitimate heir to, and the continuer of, progressive, democratic and humanistic traditions and ideals socialism has every reason to appear in the international arena as the initiator of the solution of global socio-humanitarian problems and of international cooperation in this field. Here we recognise both the independent importance of this cooperation and its impact on the military-political processes taking place in the world arena, and the nature of interstate relations as a whole. The development of a truly civilised, correct international intercourse, the level of trust (or mistrust) between states directly depend on the state of affairs in the humanitarian field and the solution of the diverse problems that have accumulated so far and are cropping up. If there are no attempts artificially to complicate the situation in the humanitarian field, if it is approached from constructive and not confrontational positions, if it is freed of the inertia of the cold war, idle speculations and attempts to interfere in the affairs of others, then this sphere could productively promote the revival and deepening of detente, become one of the mainstays of stable peace and international security.

The programme of international cooperation in the *humanitarian field* set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress provides for:

- cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security; greater flow of general objective information and broader contact between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in relations between them;

- extirpation of genocide, apartheid, advocacy of fascism and every other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;

- extension—while respecting the laws of each country—of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social and personal rights of people;

- decision in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reuniting of families, marriage, and the promotion of contacts between people and between organisations;

- strengthening of and quest for new forms of cooperation in culture, art, science, education and medicine.¹

Suffice it to examine each component of the programme and their combination to see once again how substantiated and broad is the scale of the problems raised by the Soviet Union which are related to the

¹ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 95.

struggle for cooperation in humanitarian field and which are expanding goodneighbourly relations between nations.

It is not by chance that the problem of *providing the broad masses with more objective information and of cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament and international security* is given pride of place in the Programme.

Our time is called the epoch of the "information explosion". Suffice it to recall that every day 600 million TV sets and 1,400 million radio sets are switched on throughout the world, that vendors get 8,200 daily newspapers with a total single printing of more than 500 million copies, and that every day 2,000 titles of books and booklets are published in the world. Through all these channels people get a huge volume of information not only about their own countries but also about other countries and peoples and international events. And it is primarily on the basis of this information that the broad masses judge about world politics. As Bertold Brecht had once joked, today even the Almighty reads newspapers to find his bearings in the world affairs.

At the same time more and more states resort in one way or another and in varying degrees of intensity to the conduct of a systematic foreign policy propaganda viewing it as an important addition to diplomatic activity. At present, some 80 countries have radio broadcasting services intended specifically for foreign listeners. The dissemination of information on the international level is the job of a growing number of national news agencies (they exist in more than a hundred countries). Publications intended specially for foreign readers are printed in many million copies.

On the whole, the modern mass media have turned into the most powerful instrument of exerting ideological and political influence on the people throughout the world. More than that, its simultaneous impact on people has no precedent in history. Specialists know exactly how many casualties will be caused by an explosion of one nuclear bomb but who can count the number of the victims of just one harmful radio or television programme carried by all the existing channels today? It can be said with certainty that we are speaking in this case of millions upon millions of listeners and viewers.

Just as in any other field of international relations, in the field of information there exist principles and standards approved by the world community and by which states must abide. They are recorded in such fundamental documents as the United Nations Charter, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (in what concerns the participating states of that conference), relevant conventions and declarations proclaiming the strengthening of peace and mutual understanding as the principal aim of the international exchange of information and censuring the propaganda of militarism, racism and interference in the internal affairs of others. For many years already the Soviet Union has been consistently pressing for the strengthening of this basis of international law for information exchanges and the attainment of the maximum effectiveness of the documents that are adopted.

It was already at the first sessions of the United Nations General Assembly that the USSR made concrete proposals that the propaganda of war and hostility between nations be banned and that the mass media serve aims of peace and international understanding. Already in 1947 the first resolution on this question submitted by the Soviet Union was approved by the United Nations. In 1978, on the USSR's initiative UNESCO adopted a Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and Interna-

tional Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid, and Incitement to War. The United Nations considered and then adopted a draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union on the principles governing the use by states of artificial satellites of the Earth for direct telecasting and providing for the use of space communications technology in the lofty aims of strengthening peace and friendship among peoples.

Provisions condemning militaristic propaganda are contained in a number of documents adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in recent years on the initiative of the USSR and other socialist countries. One of them qualifies as a crime the dissemination and propaganda of political and military doctrines and concepts designed to substantiate the "lawfulness" of being the first to use nuclear weapons and the "permissibility" of unleashing nuclear war in general. The fact that the overwhelming majority of the UN member countries (with the exception of the United States and its closest allies) voted for this document patently shows that they are greatly concerned by the military hysteria and military psychosis that are being fueled in the West and which have already begun exerting a noticeable negative impact on the entire complex of international relations. Other resolutions adopted at the recent sessions of the UN General Assembly condemn the policy of state terrorism and, as its component part, attempts to undermine the existing systems in other countries and acts of subversion, including by means of propaganda, as well as the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority and hatred, including the fascist ideology and the propaganda of war.

The Soviet state has never set before its information services, including in the international arena, any tasks but those stemming from its peaceloving foreign policy. It is against the very nature of the Soviet press, radio and television to try to complicate the international situation, fan up tension, spread concoctions about the life of other nations or interfere in their internal affairs. There are simply no forces in the Soviet society that would be interested in this. The same policy is pursued by the other socialist countries. At one of the latest meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (Prague, 1983) the leaders of socialist countries called for an end to the use of such powerful means of influencing the minds of people as television, radio broadcasting and the press for spreading mistrust and animosity among peoples and to place the mass media at the service of peace and mutual understanding.

Unfortunately, however, these calls by socialist countries are not supported by the West. More than that, the scale of imperialism's "psychological warfare" against the socialist and many developing countries is expanding in recent years, in fact the belligerence and subversive nature of the West's entire propaganda are growing.

Some people may pose the question: is it realistic in these conditions to speak of international cooperation in providing the masses of people with more information, in spreading the ideals of peace and mutual understanding? Is it at all possible for the states to reach any agreement in this sphere which is the arena of fierce ideological struggle?

No denying it, it is a formidable task to achieve international interaction in this field. However, as has been stated above, relevant international accords do exist. So the task is to keep to their provisions in practice, to ensure the dissemination of objective information in the interests of peace and understanding between peoples. And first of all the problem is that the propaganda services of the imperialist countries and the monopoly media should stop abusing the press, radio and television for the purposes hostile to peace.

Besides, the latest achievements of science and technology create

tremendous opportunities for international cooperation in the field of information. Today it is possible to transmit to any part of the world the necessary volume of information by way of television, radio broadcasting, teletype, etc. Just imagine what new prospects are being opened by this for educating the masses in the spirit of peace, for exchanging cultural values, scientific knowledge, for stamping out illiteracy and diseases in the developing regions! Political will alone is needed for international cooperation in this field to develop on a non-confrontational, constructive basis. Even in conditions of the present tension in the Soviet-American relations it has been possible to arrange lately some fifteen telebridges which were seen by millions of people in both countries with a feeling of personal involvement. And who will venture to contend that these telebridges have not served understanding between the two nations?

Lastly, one should take into account the growing understanding by the broad masses of the fact that the struggle against the pollution of the world information environment is increasingly becoming a global task. This struggle is being joined by mighty democratic forces, by organisations of journalists. These problems are being discussed ever more frequently at meetings of scientists, young people and women.

The struggle to use the mass media in the interests of social and cultural progress was given a new impulse by the vigorous participation in it of dozens of young emergent states which are sharply raising the issue of putting an end to "information imperialism" or, as it is also called, "spiritual neocolonialism", and demanding the establishment of a new international information order.

In other words, the struggle for the growing potential of the modern mass media to worthily serve mankind is mounting simultaneously and along various directions. This is profoundly consonant with the task set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress in the sphere of information as an integral part of cooperation in the humanitarian field.

Exercise of *human rights as a substantial factor of peace* is undoubtedly an important component part of promoting such cooperation. But this requires, firstly, ridding this sphere of hypocrisy and speculations and, secondly, finding possibilities for the constructive interaction of all states and points of contiguity of their positions and interests.

However, the paradox of the present situation is that exactly those who shamelessly violate the rights and freedoms of their own citizens and of whole foreign nations declare themselves to be the principal "champions" of human rights. The very fact that at present there are millions of jobless in the United States, that more than 35 million people there live below the poverty line, that more than two million are homeless and 13 million Americans annually become victims of crimes testifies to the violation of rudimentary human rights in that country. According to American sources US government agencies keep an average of 15 files on every single citizen of that country. The harassing of fighters for civil and political rights is intensifying there, racism flourishes and political assassinations have become quite common. The rights of the citizens are violated on a mass scale in other capitalist countries as well. There are several million unemployed in Britain. The British authorities are engaged in terror in Ulster where several thousand people have already been killed. In West Germany there are millions of jobless as well, while over 6,000 citizens have fallen victim to the "ban on profession" that is applied to the members of progressive parties and movements. The list of such examples could be continued.

Furthermore, how can a state whose leadership is openly preparing for a world thermonuclear war that might claim hundreds of millions of lives

call itself an "outpost of human rights"? For the right to life is the paramount human right. It is not by chance that the enumeration of rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights begins with it. However, it is this fundamental right that is being undermined by Washington's militaristic course. It is evidently here that one should look for the reason why at all international forums at which human rights are discussed the United States invariably approaches this problem from fiercely confrontational positions.

It was already at the first follow-up meeting in Belgrade (1977-1978) of the representatives of the 35 states which had taken part in the European Conference in Helsinki that the American delegation obstructed constructive work by its provocative attacks against the socialist countries on the human rights issue. At the Madrid meeting in 1980-1983 the Americans once again blocked its work by presenting unacceptable "demands" to other countries on the same issues. At all recent sessions of the UN General Assembly the American representatives have opposed virtually all draft resolutions on human rights that were submitted to a vote and had the approval of the overwhelming majority of states. In the UN Security Council US representatives have repeatedly vetoed resolutions condemning gross, mass-scale violations of human rights by such countries as Israel and South Africa. It is hardly possible to find even a single important resolution of the UN General Assembly dealing with the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid that the United States had not voted against. In 1983, the United States even refused to take part in the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination that was held in Geneva on decision of the UN General Assembly and was attended by representatives of about 130 countries.

In the UN Human Rights Commission the USA invariably defends the rulers of Chile, El Salvador, South Africa, Israel, South Korea and its other "allies" while using every opportunity to provoke a discussion of the internal affairs of the socialist countries. Thus, repeated attempts were made lately at the Commission sessions to railroad resolutions directed against Poland and opposed by the majority of other countries.

Lengthy reports crammed with a maze of flagrant fabrications about "human rights violations" in the socialist countries are regularly published in Washington. After the Helsinki Conference US Congress set up a commission on security and cooperation in Europe, and it is still functioning although its work has nothing to do either with security or cooperation. Its sole function is to collect data on "human rights violations" first of all in the socialist countries, hear "testimony" by "dissidents", etc. In the US State Department such activities are supervised by an Under-Secretary of State. This post was specially created after the Helsinki Conference as well.

Various international conferences, symposiums, etc. on problems of "human rights" and democracy are now being frequently held in Washington through the efforts of the State Department and the USIA (and, naturally, also the CIA which is very active in this field). A whole series of such functions were held in Washington with the participation of "dissidents" from various countries. This subject matter is very much felt also in Washington's Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy which actually serves as an organisational basis for the "anticommunist crusade".

In contrast to this the Soviet Union has always come out for strengthening the international legislation that serves as a basis for protecting the rights of peoples and citizens (although quite naturally priority here belongs to national legislation). The USSR was the initiator of, and a party to, key international agreements on human rights and is consistently implementing their provisions. It can be recalled that it was the

USSR that vigorously came out for the UN Charter to reflect the basic principles in the field of safeguarding human rights. However, the right to work and education were deleted from the document on the insistence of the United States, Britain and several other Western countries. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenants on Human Rights (1966) were drawn up and adopted with the USSR's active participation.

However, to this day the leading Western countries have not yet ratified the principal international documents concerning human rights. The United States, for instance, has failed to ratify 30 of the 40 presently existing international treaties and conventions in this field. It is not a party to the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966), has not ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Convention on the Non-Applicability of the Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity (1968), the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973), and a number of other similar international agreements.

Is this not an objective indicator of America's real attitude to human rights and does this not tear off its mask of a "defender of human rights"?

And, of course, one cannot but mention such a flagrant violation of the rights of whole nations as Washington's policy of "state terrorism". Undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the occupation of Grenada, attacks on Lebanon and Libya--these are but some of the acts of Washington's undisguised state terrorism. And how many more countries became the targets of more or less covert terrorist actions by the American authorities? Not so long ago a presidential directive was signed providing for "preventive strikes" by the United States at the so-called "potential seats of terrorism". In other words, this directive proclaims Washington's right to use armed force against the countries and national liberation movements it dislikes. It was in fulfilment of exactly this directive that peaceful Libyan cities were bombed in 1986.

Such are the practical deeds of the "champions of rights" from Washington who are trying to switch the attention of the world public, including the American people, from their own crimes to the mythical "human rights violations" in the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and in many developing countries.

For the imperialist reaction the unceasing slander campaigns based on the total ignorance of the rank-and-file Americans about the observance of human rights in the socialist countries have become one of the most important instruments for whipping up international tension and undermining understanding and trust among peoples. It follows from this that the cessation of such smear campaigns, as well as of attempts to undermine the existing system in other countries under the cover of the hypocritical slogan of "defence of human rights", should become the first condition of introducing a new, constructive, non-confrontational approach to the matters of humanitarian cooperation in the practice of international relations.

The other condition is the definition of the legal and contractual basis to serve as a foundation for international cooperation in the field of human rights. But does such a basis exist considering that countries with different social systems have different criteria of human values and different concepts of democracy in general? In principle such a basis exists. First of all it is the system of international instruments dealing with hu-

man rights that have been elaborated and approved by the international community. The task now, on one hand, is to make these documents universal so that all or the maximum possible number of states could accede to them and, on the other, to ensure that they are observed in practice and do not remain just a dead letter.

Along with the documents of a universal nature there also exist regional agreements providing for cooperation of states in exercising and protecting human rights, for instance, regional conventions. As to the countries of Europe and North America, they proclaimed the principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in the section of the Final Act dealing with their mutual relations. It says that the participating states recognise the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms respect for which is an essential factor for peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and cooperation among themselves and among all states, that they will constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and will endeavour jointly and separately to promote universal and effective respect for them. It is emphasised in Article VII of the Final Act that the participating states will fulfil their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field.

In principle, there also exists a consensus on the international level concerning the top-priority tasks in the field of human rights at which the efforts of the world community should be directed. These include the struggle against flagrant and large-scale violations of these rights expressing themselves in the policy of neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, in mass murders and persecution of people in the countries with dictatorial regimes. Proceeding from the substance of the issue it should be included here also the struggle against hunger, poverty, illiteracy and homelessness because in each case there are millions of people denied the most elementary and vital rights.

The world community does have the necessary mechanism for developing cooperation in the social and humanitarian fields. It is first of all the United Nations and its agencies starting with the Economic and Social Council and more than a dozen standing committees and commissions. Of late each UN General Assembly session adopts about 70 resolutions on social and humanitarian issues and questions of the rights of nations and individuals, including the right of nations to live in peace, their right to development, observance of human rights in conditions of scientific and technological progress, protection of the rights of invalids and the aged, struggle against crime, terrorism, drugabuse, etc. A sharp ideological and political struggle usually erupts over the most fundamental of these documents with the United States and its closest allies, and sometimes the United States alone, voting against the overwhelming majority of the UN members. Yet a consensus is reached on many issues and resolutions are adopted by unanimous vote or are acclaimed. This means that a basis for developing international cooperation in these matters does exist.

The issue of contacts between people is closely connected with this range of problems. Hundreds of millions of people now take part in such contacts, in reciprocal trips. In the process, rather complex problems still remain or new ones arise in relations between countries with different social systems. Most often they are connected with the reunification of families which are scattered by wars or due to some other circumstances, marriages of people with different citizenship, trips on private business, etc. There is a lot of such problems especially in relations between the participating countries of the European Conference, i. e., those countries which were the most active participants in the Second World War.

The USSR's intent to continue to solve these problems in a positive

and humane spirit was declared at the 27th CPSU Congress. A wide spectrum of measures of a legislative or administrative nature were taken in the Soviet Union in recent years in order to promote the development of international contacts by Soviet citizens, institutions and organisations. They all accord with the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act and the USSR's obligations under other international agreements.

Already after the 27th CPSU Congress the Soviet Union displayed an open and constructive approach to the problem of contacts, including at the European Conference on this matter in Bern that was convened in accordance with the mandate of the Madrid meeting. It is not the USSR's fault that the Bern conference ended without signing that document: it was opposed by Washington which is so profuse in talking about the importance of contacts but in actual fact undermines their very basis. Nevertheless, during his meeting with French President François Mitterrand in the Kremlin in the summer of 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev stated the USSR's readiness to adhere in practice to the Bern document in its bilateral relations with those states that might wish to reach agreement with it on that matter. Incidentally the Bern document was published in the Soviet Union and was not published in other countries. The USSR has already begun to unilaterally implement the proposals it submitted in Bern. For instance, much is being done in the USSR to improve procedures and practice to simplify contacts between people. This is added evidence that the Soviet Union not only proposes the improvement of relations in the humanitarian field as one of the vital elements of international security but also vigorously facilitates progress in this important sphere of international life.

In general, the new way of thinking in the nuclear age, awareness of the interconnection of various components of international life makes one take a fresh view of what is happening in the world arena in the field of human rights and contacts between people and in the broader aspect in the socio-humanitarian sphere as a whole. The time has come to purge this sphere of the sediments created by the "cold war", ideological prejudice and a purely confrontational approach, to find effective, attainable forms, criteria and the framework of international cooperation, to concentrate efforts where the interests of states coincide, to ensure observance of generally recognised standards of international law and interstate relations. This implies, naturally, due account both of the differences in the political institutions of the countries with different social systems, and of the accumulated traditions and the exclusion of interference in the internal affairs of other nations and states.

Cultural ties and exchanges of spiritual values, cooperation in science, education, sports, medicine, etc. play an important role in present-day international life. This set of questions has also taken its place in the programme of the comprehensive system of international security set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress.

It was written already by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that isolation would be inevitably replaced by all-round ties between nations: "The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible..."²

Because of a number of objective factors inherent in the 20th century these prophetic words have become even more relevant today. The first of them is the awakening of the multi-million masses to cultural life as a

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. One, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p. 112.

result of the victory of socialist revolutions first in Russia and then in a number of other states. The intensification of mankind's spiritual life and international cultural ties was encouraged yet by another important process of the second half of the 20th century—the collapse of imperialism's colonial system, the formation of dozens of young independent states. They spare no effort to achieve national, including cultural revival, to develop ties with other countries. Progress along this road achieved by the countries of socialist orientation is especially impressive. Scientific and technological progress, especially in the sphere of mass media, exerts a strong influence on the scope of cultural ties.

So, the mainstays for a steady development of international cultural exchanges are diverse. On its part, the Soviet Union welcomes and encourages in every way this process and invariably orients itself at its deepening and expansion because this policy accords with the principled policy of the Soviet state founded on the humanistic idea of communism both as an ideology and a social system. "Only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture"³, V. I. Lenin stressed.

The Soviet Union maintains cultural ties with most countries of the world. Intergovernmental agreements and exchange programmes have been signed with more than a hundred of them. Of the total volume of cultural ties about a half are with allied socialist countries and its scale has trebled during the past twenty years. On the basis of reciprocity the Soviet Union readily shares its cultural accomplishments with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, helps them in setting up institutions of culture and in the training of national personnel.

Cultural ties hold a special place in the intercourse of the European nations. And this is quite natural because the European continent has a wealth of cultural traditions and presented the world with Homer, Shakespeare, Leonardo da Vinci and Rafael, Mozart and Goethe, Pushkin, Tolstoy and Tchaikovsky. The historical intertwining of the destinies and cultures of the neighbour-nations, the shared or related languages, the extensive economic and social ties, large-scale tourism—all this has turned spiritual intercourse into a substantial factor in the life of the Europeans.

After the lengthy rupture of European cultural ties caused by the Second World War and later on by the cold war the yearning of the continent's peoples for their restoration and development manifested itself during the past decades with particular vigour. In the 1960s and 1970s the European countries concluded many agreements in this field. Exchanges of performers, exhibitions, etc. are now routine. This trend made itself felt also during the preparations for, and holding of, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe at which problems of cultural cooperation held a prominent place.

The programme of cultural ties between states, adopted as a section of the Final Act, is vast in terms of its directions and forms of cooperation. It provides for the development on the basis of relevant agreements of bilateral and multilateral cultural ties between state institutions, professional organisations and cultural workers, for giving citizens the best possible access to the treasures of world culture, for the promotion of translations of literature into other languages, for holding film festivals and the encouragement of such forms of cultural cooperation as book exhibitions and fairs, international events in the field of art, theatre, music, folk art, etc.

The first years after Helsinki witnessed a rather intensive and stable growth of inter-European cultural ties. Millions of people remember to

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1974, p. 287.

this day the mutual guest performances in those years by outstanding companies and art exhibitions. Also at the time there was a rapid growth of East-West film exchanges and a visible intensification of personal contacts among cultural figures.

This favourable development was substantially undermined at the very beginning of the 1980s by Washington with its policy of impeding detente accompanied by a scaling down of cultural and public ties with socialist countries and attempts to boycott them and draw the West European countries into this boycott. Some of them, and this does not do them any credit, followed the US lead and froze their ties with the Soviet Union. This evoked deep dissatisfaction among prominent figures in culture and art in the West.

It is apt to recall here that this was not the first ever attempt in history to impede normal and natural ties between culture and art workers in Western Europe and their colleagues in the Soviet Union. It was already soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution that the reactionary forces in Europe and the United States tried to organise a "cultural boycott" of Soviet Russia that was strongly opposed by such giants of world literature as Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, Martin Andersen Nexø, Theodore Dreiser and others. The famous French scientist Paul Langevin remarked that without Russia Europe ceases to be Europe. Indeed, how can one possibly "excommunicate" from world culture Maxim Gorky, Dmitry Shostakovich, Sergei Eisenstein, Galina Ulanova and Mikhail Sholokhov?

This time again Washington's attempts to disorganise international cultural ties, to put them in disarray had ended in failure. Their revival was started already in 1982. Since then the Soviet Union has signed new intergovernmental agreements and programmes of cultural exchanges with most West European countries. And this process continues. A bilateral agreement on cultural and scientific ties was signed after an interval of many years during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985. Cultural exchanges with Canada have been resumed, talks on a new agreement are in progress with the FRG, etc.

The publication of foreign literature in the Soviet Union, first of all of books from the participating countries of the European Conference, gives an idea of the attention paid in the USSR to acquainting the broad masses of the population with foreign culture. The printing of books by foreign authors in the USSR has almost doubled in the years since Helsinki and now amounts to some 150 million copies a year. The mass printing has been completed of the 200-volume "Library of World Literature" of which 137 volumes contain works by 2,600 foreign authors. Nearing completion is the 50-volume "Library of World Literature for Children". Five volumes of "European Poetry" (in languages of the original and in Russian), the collection of poetry "Europe—20th Century", etc., were published in direct connection with the Helsinki accords.

At the same time it seems to be appropriate to dwell on some circumstances that create certain obstacles to a more extensive development of equal and mutually advantageous international cultural cooperation. First of all it concerns reciprocity, something that some of the Western partners often lack. A clear disproportion between socialist and capitalist countries in publishing books, in showing films, television programmes, etc. remains to this day. For example, the Soviet Union publishes two-four times more books by Western writers than the number of books by Soviet writers published in the West. As to the number of copies, these figures are simply beyond comparison. According to UNESCO statistics Soviet television shows roughly three times more Western programmes than vice versa. During the regular Moscow international film festival

alone more Western films are shown in the Soviet Union than the number of Soviet films shown in Western countries in the course of years.

The continuing and even expanding "psychological warfare" waged by Washington and several other NATO countries against the Soviet Union is another negative factor. It fully involves the sphere of culture and is being conducted by radio and television, through literature and cinematography. Anticommunist publications, films and television programmes are increasingly appearing in the West. Instead of books by Soviet writers the Western reader is offered "works" by renegades expelled from their countries. So transition to a more extensive international cultural cooperation should be conducted parallel to the clearing of the barricades left by the "psychological war". Cultural ties, just as scientific and other contacts, should not serve the aims hostile to other countries, and the ideology of anti-communism. Great vistas will open up in this case for the spiritual intercourse of nations and individuals, given a developed infrastructure of bilateral and multilateral agreements and the required international mechanisms in the form of the UN and UNESCO agencies and hundreds of intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations. But the main thing is that every nation has such accomplishments in the field of culture, science, art, education and sport which are of universal value and should become an asset of the entire mankind.

No country has ever set so seriously and fundamentally the task of developing international humanitarian interaction as a paramount direction of the struggle for universal security, mutual understanding and cooperation. This approach by the 27th CPSU Congress has evoked great interest in many countries of the world. The importance and consequences of this initiative just as of the entire concept of the all-embracing system of international security set forth by the Soviet Union, are being analysed to this day. The sooner politicians and parties, the public, the business circles, people prominent in science and culture realise the entire scope and lofty humanism of this concept, the better it will be for the cause of peace.

It was stressed in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress that the main trend of the struggle in contemporary conditions consists "in creating worthy, truly human material and spiritual conditions of life for all nations, ensuring that our planet should be habitable, and in cultivating a caring attitude towards its riches, especially to man himself—the greatest treasure, and all his potentials".⁴ Herein lies the key to understanding the humanistic essence of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

⁴ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 27.

USA: BULWARK OF REACTION AND MILITARISM

PLAYING WITH FIRE, OR HOW THE AMERICANS ARE URGED TO ACCEPT THE NUCLEAR BOMB

M i k h a i l B E G L O V

"FAT MAN" TO "PEACEKEEPER": MOVING CLOSER TO THE PRECIPICE

In Washington, New York and other American cities you may still come across iron signs rusty with age that display a yellow triangle and an arrow. Some of them say "A bomb shelter. To the right". Similar faded inscriptions in huge letters can be seen in gateways or on the barren walls of buildings in blind alleys. They are a legacy of the cold war years, when the United States was gripped with nuclear war hysteria and obsessed by the idea of preparing for war with the Soviet Union. Nuclear training alerts in schools, where at the signal of a siren children were instructed to drop on the floor, under their desks or double up on their chairs, clutching their legs with their hands to withstand an imaginary shock wave, newspaper articles telling readers what they should do and how in the event of a nuclear bomb attack, cartoons and publicity films on the same subject are all fresh in the memory of elder Americans.

The present Administration, whose roots go back to those years, is laying nuclear war plans like its predecessors, considering such a war permissible and even feasible. This is, in effect, how matters have stood ever since the dawn of the atomic age. To one extent or another, all US administrations in the past forty years tried to find out whether nuclear arms were a cure-all or a heavy burden.

US military strategists nicknamed the early nuclear bombs "Fat Men". Each bomb weighed 10,000 pounds and was so big that in order to load a plane with it, you had to first dig a deep pit and then move up the plane and pull the bomb to its hatch with ropes. By 1958, each bomb weighed 600 pounds only, and each of them was fifty times as powerful as its predecessors. Humanity has already built up such destructive power that for every man, woman or child living on Earth there is an average of 15 tons of TNT.

The military doctrines of the United States changed and became more complex as the country's nuclear capability grew. Throughout the past decades, however, Washington has invariably seen its task in preserving superiority in this field so as to deliver a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union if necessary. On analysing secret documents from US archives, David Rosenberg, an historian at Houston University, came to the conclusion that, according to the principles of US nuclear policy laid down by President Harry Truman, a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union is the "chief priority" for the United States. He writes that in 1946 the Pentagon made plans for "the most effective nuclear bombing" of the Soviet

Union, and that at a secret White House conference on July 14, 1949 the President said the United States "must be strongest in atomic weapons".¹

The build-up of a US nuclear capability begun under President Truman was carried forward by the next President, Dwight Eisenhower. The latter pointed out in his diary that the United States might have to launch a surprise nuclear attack on the Soviet Union.² Washington counted already on the mythical possibility of winning a nuclear war. In March 1954, Rosenberg points out, the National Security Council worked out the document NSC-5410/1 defining the objectives of the United States in the event of a world war. The document stated explicitly that the main purpose of the country in such a war would be to achieve a victory guaranteeing the survival of the United States. It is interesting to note that in the same year the Joint Chiefs of Staff submitted to the President a document proposing that the United States deliberately go to war against the Soviet Union in the near future.³

In 1960, the Pentagon drew up its first integrated complex operational plan for the possible use of nuclear arms. The plan specified the role and functions of the US Air Force and Navy in a nuclear war. Even in the 1970s, during Gerald Ford's term in office, writes Robert Scheer, a noted American analyst, the then Defense Secretary, James Schlesinger, called for the creation in the US strategic forces of a capability for striking "surgical" nuclear blows, that is, carrying out limited and accurate bombings of Soviet territory. Under another President, Jimmy Carter, a similar idea was expressed in the Presidential Directive No. 59, a document whose full text is still kept secret. However, it is known to have included plans for striking "limited" nuclear blows at targets on Soviet territory should the United States find this necessary.⁴

Such was the approach of the US administrations of recent decades to the issue of waging a nuclear war. However, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, their growing destructive power and the Soviet Union's steadfast policy of peace forced the United States to search for ways of settling relations with it in this sphere. As a result, treaty and legal foundations for arms limitation were laid in the 1970s. Even before he took over, Ronald Reagan and Co. openly expressed their extremely negative attitude to this development, and on finding himself in the White House, Reagan mounted an all-out offensive against the treaties and agreements concerned. His approach is exemplified most strikingly by the refusal to respect SALT-2 and the assault on the treaty limiting anti-missile defence systems. His administration also set out to plan a nuclear war.

According to US press reports, the President had been in office for less than a year when he approved a secret plan aimed at enabling the United States to dominate in a protracted nuclear war. The plan, drawn up by the NSC, proceeded from the assumption that a global nuclear war can be won. Two years later, on May 30, 1982, *The New York Times* reported that the Pentagon had drafted a first five-year development plan for the US armed forces. The plan indicated that military strategists believed a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union might be protracted and had therefore worked out their first strategy on how to fight such a war. A year later, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger signed, according to *The New York Times* of March 23, 1983, a second, revised version of the plan entitled "Defense Guidelines for 1985-1989". These guidelines again contain, the paper stressed, an improved and extended policy providing that the United States would prepare for a protracted nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

¹ *International Security*, Spring 1983.

² *The Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 13, 1983.

³ *International Security*, Spring 1983.

⁴ R. Scheer, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*, New York, 1982, p. 11.

In line with this policy, the military decided to build first-strike ICBMs known as MX or Peacekeeper, the name preferred by members of the administration.

Comparing the present administration with earlier ones, Scheer points out with good reason that "a growing and ominous interest in theories of nuclear-war-fighting preceded Reagan, although his administration was the first to embrace the doctrine so enthusiastically".⁵

ANTS, NUCLEAR WAR AND THE ATTITUDE TO HUMANITY

Along with drawing up such plans, the administration launched a campaign to induce the American public opinion to accept the idea of eventually waging a nuclear war. The main purpose of the campaign was to change the Americans' attitude to nuclear weapons in favour of regarding them as a conventional means of warfare and not a deterrent or a guarantee of maintaining the "balance of terror".

In asking the Americans to agree to the eventual use of nuclear arms, the present administration went out of its way to overcome their fear of the effects of nuclear war, to make the public believe that one could survive such a conflict even in the absence of an extensive civil defence system.

"Nuke war... It would be a terrible mess, but it wouldn't be unmanageable". This was how Louis Giuffrida, head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), described the administration's stand. It is this agency that plays the chief role in spreading would-be reassuring theories about the possibility of surviving a nuclear war. Giuffrida's assistant responsible for civil defence, William Chipman, was equally outspoken. Asked whether "American democracy" would survive a nuclear war, he answered: "I think it would eventually, yeah. As I say, the ants eventually build another anthill".

Some time ago Thomas Jones, US Deputy Under-Secretary of Defense, caused a worldwide stir by making a most cynical statement. He alleged that the United States would be able to recover completely from a nuclear war in two or four years. Noting that nuclear war was not as devastating as people had been made to think, he added that everybody would survive provided there were enough shovels around. Jones offered his own recipe for surviving nuclear strikes. "Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors, and then throw three feet of dirt on top... It's the dirt that does it". It is frightening that Jones' views are all too typical of the thinking of those at the core of the Reagan Administration Scheer stressed.⁶

These are only three statements by high-ranking government officials, yet Americans have been exposed to dozens or even hundreds of statements of a similar nature. Nor did the administration confine itself to statements. In December 1980, FEMA circulated all over the country a document which said that, "with reasonable protective measures the United States could survive nuclear attack and go on to recovery within a relatively few years".

FEMA also circulated to the press articles ready for publication in which it called for efforts to prepare for nuclear war "by taking such protective measures as planning for the evacuation of urban populations, survival training and the construction of simple fallout shelters". Altogether the Agency prepared not less than 15 such texts for publication. One of these recommended first aid training, since after a nuclear war doctors might be a problem. Another text proposed a plan to set up in basements bomb shelters with supplies of foodstuffs, pointing out that in peacetime the shelters could be used as snack bars.

FEMA propagandists have also penned pamphlets. These include a guide to rendering aid to burn victims and a pamphlet on the elimination

⁵ R. Scheer, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶ R. Scheer, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

of the effects of a nuclear strike. This pamphlet, which came out in January 1982, reads that after a nuclear war, the United States would be like fourteenth-century Europe just after it had been devastated by bubonic plague. Although it was a terrible time, English society recovered from it and six or eight years later those people formed an expeditionary force and undertook a campaign against France, the pamphlet says.

It should be stressed for the sake of clarity that the propaganda effort of FEMA has assumed truly enormous proportions. One of the agency's pamphlets, was published in 30 million copies. It advises Americans to get ready without haste, doing everything as if they were going on vacation, remember to draw the blinds, take the more valuable things with them and be sure to get credit cards. Workers are expected to stay at their places of work to the end of the shift. A further fact illustrating the propaganda activity of FEMA is that whereas the Agency's 1985 budget amounted to \$181 million, the White House asked Congress to allocate FEMA as much as \$284 million for 1986.⁷

In a bid to manipulate the Americans into accepting reassuring theories of the possibility of surviving a nuclear war, FEMA occasionally lost all sense of proportion, to say the least. There was, for instance, its notorious "report" on the likely effects of nuclear war on agriculture. The "report" claimed that after a nuclear war there would be no acute shortage of labour in agriculture, since the rural population would withstand a nuclear strike better than city-folk. Besides, it added, city dwellers would migrate to the countryside to help harvest fruit and vegetables. Congressman Tom Harkin described the "report" as "shocking". He said that in the light of such information it was not surprising that certain members of the US government believed the country could win a nuclear war. "I was appalled by the document", he stressed.

It was not only "good advice" or "scientific information" that FEMA publications used as a means of indoctrinating Americans. The Agency also had recourse to more up-to-date media for brainwashing, such as television. Among other things, it made a 25-minute film intended to convince the population that a nuclear war would do no serious harm to people.

You cannot help thinking as you read those articles, pamphlets and "reports" that they might as well have been written 30 years ago, at the height of the cold war. Yet they are all publications put out by an official US agency in recent years, or over the past five years to be precise.

This kind of propaganda is, in fact, only a secondary activity of FEMA, for the Agency's chief concern is to ensure that the United States "survives" a nuclear war. In the spring of 1982, FEMA submitted to Congress a draft programme worth \$4,300 million for the establishment of a civil defence system in the next seven years. Under the programme, which according to FEMA was approved by the President himself, about 80 per cent of American lives could be saved. It provided for the construction in suburbs of A-bomb shelters to which the population of big cities could be evacuated should a war break out. The *San Francisco Examiner* also reported the signing by the US President of the secret Directive No. 51 authorising the establishment of centres responsible for the proper functioning of government agencies in a nuclear missile war. The directive instructed the authorities to set about establishing such centres. Similar shelters were to be built for the local authorities—a total of about 600 in the 1988-1992 period.

It is only fair to say that the bulk of the Americans took a very sceptical view of those civil defence plans. What provoked the greatest number of bitter jokes and press cartoons was the idea of evacuating major urban communities. It would take a strategic nuclear missile less than half an

⁷ See *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1986.

hour to cover the distance between the Soviet Union and the United States. In view of this plus recurrent traffic jams in New York, Washington, San Francisco and other American cities, the administration's assertion that in the event of a nuclear alert these cities could be evacuated rapidly and in an orderly manner is simply ridiculous. As matters stand in the United States, it often takes more than half an hour to drive a few city blocks, to say nothing of getting out of a city.

FEMA is by no means the only US agency to be busy fooling Americans in a way suiting the administration. The Pentagon has done a lot to the same end. While its leaders' early statements about the possibility of waging and surviving a nuclear war and about variants of such a war—statements that were much too outspoken—gradually ceased, it is still this postulate that underlies all US military planning. Pentagon leaders speak very often in public to justify the "need" to build up the US nuclear missile potential and develop up-to-date nuclear weapons systems. They are virtually advocating war, except that they are doing so from a different angle.

The Pentagon has been at pains to deny or at least to lessen the widespread impact on the public of the theory of the "nuclear winter", which scientists believe would set in on Earth should nuclear arms be used. The substance of this theory is well known. The disastrous effects of using nuclear weapons were evident even before the theory was conceived, but research by US and Soviet scientists has proved that a nuclear war would bring about irreversible climatic, atmospheric and other changes on Earth, such as would result in the destruction of humanity and all civilisation. This theory has refuted the FEMA and Pentagon allegation that people could survive a nuclear war by taking refuge in basements or bomb shelters, and showed up the untenability of various dangerous concepts of "limited" or other kinds of nuclear war. On June 22, 1986, *The New York Times* wrote that "because of the widely debated implications that such a 'nuclear winter' would have for strategic policy, Government agencies have spent millions of dollars since 1984 on computer calculations and other research to assess the possibility that smoke and soot could shut out sunlight, causing a chilling of the earth's climate". To explain what official Washington was particularly worried about, the newspaper went on to say that "to strategists this prospect meant that a surprise attack could be self-destructive even in the absence of nuclear retaliation, a view requiring a shift in the understanding of the theory of deterring war by the threat of heavy nuclear retaliation".

This is why the Pentagon in 1984, or shortly after the results of early research in conformity with the theory of "nuclear winter" had been published, had the evidence checked. Small wonder that its conclusions were less categorical than those of the original research. The Pentagon's "scientific contractors" reported joyfully that it could only be a question of a "nuclear autumn" and not a "nuclear winter". Estimates show, *The New York Times* commented, summing up the results of the new piece of research, that the chilling would be less drastic and prolonged than it was believed earlier, with the temperature falling only by an average of 25°F. and not 45°. In this way the Pentagon would like to exploit even science to justify its nuclear war preparations and impose false concepts on the American people.

THE "EVIL EMPIRE", OR THE WASHINGTON SAVIOURS OF HUMANITY

Nuclear war, whom is Washington going to wage it against? No member of the US establishment has ever denied that the Soviet Union is seen as the chief enemy of the United States. It is the Soviet Union that US strategic nuclear missiles and heavy bombers are targeted on. The anti-

Sovietism of the present administration is very well known. Day after day, month after month, the White House, the State Department and other US agencies have been carrying on a powerful anti-Soviet campaign. Its aims are numerous, both at home and abroad. One of them is to justify the eventual use of nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union and to induce the population to accept it. This explains why Americans are told time and again that the Soviet Union is something of an outlaw nation and any means or devices used against it are warranted.

Developments over the past five years have shown that this is the idea systematically publicised by the President himself as well as by his cabinet ministers and main advisers. It was the President who called the Soviet Union the "evil empire" and inadvertently cracked a joke before the microphone by saying that a nuclear bombing of the USSR was to begin in a matter of minutes. This idea was peddled among the people with particular energy after the provocative invasion of Soviet air space by the South Korean Boeing as well as in connection with the incident over Major Nicholson, caught spying in the area of a military installation in the GDR. The ABC television company stressed at the time that the incident over the South Korean plane offered Reagan a unique opportunity for proving what he had claimed for a long time, namely, that you cannot trust the Soviet Union and must isolate it from the international community.

Americans have invariably been told that the world is divided into two parts: a highly civilised and highly moral West led by the United States, and "barbarians", that is the Soviet Union and the socialist community generally. The only language barbarians understand is, admittedly, that of force, including the use of the nuclear "big stick" before they encroach on American "civilisation".

The US administration also resorts to lies in an effort to conceal its nuclear war plans. In October 1981, the President told a group of provincial newspaper editors that all Soviet declarations and all that was written in Soviet textbooks suggested that the Soviet Union, unlike the United States, considered nuclear war thinkable and believed that it could be won. This meant that the USSR believed it could achieve sufficient superiority to prevent the enemy from retaliating, he concluded.

Evidently, the aim is to attribute to the Soviet Union that which the US itself is doing, and to do it until people come to believe it. This is the underlying principle of the gross anti-Soviet propaganda campaign under way. You are expected to believe that the United States hates building new missiles and nuclear warheads but is compelled to build them because that is what the Soviet Union does; that the Americans would not like to use nuclear weapons but the Soviet Union is "getting ready" to use them and may do so first; and that the Americans certainly see the arms race as a bad thing but are forced to deal with barbarians who do not mind using the most reprehensible methods. It is these ideas that the US administration has been trying to impose.

Nor can we ignore the White House's biggest lie, the SDI, said to be capable of reliably defending the USA from nuclear weapons. This lie probably tops the list of propaganda priorities of the White House and its voluntary assistants on the right. The theses of the campaign have been commented on repeatedly and are widely known; they imply that the SDI would help humanity get rid of nuclear arms for all time, would safeguard American lives in a nuclear war and preserve the great power status of the United States in the arms race.

How spurious and dangerous this concept is need not be pointed out. First of all, the level attained by technology to date makes it impossible to set up a completely dependable nuclear defence system, and this is also the opinion of American politicians and scientists capable of sound thinking. Second, the purpose of the SDI is entirely different. It has been con-

ceived and is being implemented exclusively as a system of defending US ballistic missiles and not the population. This was recently admitted by the US Assistant Secretary of Defense, Richard Perle. True, he was promptly cut short and refuted by those higher up in the Administration but the very haste they showed in doing this was indicative enough.

The greatest danger posed by the SDI, or the Star Wars programme to use its more accurate name, is that it makes Americans believe that a nuclear war can be won. An American commentator aptly put this in the following terms: Those who speak of the possibility of Star Wars want the Americans to imagine that a nuclear war would be similar to Fourth of July fireworks. Sitting comfortably in armchairs on the lawns outside their homes and sipping their drinks, they would look on as attacking Soviet missiles were destroyed over their heads.

NUCLEAR WAR AND GOG AND MAGOG

And thou shalt come from thy place out of the north parts, thou and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty army. And thou shalt come up against my people of Israel, as a cloud to cover the land..."

What does this quotation from Ezekiel have in common with nuclear war? A good deal, as will be shown. Let us see what the US President says. Asked by *People* magazine in December 1983 why he had called the Soviet Union an "evil empire", he answered that not once between prophecies and the present day had there been a time when so many prophecies came true. There had been times when people thought the end of the world was coming, and so on. But never had there been anything of the kind. In other words, the President confirmed that he believed in the biblical prophecy which says that doomsday is near at hand. This parable speaks of a wicked enemy, Gog from the land of Magog. A mighty northern people and their allies, who included Persians, Ethiopians and Libyans waged a terrible war against Israel. But while Gog's hordes killed two-thirds of the Israelites, the terrible land of Magog was destroyed exactly three and a half years before Armageddon. And all who had suffered at the hands of Gog's hordes were taken to heaven, to the kingdom of everlasting spring.

On January 12, 1985 *The Globe and Mail* estimated that at least eight million Americans think that is how it will be and are certain it will happen in the lifetime of the present generation. It is Integrists Christians and other believers who think so. They regard the present generation as the last on Earth. They are certain that the Soviet Union is Magog and that the United States is the country it will attack.

The US President now in office is an adherent of this theory. He is linked with the right Christians-Fundamentalists. Senator Heflin of Alabama has talked about Armageddon with the President, who told him that Russia would be involved in it. And in a chat with singer Pat Boone the President said he had seen two signs of the approaching end of the world. Thus the White House takes advantage of the Americans' religious sentiments to make them accept an eventual war with the Soviet Union and foment hatred among them for the world's first socialist state. The political game capitalising on the biblical parable is very dangerous. By applying a biblical prophecy to nuclear war, says Andrew Lang, director of the Washington Christian Institute, believers have created an irreproachable religious justification for the ideology of cold war and arms buildup. He goes on to say that they regard the Russians as Satan in the flesh, as people with whom Americans can never come to terms, can never settle differences, which means that the United States must build up its missile capability.

The President uses the words "godless" and "monsters" whenever speaking of the Soviet Union. Exploiting the Americans' religious feelings, he has pompously declared more than once that the Communists' refusal to believe in God virtually gives them a free hand to wage war, since they do not care a pin for human life. This was also the tenor of the President's interview with Robert Scheer. "By mentioning the Soviets' low regard for human life", Scheer writes, "Reagan meant to validate the view that... the Russians for some time have been preparing a preemptive nuclear war."⁸

The American people are very religious. This is true above all of small town America as well as of members of the less educated population groups. Therefore references to the Bible and its prophecies have an exceedingly strong propaganda impact upon them, an impact which is even more effective than dozens of lengthy speeches or commentaries by specialists. Not accidentally, 39 per cent of Americans believe, as a poll has shown, that the mention of Armageddon in the Bible implies the inevitability of nuclear war.

In the past two years the President, having come up against growing fears among Americans that he could drag the United States into a nuclear war, as well as against resistance in Congress to the reckless arms race, has had to speak of peace more and more frequently, without actually changing the anti-Soviet, aggressive bias of his utterances.

TV, "SUPERIORITY" AND BOMB WORSHIP

When working in the United States, you are struck by the tremendous amount of creative energy which this huge, strong society wastes on advocating destructive ideas, on fomenting hatred for the Soviet Union, and urging Americans to accept the nuclear bomb, as it has been doing of late. Opening any newspaper, you can see that the articles and cartoons and comics in it are full of lies, calumnies and vicious attacks on the Soviet Union. On TV, the same things are repeated by announcers or film heroes defaming the Soviet way of life. Even in cartoons nearly all the "bad guys" wear military uniforms similar to Soviet ones and speak with a strong Slavic accent. Stepping into a toy shop, you can see there a reflection of vicious anti-Sovietism and bellicose militarism in children's games. Playing a new disc by a pop singer, you can hear him sing about an early nuclear war and the end of the world.

Today you come across numerous newspaper headlines and cartoons and hear many public statements attesting to a tremendous upsurge of violence, such as occurs only when society is preparing for war.⁹

This is the conclusion drawn by a growing number of sensible political observers. "People in the United States", wrote *Le Monde diplomatique* in June 1986, "affirm more and more openly that a nuclear war would not be the end of the world but merely a stage in creating a society which suits 'genuine Americans' best, and that strong men entitled to survive could hold out in a nuclear catastrophe which would enable them to build a better world. These ideas are promoted by the film industry, adventure novels, comics, videoclips and television..." It is not surprising that all Soviet proposals for a limitation or reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments and for international detente are generally ignored or distorted in the process.

As far as television is concerned, the managers of three US commercial companies—ABC, NBC and CBS—skilfully trim their sails to the wind of political sentiment. Washington only put some heat on anti-Soviet sen-

* R. Scheer, *Op cit.*, p. 31.

* See *The Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 31, 1985.

timents in the country for TV programmes to be revised to include serials and films steeped in hatred for the Soviet Union and painting our country and its people in the most unattractive colours. Political fruit such as this has been particularly abundant since the present administration took office. Fulfilling its social order, US television influences Americans with all the qualities that cold warriors of the 1980s might press for. Dr. Benjamin Spock, the American pediatrician, wrote in describing the trend of television propaganda of violence and anti-Sovietism: "I'm now absolutely convinced that violence on film and TV brutalises us. Everybody becomes more habituated to the idea that killing is one of the ways that you get along together".¹⁰

Operating hand in glove with the major TV companies is Hollywood. Films such as *Red Dawn*, *Rocky IV* and *Rambo* have become veritable manuals. "Never in the history of mankind has there been such a massive promotion of intense war violence", says Dr. Thomas Redecki, president of the National Coalition on Television Violence. He believes that films like *Rambo* and *Rocky* teach Americans to "hate their enemies". They portray Russians and Vietnamese communists as disgusting, sadistic torturers while US soldiers are pure good. Redecki stresses that these creations of modern day TV and movie are designed to justify the Vietnam war and make it out to have been a just, patriotic undertaking that bureaucrats prevented from succeeding.

Lastly, Redecki sees the most dangerous thing in the fact that these films suggest "that war is the best and really only way to achieve peace."¹¹ Prepare for World War III, says a *Rocky IV* advertisement. We live in a prewar and not postwar period, says Eugene Rostow, a former key adviser to the President. These comments are dissimilar but their meaning is identical.

It is monstrous that this psychological campaign for a new war is directed to both the older and rising generations of Americans. The Worldvision company, for one, has announced that it plans to make for children a cartoon serial on Rambo's adventures which is to run for five and a half hours. A spokesman of the company said Rambo would occasionally speak from the screen to the little filmgoers to advise them on what they should do to survive a nuclear war.

A powerful wave of nuclear war propaganda has also burst into American literature. Professor P. Bryan of Washington State University stresses that in recent years novels and other books about life after nuclear war have shown a marked new trend. Formerly, he says, even the shallowest books on this theme described war with a measure of horror or regret, but now with gusto an Earth that has been laid waste and is like a gigantic playground where coarse people come to grips with equally coarse bandits. A case in point is the 10-volume *Horseclans* published by Signet. The book relates the history of a people who several centuries after a nuclear war are roaming about the United States reduced to a desert. Another publishing house, Zebra, has in a few years produced several series of books of this sort. One of them, *Ashes*, is the story of a soldier who is the sole survivor of a nuclear war and is restoring civilisation in America. The same publishers have brought out books entitled *Survivalist* and *Doomsday Warrior*. The subject of these two books is almost identical, for in both it is resistance to a Communist takeover of the United States in the wake of a nuclear strike. Revealingly, book like these sell in hundreds of thousands of copies. These books are no sci-fi, says Wallace Exman, Director of Zebra. They were concerned with the period following a Third World War, with massive extermination involving the near future. And

¹⁰ *Newhouse News Service*, July 11, 1986.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

he adds that these books are highly patriotic, for they are about US citizens who never lose heart and know how to extricate themselves single-handed from any complicated situation. They fought against villains who invariably turned out to be Russians. In other words, it is a question of just another Rambo, except that this time we find him in books, and another tall story about the "evil empire", except that it has been broken up into endless series simplified to help the slow-minded grasp its meaning.

Washington's anti-Soviet, militarist propaganda also finds reflection in American music. The more fashionable and popular rock groups sell an extraordinary number of discs that minimise the danger of nuclear war instead of criticising the arms race. Take, for example, "Neutron Bomb", a song by Allee Willis and performed by the Pointer Sisters. Recently it even won Grammy, the highest prize of the US recording companies. In it the author, who calls his style "nuclear art", says that a powerful nuclear blast is going to destroy everybody. The only choice you have, he goes on, is to feel sorry you have no money, no love, nothing, or to do the right thing, by going to dance, dance, dance... Prince, well known as composer and performer of his own songs, is likewise thinking of doomsday. In an album called *Purple Rain*, he sings of how he makes it up with his girlfriend before a nuclear war in which he would like to see her "in purple rain", that is, radioactive fallout. In *America* Prince tells the story of Jimmy, a schoolboy who refused to join in the daily ceremony of saluting the US flag. Jimmy was proud of nothing, Prince sings, and now he is in a mushroom cloud. What is the source of this apocalyptic art? It can be traced to the White House. Prince himself admitted that he admires the US President.

We could cite other examples of how American mass culture, including radio and television, urges Americans to accept the idea of an inevitable nuclear war. They include family games like "Superiority" and electronic games such as "Epicentre" or "Missile Command" which make it possible to stage a "nuclear war" without rising from your chair. But the situation is clear enough as it is.

Over the past six years, Washington has been playing a dangerous game by fomenting chauvinism and jingoism and entangling more and more Americans in the meshes of militarism. It is out to move the nation's thinking decades back. Its policy is not only dangerous but criminal, for it is virtually aimed at clearing the decks for a nuclear war. There is a growing awareness in the world that should a nuclear war be triggered, it would inevitably lead to a universal catastrophe and the destruction of civilisation. Nevertheless, Washington stubbornly ignores the need for a new thinking. It not only persists in its dangerous approach to international disputes but tries in various ways to make the American people accept it as the most reasonable approach. Sooner or later, however, popular action and mass movements for peace will force Washington to change its mind.

Peace or annihilation. These are the options facing the United States and the planet. People all over the world want the former; they want life without the threat of death in a nuclear war. "We are witnessing phenomena of tremendous significance", said Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking in Vladivostok. "Realisation of the necessity of *peace for all* is vigorously gaining ground in the people's thinking even where governments still see weapons and war as an instrument of policy". He pointed out the urgent necessity of discarding many habitual approaches to foreign policy, traditions of political thinking and views on the problem of war and peace. The sooner Washington awakens to this, the sooner humanity will be able to breathe freely.

THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

(The results of the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit Conference)

A r t y o m S E R G I Y E V,

D. Sc. (Econ.)

The Eighth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries took place in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe on September 1-7. The meeting of the supreme forum of the non-aligned movement was preceded by a conference of high-ranking officials and then of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries. The Eighth Non-Aligned Summit was attended by delegations of 99 states, and two national liberation movements. Representatives of 19 states, national liberation movements and organisations, attended as observers, and there were also guests from many countries and organisations.

The Eighth Non-Aligned Summit was a milestone event in international life both in terms of the number of state leaders who attended, and the scale of the international political and economic problems which the conference discussed, and on which it adopted corresponding documents.

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The first session of the heads of state and government on September 1 commemorated the 25th anniversary of the First Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade in 1961, which determined the non-aligned movement's organisational form. The representatives of non-aligned countries who spoke at the session were unanimous in giving a positive assessment of the 25 years of the activities of the movement, its growing role, its positive influence on international political relations in the present-day world, stressing the need to expand and strengthen the movement. The jubilee session adopted a Declaration on the 25th anniversary of the movement which stressed the importance of its principles and goals as formulated at the Belgrade conference of 1961, and supplemented by subsequent non-aligned summits in Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo, Havana and Delhi.

The initial principles and character of non-alignment, says the Declaration, presuppose struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, Zionism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, hegemonism, interference, and intervention. According to the document, the non-aligned countries' efforts "will continue to be directed towards liquidation of racism and all vestiges of colonialism, building up a world without war, opposing the bloc policy and spheres of influence, and in favour of the policy of active and peaceful

coexistence, universal detente, termination of the arms race, and general disarmament, the right of all peoples and countries to participate in international relations on the basis of equality and their own free choice, against all forms of interference, intervention and threat and use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country, for a peaceful settlement of international disputes, for the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and the universal implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, for new and equitable international relations, and the economic development and prosperity of all".

The agenda of the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit included many important world political and economic problems.

The basis for the discussions and the final document of the Harare conference was provided by the political and economic declarations approved earlier at the conferences of non-aligned foreign ministers in Luanda (September 1985), and a conference of the Coordinating Bureau at the level of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in Delhi in April 1986.

The provisions and sections of the draft final documents of the Eighth conference were discussed in the two main bodies of the forum—the Political and Economic committees—which included working groups which tackled the major items of the conference's agenda. Delegates submitted their amendments and additions to the committees to be carefully studied at the meetings of the working groups and then at the Political or Economic committees. The final draft documents—with corresponding amendments and additions—were put up for approval of the meeting of foreign ministers who then recommended these drafts for approval by the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries. The day-to-day running of the conference was effected by a Bureau in which the countries of different regions were represented.

Among the central questions discussed at the forum were the relevant issues of the strengthening of peace and international security, of curbing the arms race and promoting disarmament, a total nuclear test ban, the creation of nuclear-free zones in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and reduction of conventional armaments. There was virtual unanimity on all these questions, and the common opinion was set forth in the section of the Political Declaration entitled "Disarmament and International Security".

The Declaration points out that in the past the states had sought to achieve security by stockpiling arms. But the advent of the nuclear weapon drastically changed the situation, because, as was stated in the Declaration, "nuclear weapons are more than weapons of war; they are instruments of mass annihilation. The accumulation of weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, constitutes a threat to the continued survival of mankind". That is why it is imperative that the states renounce attempts to achieve the dangerous goal of unilateral security through armament and assert the goal "of common security through disarmament".

In this connection the conferees have noted with profound concern the continued escalation of the arms race, especially in the field of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, which increases the danger of nuclear war and poses a threat to mankind's survival. That is why removing the danger of nuclear catastrophe, says the Political Declaration, is not just one of many issues, but the most topical and urgent task of the day. Mindful of this, the non-aligned heads of state and government urged for immediate measures to prevent nuclear war and promote nuclear disarmament.

Noting the particular danger of further spiralling of the nuclear arms race, the heads of state and government in the Political Declaration express grave concern over the statement of the US government that it would not consider itself bound by the provisions of the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2) of 1979 and called upon the US government to revise its position.

Having expressed alarm over the tendency for the arms race to spread to outer space, the participants in the conference stressed that outer space, which is mankind's common heritage, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes in the interests of all states, regardless of their economic and scientific level, and should be accessible to all countries and peoples.

Pointing out the need to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear war, the participants welcomed "the comprehensive and timely programme of nuclear disarmament in a phased, time-bound framework recently put forward by the Soviet Union". The goals and priorities of this programme, which envisages elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth before the end of this century, says the Political Declaration, largely coincide with the goals that the non-aligned countries consistently seek in this area.

The Harare conference described a comprehensive nuclear test ban as "the highest priority". It spoke in favour of an early comprehensive multilateral treaty to ban nuclear weapon tests in all spheres of the environment and for all time. Because the existing verification means ensure control of compliance with such a treaty references to lack of means of verification, the non-aligned leaders believe, cannot be used as a pretext for further development and renewal of nuclear weapons.

The non-aligned heads of state and government approved the appeal of the Delhi Six (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania) to the USA and the USSR to stop all nuclear tests. They welcomed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing declared by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in August 1985 and extended by it a number of times since then, including the most recent extension until January 1, 1987. They called on the United States, which bears the responsibility for the major part of nuclear weapons tests, to join the USSR in such a moratorium and urged the Soviet Union to maintain it.

The heads of state and government of non-aligned countries called on the nuclear states to sign an international treaty to ban the use or threat of using nuclear weapons. Such a step, stresses the Declaration, would ensure that no nuclear state would be the first to use nuclear weapons. They also called for a freeze on the manufacture, improvement, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons.

The participants in the Harare forum spoke in favour of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the globe, of strict observance and respect of international treaties that ensure existing nuclear-free zones, for reduction of conventional weapons on a regional basis, for a scaling down of the military activity of major states outside their national boundaries, for an early treaty to ban chemical weapons, for ensuring security safeguards to non-nuclear states, etc.

Having supported the initiatives of the Delhi Six, including the proposals contained in the Mexico Declaration of August 7, 1986, the non-aligned movement made a special appeal, at the level of the heads of state and government, to the leaders of the USSR and the USA to use dialogue to achieve an early accord to end nuclear tests and take concrete nuclear disarmament measures.

It is noteworthy that the conference's Political Declaration includes a section on the inadmissibility of aggression and the use of force in international relations. The Declaration expresses the readiness of the

non-aligned countries taking part in the 41st session of the UN General Assembly to actively help the work of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations. This issue was put on the UN General Assembly's agenda several years ago on the initiative of the Soviet Union.

High on the agenda of the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit were the questions of the national liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism, for complete elimination of all the remnants of colonialism, for stronger independence and state sovereignty of the newly free countries.

Noting the successes in the implementation of the 1960 UN General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries demanded, in keeping with that Declaration, the elimination of colonial regimes in Namibia, New Caledonia, Puerto Rico, the Malvinas and Micronesia. Simultaneously, the participants in the forum vigorously condemned the increased exploitation of the manpower and natural resources of these territories by the colonial powers and the transnational corporations, the use of these territories for military purposes, including for the storage and deployment of nuclear weapons. This, stressed the forum, is not only an obstacle in the way of the exercise of the inalienable rights of these people to self-determination and independence, but a threat to their security and the security of the neighbouring states. The conference voiced its full support for the demand of Mauritius to restore its sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, including the island of Diego Garcia, which the USA has turned into its naval and air base.

While resolutely condemning international terrorism in all forms, the leaders of non-aligned countries noted that one can on no account regard as terrorism the legitimate struggle of the peoples oppressed by the colonial and racist regimes, and all types of foreign domination and occupation, against their oppressors, especially the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, for their self-determination in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and those of the non-aligned movement.

As expected, the situation in southern Africa was a subject of heated debates at the conference. Many leaders of non-aligned countries and the final documents of the conference resolutely condemn the racist regime of Pretoria, as well as the USA, Britain and other imperialist powers for their connivance with the reactionary policies of the apartheid regime and opposition to effective sanctions against South Africa. The conference adopted a number of important political documents on this issue. The Special Declaration on southern Africa voices unreserved support of the non-aligned countries for the struggle of the southern African peoples to eliminate the shameful system of apartheid. In addition to that Declaration, the conference approved a decision to set up an Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund intended to assist the economic development of the "frontline" states and to render more effective assistance to the national liberation movement in South Africa. India, Ethiopia and Nigeria have declared that they will grant concrete material and other assistance to the national liberation movements of South Africa and to "frontline" states.

The Special Appeal for Immediate Independence of Namibia renews the demand for immediate independence to that country and provides a blueprint for an early achievement of that goal.

The participants in the conference condemned Israel's aggressive policy with regard to the Arab countries, and its "strategic engagement" with the USA. Supporting the proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East, the Harare conference called on the UN Security Council to consider setting up a preparatory committee to convene the conference that would include the permanent members of the Council.

The conference condemned the aggressive US actions against Libya describing them as acts of state terrorism and violation of international law and the UN Charter. The leaders of the non-aligned states demanded that the USA offer full and immediate compensation to Libya of the material and human losses inflicted on it. US military exercises off the Libyan coast were described as a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya and a threat to peace and stability in the Mediterranean.

Compared to the documents of past conferences of the non-aligned movement, the section of the Political Declaration dealing with Latin America and the Caribbean has been considerably expanded and strengthened. The conference called for respect for the sovereignty of Latin American and Caribbean countries, non-interference in their internal affairs, peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the region. The participants in the conference sharply criticised the aggressive US policy with regard to Latin American states notably Nicaragua. They stressed that the process of social and economic change in Central America cannot be viewed from the angle of ideological confrontation between military blocs. The conferees described the aggressive US actions against Nicaragua as part of the overall US plan to "destabilise" and topple the legitimate government of that independent state, and demanded an immediate end to hostile actions and threats with regard to Nicaragua, including US financing of mercenary bands and subversive actions in the economic field.

The leaders of non-aligned states have agreed to step up collective actions to strengthen peace, detente, security and to democratise international relations, and to consistently implement the decisions adopted by non-aligned forums. Pursuant to the corresponding part of the Political Declaration, the participants in the conference approved a special document, the Declaration on the Strengthening of Collective Actions. The document contains the provision that any aggression against any non-aligned country would be regarded as aggression against all non-aligned countries, and that country would be rendered corresponding assistance.

Figuring prominently on the conference agenda were the economic problems of the non-aligned countries: ways to overcome their economic difficulties in the midst of a continuing crisis of the world capitalist economy, restructuring of international economic relations along democratic lines, and the creation of a new international economic order.

The Economic Declaration adopted by the Conference stresses that "colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism, interference in internal affairs, apartheid, Zionism, racism and all forms of racial discrimination, foreign aggression, occupation, hegemony, and expansionism, exploitation and destabilisation constitute fundamental obstacles to the economic liberation of developing countries". As Fidel Castro stressed in his speech at the conference, today the world witnesses extremely unfair trade, the growth of protectionism, more frequent dumping, dishonest competition, more rigid market control by transnational corporations, mounting interest rates, the growing outflow of capital to financial centres in the USA

and Europe and unprecedentedly active manipulations with international finances by imperialist powers than ever before. The price now paid by the developing countries is much higher than what they used to pay before.

The participants expressed deep concern over the extent of the drain of resources from the developing countries, the falling prices for raw materials and consumer goods, which dramatically reduces the incomes of the developing countries. At the same time the investments of the developed countries in the economies of the developing countries continue to fall. They amounted to a mere \$13,000 million in loans and credits, \$14,00 million in official aid, and \$9,000 million in direct investment in 1985. And this at a time when payments towards foreign debts amounted to \$54,000 million in 1985, and profits from direct investments in the developing countries exceed \$13,000 million.

The growing interdependence of the world economy and of international economic problems and the way they are solved, says the Economic Declaration, make it urgent to look for solutions, including a radical reform and the restructuring of the international monetary, financial and trade systems in the interests of both developed and developing countries. In this connection the participants in the conference reiterated their commitment to implement the Declaration and Programme of Actions on the establishment of a new international economic order adopted by the UN General Assembly in May 1974, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted on December 12, 1974.

Any talks between the developed and developing countries to resolve ed by the UN General Assembly in May 1974, and the Charter of Economic Declaration, should be of universal character and should be held within the framework of the United Nations. The participants in the conference reiterated the call for global talks to resolve outstanding international economic problems.

The Economic Declaration spells out the stand of the non-aligned movement on the international monetary matters. The participants in the forum reaffirmed the proposal—earlier put forward by India and supported by other non-aligned countries—for an early international conference on monetary and financial issues.

The problem of the indebtedness of the developing countries has assumed serious political and social proportions engendering greater imbalances in the international monetary, finance and trade system. The Economic Declaration stresses the need for a serious approach to the problem whose solution should involve not only the developing countries, but also the creditor nations, as well as international financial and banking institutions, which share the responsibility for solving the problem of indebtedness of the developing countries. The participants in the conference have called on the governments of the creditor and debtor nations and international financial and banking institutions to engage in political dialogue with the developing countries in order to find jointly genuine solutions to the external debt problems of developing countries. Simultaneously the Declaration proposes certain measures to settle the foreign debt problem and launches an appeal to the Group of 77 to seek the inclusion of the foreign indebtedness problem in the agenda of the 41st Session of the UN General Assembly.

The conference resolutions reaffirm the inalienable right of all the countries and peoples to exercise constant and full sovereignty and control over their natural and other resources and economic activities, and stresses the abiding importance of backing up the political independence of the non-aligned and all the other developing countries by their economic liberation. The non-aligned movement, says the Economic Declaration, should remain committed to strengthening the political and eco-

conomic independence of the developing countries and peoples, if it is to fulfil its historic mission.

The conference spoke for the development of economic cooperation between non-aligned and all the developing countries and adopted a full-scale document setting out a concrete programme of action to promote cooperation of these countries in the fields of industrialisation, trade, science and technology.

It needs to be stressed that the economic development of non-aligned countries was considered at the Harare conference in close association with the problems of peace and disarmament proceeding from the assumption that effective economic development can only take place in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation. The arms race, especially in the nuclear field, says the Economic Declaration, creates global instability, especially in the developing countries. Pointing out that sustained development can only take place in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries called for an immediate end to the arms race to release human, material and technological resources to meet the needs of development. In this connection they again spoke in favour of an international conference to consider the interrelationship between disarmament and development that was due to be held in Paris in July 1986, but failed to take place because of the obstructionist position of some Western powers. The Harare forum proposed to call this conference in 1987 with the exact date to be fixed by the 41st Session of the UN General Assembly.

The Eighth Non-Aligned Summit brought ample proof that on practically all the main problems of our time the leaders of the non-aligned countries have assumed clear-cut anti-imperialist stands corresponding to the interests of the world's peoples. The political documents it adopted testify to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist and anti-war thrust of the non-aligned movement, and its further consolidation.

The results of the Harare conference also testify to the further strengthening of the non-aligned movement as a broad association of states coming out for peace and international security, national liberation, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, apartheid and all other forms of oppression and enslavement. The non-aligned movement is contributing ever more significantly to the struggle to prevent the nuclear catastrophe threatening mankind, to bring a just and secure peace for all and to ensure social and economic progress. It is emerging as an ever more important factor in present-day international relations, an influential political force of our time.

The decisions of the Harare conference give every reason for saying that the chief object of criticism on the part of the non-aligned countries was the aggressive policy of the US Administration and its imperialist allies, in particular the Washington doctrine of "neoglobalism" aimed at undermining the sovereignty of the non-aligned and other developing countries and fomenting regional conflicts. As was to be expected, wrote *Sunday Mail* of Zimbabwe, the Western press criticises the conference because speeches and resolutions there were permeated by "anti-Americanism". However, if the non-alignment movement adheres to its basic principles and goals—the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, economic exploitation and interference into the internal affairs of the developing countries—its participants inevitably had to condemn the leading imperialist power. Since the USA had interfered in almost all conflicts erupting in the world the speakers could not but mention the US Administration as a culprit. The newspaper stressed that it was not "anti-Americanism" of the non-alignment movement that was involved but a ho-

stile attitude of Washington and its allies to that movement. Indeed, Moscow can not be blamed for the existence of the blood-thirsty regime in the south of Africa, the support of anti-government bands in Angola or equipping and training "contras" in Nicaragua. It would be absurd to blame the USSR for the debt crisis gripping developing countries. All these key problems, *Sunday Mail* concludes, can not be discussed in earnest without mentioning the imperialists headed by the USA.

The non-aligned countries follow the line for a peaceful settlement of disputes between them and peaceful resolution of conflict problems to counter the provocative course of the US government aimed at interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries, setting them against one another and fomenting regional military conflicts.

It is natural that simultaneously the Harare conference has revealed the new problems facing the non-aligned movement that have come to a head. Thus, some delegations said more should be done to enhance the effectiveness of the non-aligned movement as an integral international entity, they spoke of the effectiveness and consistent implementation of the decisions adopted by its forums and of strengthening the movement organisationally by creating some additional permanent bodies. All these questions were thoroughly discussed at the conference. Resolutions were adopted on some of them, while others have yet to be studied and elaborated.

World public opinion has welcomed the positive results of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare, rightly viewing them as an important contribution to the cause of peace and international security. Receiving in the Kremlin Robert Mugabe, special representative of the Chairman of the non-alignment movement, who arrived in Moscow to deliver the appeal of the 8th Conference of the Non-Alignment Movement, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that the appeal addressed to the Soviet and American leaders, as other documents adopted by the Harare Conference, is consonant with the line of the Soviet Union who strives to eliminate the nuclear threat, to achieve a fair settlement of regional conflicts, to ensure the right of the peoples for a free and independent development, economic independence and equitable international cooperation. As Mikhail Gorbachev put it, the Soviet Union, which respects the independent policy of the movement and each of its participants, is open for cooperation and interaction with them in international affairs.

The Soviet Union respects the principles of the non-aligned movement, viewing the movement as the proponent of the legitimate interests of a numerous group of states, in the first place, the newly free countries. Objecting to the non-aligned movement being seen through the prism of the East-West confrontation, the USSR fully understands the desire of the non-aligned countries to stay out of military blocs, to pursue an independent policy and determine their path of development themselves. The Soviet Union sees the non-aligned movement as a powerful force against war and aggression, imperialism and colonialism, i. e. a force that adds to the potential of peace, reason and goodwill. In this sense the interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries coincide with those of the non-aligned countries. That is why the development of friendship and cooperation between these states has been and will remain an important element in Soviet foreign policy.

THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

A n a t o l i R E P I N

The 11th World Trade Union Congress took place in Berlin last September. Ever since the Second World War such forums have invariably been sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). An organisation grouping over 200 million working people of nearly 90 countries of all continents and representing the powerful progressive wing of the international trade union movement, the WFTU champions unity in the common struggle for peace and social progress and in defending trade union rights. True to the proletarian slogan of solidarity, it holds the door of its world congresses open to all trade union organisations irrespective of their affiliation to national, regional or international trade union centres or their ideological and political orientation.

The 11th World Trade Union Congress was the largest forum in the history of the international trade union movement drawing more than 1,000 delegates from Europe, America, Asia, Africa, Oceania, the Near and Middle East. Its guests included 14 international non-trade union organisations, such as the ILO, UNESCO, the World Peace Council, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the International Union of Students.

It was a most democratic congress. Virtually every participant was given the floor, and his opinion was taken into consideration in drafting the final documents. No one complained of the fact that some of the plenary meetings, which were addressed by nearly 350 speakers, lasted from morning till midnight. Simultaneously there were press conferences by various delegations, including trade unionists from Chile, South Africa and the United States, and numerous bilateral talks characterised by frankness and a sincere desire for closer cooperation between working class organisations.

An event seen by all as particularly noteworthy was the two-hour meeting which the Soviet trade union delegation had with a large group of representatives of over a dozen US national unions, mostly AFL-CIO affiliates.

A steel worker from Gary who had been locked out by the USX Corp., a New York office employee, a longshoreman from San Francisco and other members of the American group spoke of the growing involvement of US trade unions in the anti-war movement, of numerous demonstrations and protest rallies against preparations for Star Wars, of the demand of the overwhelming majority of the American people for the US administration to join in the Soviet nuclear tests moratorium. "The Soviets Stopped Testing. Why Don't We?" US trade unionists described this as the anti-war slogan in their country today.

Anti-war sentiments and views are now typical of working people. They are reflected in resolutions of the executives and conventions of a number of major craft unions as well as, to a degree, in AFL-CIO documents. Indeed, the last two conventions of this organisation declared, in spite of the resistance of right-wing leaders, that the majority of the membership, like the majority of the American people, stands for a freeze on

nuclear potentials and an end to the arms race. An indicative evolution has come about in the AFL-CIO position on the military budget; as distinct from past years, the organisation no longer subscribes without qualification to increasing appropriations for the Pentagon. Under pressure from delegates of local branches, the latest AFL-CIO convention (Anaheim, Cal.) even condemned US military interference in Nicaragua.

Last August, the Las Vegas convention of the United Steelworkers of America, a traditionally influential member of the AFL-CIO, demanded an end to nuclear tests and to steps hastening the implementation of the SDI. Besides, convention delegates declared, according to Johnny Fair, a steelworker at the Bethlehem Steel's Sparrow's Point mill, that the US administration was reluctant to make progress in arms control.

The Soviet-American trade union meeting in Berlin was indicative of the general atmosphere at the World Congress, which met under the motto "For Unity of Action and Solidarity of All Workers, for Jobs, Peace and Social Progress".

Regardless of the nature of the problems discussed at plenary meetings or in commissions, their analysis invariably led to the conclusion that in this troubled period, with the danger of nuclear disaster threatening humanity, the trade unions' efforts to defend the social and economic interests of working people are linked most closely with the struggle to preserve peace. What is more, the struggle for peace and the provision of peaceful conditions for life and work is coming to the fore, since its results will ultimately determine both the further activity of trade unions and the very existence of humanity.

This idea ran through the main report submitted by WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria, reports on specific subjects by Harry Tisch, Chairman of the Central Board of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (peace and disarmament), Henri Krasucki, General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (social and economic problems), and Indrajit Gupta, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress (trade union rights), the Main Document, the final conclusions of the Congress commissions and the overwhelming majority of the Congress resolutions.

The historic peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, Ibrahim Zakaria said in his report, have given the international trade union movement a strong spur to extend the scope of the campaign "Workers and Trade Unions for Peace and Jobs" sponsored by the WFTU within the framework of the UN International Year of Peace. The Soviet proposals had gone a considerable way towards helping the peoples realise more clearly than ever who is really to blame for the continuing arms race and all its ruinous consequences for the working people.

Elaborating this idea, Harry Tisch said that the motive power of the arms race is imperialist reaction, which refuses to reconcile itself to the changes registered in the world over recent decades and is out not only to check the objective trend of historical development but to reverse it.

These forces cling to outworn notions of war as a means of achieving political goals. Their adherence to this dogma, coupled with their insane plans for the militarisation of space, adds to the danger of global catastrophe. Those who foster the arms race and derive huge profits from it try to justify their activity imperilling peace by invoking the exigencies of national security. Yet in this nuclear and space era, when there are enough weapons to wipe out humanity several times over, the world needs a different approach to these matters, a new mentality, because security can not be ensured today by competing in the arms build-up. The speaker expressed the opinion that the chief requisite for improving the international situation is to scale down the nuclear arms race and, above all, to stop nuclear testing. It was gratifying that the Soviet Union, exhibiting

goodwill, again prolonged its unilateral freeze on nuclear explosions, this time till January 1, 1987. However, the United States went on testing its nuclear weapons. If a Soviet-US agreement ending nuclear tests is signed it would truly bring relief to humanity. It could pave the way for complete nuclear disarmament before the end of this century. This would meet the aspirations of all working people the world over, Harry Tisch stressed.

The attack on union rights and the living conditions of working people in capitalist countries, coupled with the debt bondage of the peoples of developing countries, is part of the overall imperialist policy of "social revanche", which is aimed at exhausting world socialism economically by stepping up the arms race. Yet steadily growing military expenditures in the West, primarily in the United States, speakers at the congress pointed out, affect the working people's conditions very noticeably already now, turning them into hostages of wild militarist plans.

Over one trillion US dollars is spent annually for military purposes, it was noted during the debate in the Peace and Disarmament Commission. If the present growth rate persists, the next two decades will see, according to the most conservative estimate, much more spending for these purposes than throughout the forty postwar years. This is the grim prospect imperialism offers people. Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, has frankly said that the growth of military budgets must be guaranteed whatever the socio-economic implications.

Meanwhile military spending in the world exceeds even now the aggregate foreign debt and GNP of the developing countries. Militarism has the latest achievements of science and technology at its disposal, using them to derive superprofits from arms production and not to improve working conditions or create new jobs. The standard of living is declining in capitalist countries as purchasing power diminishes. Production in civilian industries is falling off; many countries are unable to use as much as one-third of their industrial capacities, and their governments are deliberately pursuing a policy of massive layoffs.

It is the socio-economic consequences of the arms race, speakers said, that the dialogue and cooperation between trade unions of different orientation could centre on.

The present situation, it was said in the debate, calls for research into the socio-economic effects of the militarisation of space, for stepped-up resistance to those who are escalating the arms race and for measures to better inform various contingents of the anti-war movement in order to enable them to cooperate more closely.

Full support was given to the activity of the International Trade Unions Committee for Peace and Disarmament, known as the Dublin Committee. It was suggested that a still greater number of unions of different orientations join in the Committee's work. Speakers pointed out that the Committee is playing an important role in planning and holding international trade union conferences on socio-economic aspects of the arms race (the latest of them met in Dublin this year). The detailed study of the socio-economic effects of the arms race published by the Dublin Committee this year was described as an indictment of militarism.

Trade union delegates of the Soviet Union, India, Canada, Japan, Hungary, France, Ireland and other countries who spoke in the Peace and Disarmament Commission stressed the need to mobilise the anti-war potential of the international trade union movement for active resistance to militarist policies and the arms race. Trade unions will determine to a large extent, speakers said, which way the scales tip in these disquieting times. In this connection it was put on record that labour organisations show greater militancy in observing the Day of Trade Unions' Actions for Peace, now traditional, on September 1.

The campaign "Workers and Trade Unions for Peace and Jobs" found a response far and wide. Speakers said that it had contributed to the development of the anti-war internationalist tradition in the trade union movement and helped overcome the isolated character of union actions against the war menace. A common desire was voiced to continue the campaign without limiting it to the International Year of Peace.

The congress endorsed the WFTU proposal for the convocation of a special UN conference to demonstrate the interconnection of disarmament and development, with the understanding that the conference would be preceded by an international trade union meeting on the problem. The delegates called for the resumption of the European trade union conferences broken off several years ago and for developing the practice of continued convening of regional conferences of trade unions of different orientations, including unions of Asia and Oceania, and stressed the existence of ample opportunities for cooperation between craft unions of the East and West.

In short, there is enormous potential for concrete and purposive joint actions by the international trade union movement in defence of peace. The peoples expect the unions to carry out even more powerful joint actions for disarmament and peace. The more than 400 million organised workers are a tremendous force. The positions of diverse contingents of the trade union movement, WFTU, ICFTU and WCL affiliates included coincide on many issues much more often than before. This applies to, among others, the stand on the fundamental aspects of the struggle against the war menace, such as an immediate end to nuclear testing, prevention of the militarisation of space and support for real steps towards disarmament.

The document "Trade Unions' Actions for Peace and Disarmament" adopted by the congress draws the explicit conclusion that today the fight against militarism and the arms race is a struggle for the survival of humanity and at the same time a battle in defence of the social, political and economic rights of labour. The growing militancy of trade unions in the East and West in the anti-war struggle, the document says, is a sign of the emergence of a new phenomenon, an anti-war movement of trade unions.

"Trade union peace actions are contributing ever more to the solution of the problem of humanity's survival", said Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, in his welcoming speech to the congress. All leading trade union federations, he stressed, reject the policy of confrontation and the arms race to which the present US administration is committed. The Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist community countries advanced at the Budapest conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states the most comprehensive programme for disarmament ever, a programme showing the way to humanity's salvation from nuclear arms.

President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua delivered a rousing speech to the world forum. He spoke highly of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, emphasising in particular that the new prolongation of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear blasts is impressive proof of the real political will of the socialist countries.

The congress heard with deep interest the speech by Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the World Peace Council, who stressed the vast importance of the trade unions' contribution to humanity's struggle for peace, and called for the unification of all the forces opposed to militarism and advocating a peaceful future for the planet.

During the congress, this author talked with delegates representing countries with a traditionally strong and established trade union movement, such as Britain, Canada, France or India, and also countries where the trade union movement is only just gaining strength or even fighting for legalisation, such as Bahrain, Vanuatu or Trinidad and Tobago. Irre-

spective of the size of their countries or their ideological or political orientation, all my interlocutors agreed that the fight for peace is a highly important task facing the trade unions which requires unification of the working people.

Such is also the keynote of the Main Document of the congress, which defines the action programme of the international trade union movement for the next few years, the Appeal to the working people and trade unions of all countries, and other documents.

Being well aware of their responsibility for the destiny of the world, the delegates unanimously approved a Message of the 11th World Congress of Trade Unions to Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, and Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary General of the United Nations. Disturbed by the dangerous trend of world events, especially the arms race, which poses a direct threat to the security of humanity and devours enormous resources, the Message says, the congress considers it necessary to end the stockpiling of deadly weapons and supports all the proposals of individual countries or groups of countries contributing to the disarmament programme. The congress hailed the moratorium on nuclear weapons tests announced by the Soviet Union and called on the United States and other nuclear powers to follow suit. The Soviet proposals for the destruction of nuclear arms by the year 2000 met the aspirations of all workers and peoples. The congress fully subscribed to the proposal to end the arms race and proceed to disarmament made at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare, the proposals set out in the Mexican Declaration of the Delhi Six and other peace initiatives of diverse political forces and mass organisations.

On behalf of millions of organised workers on all continents, the congress declared that the UN and all its members, primarily the United States and the Soviet Union, should take measures without delay to conclude international agreements on ending the arms race and all nuclear tests, destroying nuclear and other means of mass destruction, and redistributing the means to be released as a result for more rapid social and economic progress. The congress, the Message stresses, reaffirms its conviction today that the strategy of peace and disarmament is a decisive component of international efforts to provide a better life for the whole of humanity.

The congress also adopted a number of statements and messages of solidarity with the workers and peoples who are fighting against the imperialist policy of aggression and economic subjugation, including solidarity with the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, Chile, South Africa and Arab countries.

The congress Appeal to the working people and trade unions of all countries stresses that new trends have emerged in the international trade union movement, which is determined to resist capitalist monopoly, defend and extend trade union rights and strengthen trade union cohesion. The Appeal calls for a search for ways to intensify united actions at the national and international level.

With regard to the most promising and vitally important spheres of cooperation between the trade unions of all countries, the Appeal gives priority to the attainment of unity by working people in joint actions for the prevention of nuclear war and the complete elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, a ban on the militarisation of space, a reduction of military spending, the reconversion of the arms industry to the manufacture of socially useful products, and other disarmament measures. Among the major tasks listed in the Appeal is the struggle of all working people and the international trade union movement as a whole

(Continued on page 130)



**WHAT IS THE REASON FOR SEPARATIST ACTIVITY IN SOME INDIAN STATES?
WHAT IS THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT DOING TO CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL
UNITY?**

A. SHISHELOV (Vologda)

INDIA: DEFENDING NATIONAL UNITY

Over the years of independent statehood, India, once a colonial appendage to the British imperialism, developed into a full-fledged member of the world community. A great Asian power enjoying well-earned prestige and respect in the world, it made notable economic and political progress. Nevertheless, it is still faced with many difficult problems, especially in the economic and social spheres, whose solution will depend in no small measure on ensuring national unity.

The great complexity of India's political and national development is not hard to imagine in the light of the fact that its 750-odd million inhabitants include members of dozens of nationalities and ethnic groups speaking 15 major languages and hundreds of dialects, belonging to diverse castes and professing different religions. National integration is also made difficult by lingering antiquated customs and traditions, which is perfectly natural if only because the rate of illiteracy is high in spite of indisputable achievements in education.

Home reaction and hostile external forces are trying to exploit these realities; a peace-loving, economically and militarily strong India pursuing an independent foreign policy does not fit into their global strategy. To weaken the country and make it vulnerable to external pressure, the imperialist powers and their agents are operating on several lines, the most important of these being active support for separatist and other divisive groups.

Separatist activity is particularly widespread and violent in Punjab. This Indian state, which borders on Pakistan, has become a major seat of tension in recent years. Most of its inhabitants, adherents of Sikhism, have launched a mass movement demanding greater autonomy for the state, with extremist members of the Sikh community, who are backed from abroad, mounting a vast terror campaign under the slogan of separation from India and establishing an "independent Sikh state of Khalistan", in Punjab. Separatist activity has resulted in numerous deaths and caused enormous damage to the economy of Punjab, India's traditional granary. In June 1984, the Indian government carried out Operation Blue Star to suppress terrorists entrenched in Amritsar's Golden Temple and in other gurudwaras, or Sikh temples. But while the operation did away with the terrorists' strongpoints, it failed to achieve its chief purpose, which was to end terrorism.

It became obvious that to normalise the situation in Punjab and pre-

serve the unity and territorial integrity of India, a political solution was needed. The Indian National Congress, INC (I), government under Rajiv Gandhi, who came to power in October 1984, when Sikh fanatics assassinated the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, put the emphasis in its home policy on precisely this solution. One of the main tasks listed in the electoral manifesto of the INC(I) was to settle the situation in Punjab. Shortly after victory in the December 1984 parliamentary elections, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced the intention of his government to effect a series of measures directed towards ending the lopsided, agrarian trend of development in Punjab and increasing economic aid to it. The authorities released the leaders of the Akali Dal, the most influential party in the Sikh community, whom they had arrested during Operation Blue Star, lifted the ban on the extremist All-India Sikh Students Federation and took other steps to ease the situation. A particularly vigorous effort to this end was made in the summer of 1985, when a series of consultations took place between the Governor of Punjab, Arjun Singh, and leaders of the Akali Dal and the Sikh community. On July 24, 1985, the consultations resulted in Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Akali Dal Chairman H. S. Longowal signing a Memorandum of Settlement, an agreement aimed at normalising the situation in Punjab.

A section of this 11-point document is concerned with the demands made by the Akali Dal after Operation Blue Star. The agreement provides for paying victims of religious and communal clashes compensation for damages suffered since August 1, 1982. This applies chiefly to victims of the wave of anti-Sikh unrest which swept the country following the assassination of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards.

Other provisions of the agreement bear on the fundamental political, territorial and economic demands of the Akali Dal and the Sikh community. The government agreed to transfer to Punjab the city of Chandigarh, which is at once Union territory and the capital of two states, Haryana and Punjab. It was stipulated that in exchange for Chandigarh Punjab should cede certain of its districts, chiefly Hindi-speaking ones, to Haryana. The agreement also envisages measures to protect the interests of national and religious minorities and the government's assistance in developing the Punjabi language.

All patriotic-minded Indians hailed the Memorandum of Settlement. The majority of political parties and public organisations of the Republic backed it. A statement released by the Central Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India described the agreement on Punjab between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Akali Dal Chairman H. S. Longowal as a response to the concern expressed earlier by the majority of opposition parties, including the CPI. The CPI hopes, the statement said, that the document will be supported by all population groups in Punjab and pave the way for a speedy normalisation of the situation there.

After a meeting of the Akali Dal leadership on July 26, 1985, Longowal said that it unanimously approved of the Memorandum and had resolved to stop the three-year-old anti-government campaign, seeing that Delhi had accepted the party's main demands.

To clear the decks for putting the agreement into practice, the central government called elections for the Legislative Assembly of Punjab and the People's Chamber of parliament to restore constitutional local government, for ever since 1983, when a state of emergency was introduced, Punjab had been under presidential government.

The agreement and the scheduled elections were violently opposed by the so-called United Akali Dal, which had broken away from the Akali Dal and was led by Joginder Singh, the father of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the terrorist leader killed in Operation Blue Star. This align-

ment and, to all intents and purposes, its fighting wing, the All-India Sikh Students Federation, set out to obstruct with might and main a political settlement and all talks with the central government. Members of these organisations stepped up their terroristic activity, with the result that Akali Dal Chairman Longowal, leading members of the INC (I) L. Maken and A. Dass and other advocates of a peaceful settlement were killed. Even so, the Gandhi government ensured through special measures a generally tranquil situation, needed for the election campaign in Punjab.

The electoral manifestos of the two main parties, the INC(I) and Akali Dal, accentuated the economic problems of Punjab, advancing similar programmes for their solution. Both parties promised to adopt, should they come to power, measures to create new jobs and build new industrial enterprises in order to substantially cut unemployment in the state, primarily among youth. They announced plans for raising the growth rate and productivity of agriculture, introducing certain easy terms for loans to the rural poor, and so on.

The Punjab elections of September 25, 1985 resulted in an impressive victory for the Akali Dal, a party of moderates led by S. S. Barnala, who took over after H. S. Longowal's death. The ruling INC(I) won second place, leaving other contenders far behind. The most important political result of the elections was that the opponents of the July agreement, who were led by the breakaway extremist United Akali Dal, failed to gain support among the electorate, who virtually ignored their call for a boycott of the elections. Immediately after the elections, Barnala declared that the Akali Dal was resolved to end terrorism once and for all and to do all in its power for peace, tranquillity and socio-economic progress in Punjab.

The agreement on Punjab benefited the political situation in India and spurred the settlement of the situation in other trouble spots of the country, primarily in Assam.

On August 15, 1985, the Gandhi government and leaders of Assamese nationalist groupings came to terms on settling the situation in that north-eastern state of India. The memorandum on settlement comprises three sections which concern the issue of "aliens", guarantees and economic development, and the restoration of a normal situation.

Central to the first section are the provisions saying that persons who moved to Assam between January 2, 1966, and March 24, 1971, will be regarded under Indian laws as aliens and disfranchised for ten years while those who arrived in Assam after March 24, 1971, will be detected and deported from the state.

These dates were the subject of the main controversy in the six-year-long talks between nationalist leaders and the central government. Throughout these years, the state was an arena of bitter ethnic and religious strife, with explosions and shooting in town and countryside, subversion and sabotage in industry and railway transport. By the middle of 1985, riots in Assam had claimed about 3,500 lives, according to official data.

The worst upsurge in anti-government activity in Assam began in 1979, when the All-Assam Students Union (AASU) and All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP), which group over a dozen youth and students' organisations, assumed the leadership of a movement for the deportation from Assam of all "aliens", mostly settlers from Bangladesh, as well as people from other Indian states, such as Bihar or West Bengal.

The very term *alien* came into use in Assam as far back as the turn of the century, when numerous people moved to that state from other parts of India. The influx of settlers grew after the partition of India in 1947, when hundreds of thousands of people crossed into India from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The stream of refugees increased due to

Indian-Pakistani armed conflicts in 1965 and 1971. People from Bangladesh go on making their way into Assam.

At present Assam has a population of 20 million and is divided into several major groups: Assamese-speaking caste Hindus, plantation workers (mostly Hindus who have moved into the state in various periods), tribes living on the plains, Bengali Moslems and Hindi-speaking people. It was the interaction of and contradictions between these groups that gave rise to the Assam problem.

Immigrants joined more and more actively in politics and largely elbowed the indigenous Assamese out of elections for parliament, the state's legislative assembly and local government bodies. In 1982, the indigenous Assamese made up a majority in only 41 of the 126 electoral districts. This gave rise to one of the Assamese nationalists' main demands, namely, that all "aliens" be barred from elections.

The movement led by the AASU and AAGSP insisted from the first on deporting all "aliens" who had arrived after 1961. The government, for its part, contemplated the possibility of denying the suffrage to those only who had arrived in Assam after 1971. Fifteen rounds of talks between the central government and nationalist leaders resulted in setting a compromise date, January 1, 1966. This meant that the Indian government was meeting its obligation with regard to those who had emigrated from East Pakistan in 1964 and 1965 but, on the other hand, was making a concession to the nationalists.

Other sections of the agreement emphasise the government's legal and economic guarantees of protecting the cultural, social and linguistic traditions of the Assamese people, carrying out a set of measures to accelerate the social and economic development of the state, promote education and use scientific and technological achievements. The AASU and AAGSP, for their part, committed themselves to desist from anti-government activity and joint in the effort for the social and economic advancement of the country.

An important step to normalise the situation in Assam still further was made by the Indian parliament in December 1985, when it passed a legislative act providing that all persons of Indian origin who had arrived in Assam before January 1, 1966, from areas forming part of Bangladesh, should be recognised as Indian citizens and defining the civil status of those who had settled in Assam between January 1966 and March 1971.

In the elections held under this act, on December 16, 1985, the chief winner was the Assam Gana Parishad (AGP), a regional party founded in October 1985 by merging the major nationalist alignments of the state, including the AASU and AAGSP. The government formed by the AGP announced its intention to give priority to the implementation of the agreement on Assam. The great importance attached by the state government to this matter was exemplified by the institution in January 1986 of the post of minister for the realisation of the agreement, whose duties were assumed by the head of government, P. K. Mahanta.

The 78th Congress of the ruling INC(I), held on December 27-28, 1985, put it on record that the Gandhi government had succeeded in considerably defusing the situation in Punjab and Assam by peaceful, political means.

After the achievement of agreements on the two states, the next milestone on the road to a political settlement of conflict situations in the country was the signing on June 30, 1986, of an agreement between the Gandhi government and the leadership of local nationalist forces on normalising the situation in the small north-eastern territory of Mizoram. By the terms of the agreement, a coalition government was formed there which comprises members of the INC(I) and the Mizo National Front.

This led, in effect, to a downturn in the separatist insurgent movement which for 20 years had interfered with normal life in Mizoram by demanding the formation of a separate state and its secession from India.

Notwithstanding the progress made in consolidating national unity, the struggle against ethnic and communal discord and separatism is still one of the main tasks facing the ruling party and the leadership of the country. The Rajiv Gandhi government considers that at the root of the above-said negative phenomena are largely lopsided, agrarian trend of development of individual states, marked inequality in property, mass unemployment among the young and other social and economic factors on which separatist elements capitalise. It is not accidental, therefore, that the national leadership devotes increasing attention to measures designed to ease the more acute socio-economic problems in riot areas. The Indian authorities' growing concern is also due to the backing which certain quarters in the West, primarily in the United States, Britain and Canada, as well as, most directly, the military administration of Pakistan give to Sikh extremists and separatists who have emigrated from India and settled down in these countries, something which compels the Gandhi government to insist more and more on stopping terrorism incited from without.

The Indian government has repeatedly protested to the US administration over the anti-Indian activity of Sikh terrorists on US territory. However, Washington ignores India's demands, virtually defending the most reactionary Sikh emigres and their haunts in the United States, the "training centres" specialising in the training of terrorists. Specifically, the US administration says it has no "legal" reason or right to close down Rondo, the Alabama training centre for terrorists whose "graduates" blew up the Air India plane off the Irish coast, killing 329 people.

US policy makers, writes Kuldip Nayar, a noted Indian observer, are trying to push Delhi into an impasse over its domestic problems in order to weaken India's voice in the international community. In response to India's emphatic condemnation of the US bombings of Libya, Vernon Walters, permanent representative of the United States in the UN, had frankly threatened the Indian leadership with certain "consequences". One of these came in mid-1986, when US-backed Sikh terrorists proclaimed the formation of "independent Khalistan" in Punjab. "Was it a mere coincidence", Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi noted in this connection, "that as we took a very strong and uncompromising stand on Libya, an independent Khalistan was announced?"

The British leadership has been steering much the same course. During the visit which Geoffrey Howe, Britain's Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, paid to India in April 1986, the Indian side stressed the imperative need to stop the terroristic activity of British based advocates of so-called Khalistan, the Kashmir separatists who had killed R. Mhatre, an Indian diplomat, in Birmingham, and other subversive emigre groups. However, the British leadership virtually rejected the proposal of the Indian government to sign an agreement on the extradition of the criminals, with the result that anti-Indian propaganda and actions from British territory have been continuing.

Nor does Pakistan slacken its support for Sikh terrorists. Numerous groups of Pakistani secret agents make their way into India on a mounting scale to contact extremists, step up sabotage and terrorism in Punjab and foil the authorities' efforts to normalise the situation in the state.

India will undoubtedly have to travel a long and arduous road before the problem of its unity and territorial integrity is really settled on a durable basis. This is indicated by, among other things, major outbreaks of terroristic activity on the part of extremists in Punjab in the second half of 1986, which have necessitated more drastic measures against ter-

rorism than in the past. The central government has moved troops into the state, reinforced the administrative and police apparatus there, carried out massive arrests among extremists and tightened control in the Punjab area of the border with Pakistan. The Council of National Unity composed of leaders of the main political parties, ministers of the central government and state governments, and members of diverse professional groups and public organisations, has stepped up its activity. It has drawn up a joint action programme to fight terrorism. All the political parties represented on it have pledged themselves to respect the Constitution and prevent all abuse of religion for political ends. An extensive campaign is under way to show the extremists for the subversive, anti-popular elements they are, to unmask them as false "defenders of religion" and "saviours of the Sikh community".

The Communist Party of India and other left-wing parties are committed to normalising the situation in the state. They organise rallies and demonstrations in defence of the unity of India. Intercommunal committees for peace and concord are being set up in many cities. The paramount task of every patriot, says an appeal launched by the leaders of four left-wing parties, is to help ensure that the extremists are isolated and imperialist attempts to destabilise the country defeated.

It is perfectly clear that no matter how the situation in Punjab and other riot-ridden states shapes up subsequently, the normalisation process going on there, while slow and complicated, meets the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of these states and the country as a whole, and demonstrates the political will of the Gandhi government, which enjoys public support in the country in seeking constructive solutions to acute national and ethnic problems. Their settlement brooks no delay in view of the growth of terroristic activity in India, strikingly illustrated by the assassination attempt against Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Zail Singh in October 1986.

There is increasing evidence that terrorism in India is thriving on separatism and communal strife fomented by reactionaries and that behind the terrorists are forces interested in destabilising the political situation in India, weakening the country and reversing its progressive foreign policy orientation.

The Soviet people identify themselves with the leadership and people of friendly India, who are firmly resisting the criminal activities of internal and external enemies and defending the unity and territorial integrity of their country.

Vladimir RYABININ

Brighter Prospects on the Horizon

L. N. Tolkunov, *Yevropa i Razryadka* (Europe and Disarmament), Moscow, Politizdat, 1986, 223 pp.

In November Vienna the third follow-up meeting of representatives of states-participants to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was held. What have the European nations accomplished over the eleven years which have elapsed since the Helsinki Conference, how is the process, begun then, developing, and what prospects does it hold for the future? The answers to these questions can be found in the book under review written by the well-known journalist and public figure, L. N. Tolkunov.

The relevance of the theme chosen by the author is obvious. All Soviet people, all Europeans and indeed the entire world are seriously concerned over the situation on the densely populated European continent, which has turned into a powder keg because of the huge arsenals of nuclear weapons stockpiled here.

Humankind, the author writes, has suffered through almost 15,000 wars with more than half of them waged in Europe. Can it be that the European continent is destined to become the epicentre of yet another military conflict which threatens this time to turn the planet into a lifeless cosmic body? Can it be that Europeans are not heeding the warning of the prominent French statesman of the 16th and 17th century, Sully, which seems to be addressed to them from the distant past? The author quotes him: "It is astonishing that Europe, although its inhabitants are civilised, continues to be ruled by barbaric and senseless principles. Where to can this supposedly wise and much touted policy lead, other than to continual discord? War is constantly breaking out in one place or another. It seems as if we conclude peace only in order to start war." (p. 4). Europe's main interest is in attaining peace, he maintained. Today this assertion has become not only the impassioned longing of all peoples inhabiting the planet but the most urgent demand of the times.

If in the dark days of the Middle Ages dreams of peace were still an illusion, today at the close of the 20th century, the author notes, "our continent has reached a crucially important point in its history. For the first time in ages real opportunities have arisen for overcoming mutual distrust, for eliminating bloody conflicts. The existence of the socialist world and the active peaceful policy pursued by the Soviet Union and by the entire socialist community are decisive factors in this direction". (p. 7).

It is primarily due to the Soviet Union's efforts at the Crimea Conference (Yalta, February 1945) and at the Berlin Conference (Potsdam, July-August 1945) that the foundations were laid for Europe's peaceful development. And if one reviews the decades that have elapsed since that time, the book says, it is apparent that "there is a direct link between the Yalta and Potsdam conferences at one end and the agreements concluded by socialist and capitalist countries in the 1970s, right up to the Helsinki Final Act, at the other, giving people reason to harbor hope that security and stability in Europe would be strengthened (pp. 20-21).

However, maintaining these links turned out to be none too easy. In the first postwar years the United States digressed from the principles of Yalta and Potsdam and, acquiring a monopoly on atomic weapons, lead the course pursued by the imperialist powers of confrontation with the socialist world, of "rolling back communism" and of nuclear blackmail. "Aware that the aggressive imperialist circles were clearly heading in the direction of unleashing a nuclear conflict, the Soviet Union pursued a two-pronged policy. Primarily, it proposed major initiatives for curbing the arms race as the basis for creating a new climate in international relations. Secondly, the Soviet people, having experienced the Second World War, have

done everything to strengthen the defence capabilities of their own country and to protect their allies" (p. 29). Thanks to their selfless labour in the late 1960s and early 1970s, military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA was achieved. Then the United States was forced to soberly evaluate the alignment of forces on the international scene, entered into dialogue with the Soviet Union and concluded a series of agreements with it. These included the Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the USA and the USSR, the ABM Treaty, the agreements on underground nuclear explosions, Interim SALT-I Agreement and the SALT-II Treaty.

In the first half of the 1970s other important international legal documents were signed which promoted the improvement of the situation on the European continent and in the world as a whole. This included, first of all, the Moscow Treaty of 1970 between the USSR and the FRG, and agreements concluded by Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia with the FRG. Referring to the significance of the Moscow Treaty, for example, the author writes: "Having formalised European realities—the recognition of the inviolability of the borders in Europe—this agreement resolved the issue which was the cause of so much bloodshed in Europe—that of borders. By making it obligatory that all states refrain from the use of force or the threat of using force, it reflected the historical tendency towards establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations" (p. 23). The same can be said of the other intergovernmental agreements mentioned above. The Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin played a positive role in removing a dangerous seat of tension in Central Europe.

All these events signified, the author states, that the cold war was dying down, that a new spirit had swept over Europe. The culmination of this beneficial process was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki late July—early August, 1975. "The Conference ended in signing by 33 European states, the USA and Canada of the Final Act, which was rightfully regarded by peoples as a Charter of Peace. It was a major event in postwar history... The Final Act incorporated Euro-

pe's positive experience of the past decades" (pp. 33, 36).

The author uses statistics and facts to prove the advantages of detente which could be noted in relations among the states-participants in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres. The Soviet Union and the socialist community countries, following the spirit and letter of the Final Act, have done and are continuing to do everything possible to strengthen and develop all that was initiated in Helsinki.

However, unfortunately, the West, and primarily Washington, almost immediately after the Helsinki Conference, tried to thwart the process started in Finland's capital, attempting at the follow-up meetings in Belgrade and Madrid to emasculate the contents of the Final Act, give it a biased character and halt the development of East-West trade by imposing sanctions and embargoes. Hysteria, fanned by the reactionary imperialist forces around the question of alleged «human rights violation» in the socialist world reached unprecedented proportions. The author dwells in detail on all attempts which have been made to undermine the Helsinki process and convincingly reveals their source which is to be found in the policy of an all-out, combined attack against socialism waged by the most conservative American circles. A distinctive feature of the extremely dangerous consequences of the US course is Washington's increased activity in drawing its West European allies into this course.

"Since the Helsinki Conference," the book notes, "we have witnessed the emergence of two simultaneously developing trends in both European and world politics" (p. 90). One trend is the continuation of the "spirit of Helsinki", the realisation of the provisions of the Final Act. The other process, which the US initiated in the late 1970s, and early 1980s, is aimed at eroding the basis of disarmament. In the author's opinion, "many West European countries honour the Helsinki accords while simultaneously making numerous attempts to thwart them" (p. 90).

This contradictory line is mainly explained by Washington's extensive pressure on its NATO partners. Realistically-minded politicians in West European countries undoubtedly realise the benefits of detente, yet the USA is doing everything in its power to impede these trends.

"Facts are facts", writes the author, "in recent years detente has not extended into

the military sphere" (p. 90). Moreover, as a result of the aggressive course followed by the USA and NATO, the arms race, especially on the European continent, has spiralled further and due to activities by the ardent advocates of Star Wars in the USA and Europe, threatens to spread to outer space.

More and more appropriations for the arms race are substantiated by a "threat of Soviet military superiority". To give his argument a semblance of truth "the US Administration is taking urgent measures to intensively 'brainwash' the US and the West European public" (p. 135). The author convincingly exposes the "lie and deceit strategy" which the Pentagon used to make Western Europe its "double hostage" — nuclear and chemical.

The sharply intensified activities carried out in the USA in this direction can be explained by the striving of the current Washington Administration to prevent at any cost historical events from running their natural course, to prevent Europe, which, according to the author, "is ripe for the revival of detente" (p. 174) from embarking on the path mapped out for it in Helsinki.

A significant degree Western Europe's political "ripening" is assisted by the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and the states-participants in the Warsaw Treaty and members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, initiatives aimed at eliminating the arms race both in Europe and throughout the world and at the development of mutually beneficial East-West political, economic, scientific-technological and

humanitarian cooperation. The more important of these initiatives advanced in recent years, including at the negotiations in Vienna, Geneva and Stockholm, were given worthy attention in the book. Special consideration was devoted to the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, to the all-embracing system of international security formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress. Guided by these principles, which logically ensue from the CPSU Programme, it is possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of inter-state relations. In other words, the conclusion drawn by the author is that there are brighter prospects on the horizon.

Readers of the book will undoubtedly come to the same conclusion. However, it must be mentioned that often unnecessary detailed narrations of NATO military preparations tend to cloud out the fact that the West European countries are prepared for a full scale revival of detente in Europe. The book could have been supplemented with a special section on the struggle against the war threat and the arms race carried out by communists, socialists, social-democrats, the representatives of various political outlooks, atheists and religious persons, in other words, all European peace supporters. For they are, perhaps, the staunchest force of the mass democratic movement in the non-socialist world.

On the whole, Tolkunov's book, as noted above, is relevant and, based on a rich source of documented material, will attract a wide array of readers.

Yuri YERSHOV

Pentagon's "Space Shield"

Carlos de Sa Rego, Fabrizio Tonello, *La guerre des étoiles*, Paris, La Découverte, 1986, 126 pp.

The authors of the book under review, journalists Carlos de Sa Rego and Fabrizio Tonello, analyse the military-political essence of the US Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), its history, and the economic mechanism of its implementation. On the ve-

ry first pages of the book, they assert that it would be impracticable and unproductive to develop a "space shield" which is advertised by the US Administration as a means of "putting an end to the nuclear era" (p. 8). In the authors'

words, "only one thing has become clear following three years of research, namely that there will be no shield. At the dawn of the 21st century, just like today, nuclear weapons will be able to destroy the whole of civilisation" (p. 111).

The book notes that as early as the 1960s the USA was vigorously developing space arms systems. Even at a time when certain headway in Soviet-US relations was being made, the US military-industrial complex never ceased working on new weapon systems. Since 1974, the Pentagon jointly with Rockwell International and TRV carried on research in using lasers and particle-beam weapons in the ABM mode, later to be integrated into the Star Wars programme. As for the current US President, since his very first days in office he has shown interest in a "space shield" against ballistic missiles. In the spring of 1982, the ultra-conservative Heritage Foundation published a report entitled "High Frontier" which asserted that placing in orbit 432 satellites, each armed with 50 small missile killers capable of destroying ICBMs in flight, would be sufficient to ensure reliable anti-missile defence (p. 23).

The report instantly drew the White House's attention. Yet, even military experts regarded the US President's statement of March 23, 1983, in which he set the task of rendering nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete, as a sensation (p. 25). Even the first official comments made it clear that the new ABM concept as proposed by the President provided for orbiting battle systems designed to hit ICBMs and other objects in flight.

An assessment of military and political aspects of the new ABM system was given in the reports prepared by two independent commissions set up immediately after the President's March speech. The reports were not published verbatim but it was clear from the discussions among those in the know that they contained no single indication of the ABM space system capability to provide security for the whole of the USA. No surprise, then, that the SDI programme failed to elicit unconditional support among the legislative body. In 1985, the Pentagon succeeded in wringing only \$ 1,400 million out of the requested \$2,500 million for Star Wars, and in 1986 only \$2,750 million instead of \$3,700 million (p. 82).

Nonetheless, military experts hold that in the coming years SDI would swallow

up the bulk of the outlays for military R&D and would become an 'oxygen mask' for the war industry" (p. 84). It is quite understandable, therefore, why major military contractors of the US military-industrial complex rushed to enter the fierce competition for contracts. Since 1983, 260-odd companies have already been granted contracts worth over \$3,000 million. (p. 86). A special Star Wars lobby has also taken shape, consisting of major military-industrial corporations, small-scale highly specialised firms working on technological novelties, and research institutions engaged in military development. Six-hundred million dollars have been earmarked for the period till 1989 for university SDI-related research alone (p. 89).

The book shows how the USA has gradually drawn its allies into SDI. The involvement of West European countries and Japan in the transnational structure of the US military-industrial complex began in March 1985 with the well-known letter of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in which he made an ultimatum-resembling demand that the US NATO allies define their attitudes to the SDI programme within 60 days (p. 100). Just the arrogant style of the letter stirred up irritation in Western Europe. The allies were particularly wary of having been "invited" to partake of the programme only as sub-contractors. France expressed well-founded apprehensions that the joint implementation of the Star Wars plans would make Old World countries fall even farther behind the USA and Japan in the field of state-of-the-art technologies, and proposed to step up West European scientific and technological integration within its proposed Eureka project (p. 101). Yet, as the authors note, Paris' warning was not heeded in other West European capitals. In the FRG, a bitter political struggle erupted between SDI proponents and opponents, resulting in a compromise decision to start talks with the USA on joining SDI but to view it only as an ordinary commercial venture rather than a military-strategic programme. Eventually, however, the FRG became a full-fledged partner in SDI, which was formalised in an agreement concluded by the two governments in the spring of 1986 in Washington.

Eager to demonstrate its "Atlantic solidarity", Britain as early as December 1985 signed a "memorandum of understanding" with the USA, setting down general rules

for the participation of British firms and companies in putting into effect the Star Wars programme. What is more; during the talks the British side failed to wring from the Americans an assurance that its share in the SDI programme would amount to \$1,500 million as it wished (p. 106).

Virtually all West European military-industrial companies, according to the authors, wish to cut off the biggest possible piece of the SDI pie. Yet, as it follows from the report of the Federation of American Scientists, almost a half of the Star Wars-related projects will be off limits to West European firms since they fall under the Soviet-US ABM Treaty banning the transfer to other countries, and the deployment outside the national territories, of ABM systems or their components limited by the Treaty. Furthermore, one-third of the US projects has been designed for technologies which are merely unavailable in Western Europe. Since about 13 per cent of the projects are aimed at developing hardware capable of yielding a quick commercial return, one would be hard put to see the US Congress permitting the Administration to

finance would-be rivals of the US firms. The upshot of all the above is that, in the opinion of American scientists, West European enterprises would be able to claim not more than 3 per cent of all outlays for SDI (p. 110). This would hardly provide a significant impetus to West Europe's scientific and technological development.

The authors believe that the implementation of the Star Wars programme, which is so dangerous for mankind, would in the coming decades whip up the arms race and increase mistrust and instability in relations between the USSR and the USA. They also express the supposition that the countries of Eastern and Western Europe can, by pooling their efforts, set about safeguarding in earnest their own security. Thus far, they believe, the position of Western Europe has been equivocal and inconsistent.

The alarm expressed by the authors of the book under review in connection with the Star Wars programme is consonant with the thoughts and sentiments of the progressive public in Western Europe which is vigorously opposed to Washington's aggressive military-space plans.

Alexei KIREYEV

Annotation

T. V. Tabolina, *Etnicheskiye Problemy v Sovremennoi Amerikanskoj Nauke* (Ethnic Problems in Contemporary American Science), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 152 pp.

This book is devoted to the basic trends in the contemporary research of ethnic processes in American bourgeois science. The author critically analyses a wide spectrum of ethno-sociological conceptions held by American scholars trying by their "theories" to explain and downplay the sharp aggravation of national and ethnic contradictions, a problem which the West has oversimplified by labelling it "the explosion of nationalism".

These contradictions, the book notes, are a natural development of the general crisis of capitalism at the present stage, as predicted in the classic works of Marxism-Leninism. The sharp intensification of discord among ethnic groups, in all its numerous manifestations, and the crisis of relations among nationalities in the capitalist countries have

coincided, not accidentally, with the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. This is proof of the serious disorder of the socio-economic mechanism of the antagonistic bourgeois society.

The author stresses that the socio-economic factor has always been the chief one in all kinds of ethnic and national conflicts. Any form of the ethnic process reflects a concrete struggle of the real socio-economic interests. "Capitalism, as facts show, has already exhausted its progressive role in the sphere of national development as well," the book notes. "The differentiation has started to overshadow the integration process even where centuries ago there seemed to form strong bourgeois nations — in Belgium, England, Canada and other countries." (p. 3).

Analysing the reasons for the current aggravation of ethnic problems in the leading imperialist power — the USA, it is possible through their prism to see the refracted, often in the most distorted state, latent social ills which have become virulent. The fomenting of jingoism and chauvinistic attitudes among "average Americans" in connection with the administration's course for rearming the country and achieving military superiority, the intensification of racial discrimination and its consequences — the bombing of a black neighbourhood in Philadelphia, the reprisals taken against American Indian leaders, the defiling of synagogues in the USA — all provide ample proof of this.

Ethnic conflicts in the USA, the author notes, have graphically demonstrated the impossibility of solving the national question under capitalism. The inherent inability of an antagonistic society to solve the national question is also reflected in the contradictory nature of the ethnic-sociological conceptions in the USA.

Naturally, bourgeois science strives to find some other than class explanations for the menacing development of new ethnic processes in the USA and other capitalist countries. A few American scholars are even attempting to prove that racism and discrimination have allegedly been overcome in a state as "democratic" as the USA. Intentionally or not, in carrying out the respective social order the bourgeois social scientists are striving in vain to explain the

ethnic processes in their own way, trying in every manner to deviate from a class understanding of socio-political development. The failure of these attempts, which are often made by serious scholars as well, lies in the fact, notes Tabolina in her fact-filled book, that they are captives of the deliberately false lines and concepts.

This work draws the conclusion that American researchers of ethnic process are forced, due to the rise in social tensions and aggravation of ethnic conflicts, to manoeuvre, altering their theoretical conceptions, shifting from one model to another. Thus, for example, the concepts of "cultural assimilation" and "ethnic integration" have given way to concepts of the "ethnic conflict" and the "pluralistic society". "American bourgeois social science," the author writes in conclusion, "was forced to recognise the actual problematics of ethnic processes in a class society, but found itself unable to supply answers to key questions. The answers can be and are supplied by Soviet and foreign Marxist scholars who link the problems of ethnic processes and ethnic relations to the laws and prospects of the class struggle on a world scale." (p. 133).

Carrying out a critical analysis of the views on ethnic problematics in American science in the dynamics of their evolution, the author is guided by a wide array of classic works of Marxism-Leninism as well as by the work of Soviet and foreign ethnographers and social scientists.

Arkadi CHERKASOV

THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

(Continued from page 118)

for a political settlement of conflicts between countries, the renunciation of the use or threat of force, the elimination of tensions and wars, the utilisation of science and technology in the interests of human progress and not of war and destruction, for the economic security and social progress of all countries and the establishment of a new international economic order.

The Appeal ends as follows: "Today international solidarity is of decisive importance to the success of the workers' struggle. Let us all work together to build and strengthen international worker and trade union solidarity throughout the world!"

Berlin—Moscow

RESULTS OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

The first stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe came officially to a close in Stockholm on September 19, 1986 (to conclude it in actual fact, the "clock was stopped" and the final plenary meeting prolonged till September 22). An important component of the general European process, the conference opened on January 17, 1984, as decided by the Madrid follow-up meeting on September 6, 1983. According to the provisions of the Concluding Document, the "conference mandate", formulated in Madrid, the task of the participants in the Stockholm forum was to discuss and approve a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures in order to reduce the danger of military confrontation in Europe.

The follow-up (third) meeting of the participating states of the CSCE, which opened in Vienna on November 4, 1986, is to discuss ways and means of continuing efforts in the sphere of security and disarmament, including the issue of the mandate of the follow-up (second) stage of the Stockholm Conference, which is to discuss and adopt security and disarmament measures in Europe.

In practical terms, the document approved in Stockholm is an elaborate set of political and military measures intended to lessen the danger of military confrontation in Europe, the most heavily armed continent. It specifies and gives effect to the principle of non-use of force; furthermore, it contains confidence- and security- building measures in the military field.

The Stockholm document includes an accord between the participants in the CSCE on non-use of force or the threat of force in any form, including the most dangerous form, armed force. Thus a substantive step has been taken to make this commitment an effective law of international relations which no one may violate.

The participating countries have committed themselves to give prior notification 42 days in advance of the start of all exercises by ground troops in combination with air or naval components whenever over 13,000 troops and 300 battle tanks are involved. With regard to air force exercises, a special sublimit has been established: 200 sorties by aircraft in the course of the exercises; beginning with it, the necessary information will be supplied. Experts estimate that this virtually covers 90 per cent of air force activity in Europe.

Prior notification will be given by states on exercises as well as on troop movements, transfers and concentrations. This implies, in particular, that from now on the United States will have to give notification of every transfer of its troops to Europe in excess of the strength mentioned above. It is evident that such accords help reduce the hazard of military conflict and hence make for a more tranquil and stable situation in Europe.

The countries concerned will exchange annual plans of their military activities that are subject to prior notification. This is one of the most important sections of the agreement; it shows how very far the participants in the CSCE will go to meet each other half-way in order to remove mutual suspicion and change the tenor of thinking from military to peaceful.

Beginning with the 17,000 troop limit, observers are to be invited to every military activity, whether an exercise, a movement or a transfer of troops. As these invitation are obligatory, all participating countries will

be able to satisfy themselves that the military activity in question conforms to the accord on prior notification and threatens no one. Agreement has been also reached on some elements of limiting military exercises. However, this is only a beginning, and the theme will be elaborated and carried deeper afterwards.

The provisions concerning inspection are among the most important parts of the Stockholm accords. This issue has been, and indeed remains, a stumbling-block in many disarmament talks. Not without malicious intent, it has been rumoured that the Soviet Union objected to any control and would never allow inspectors into its territory.

The Stockholm document has refuted that false rumour. Where there is an object of serious agreement, whether on disarmament or confidence-building measures, the Soviet Union, naturally, is interested as much as other countries in all states unfailingly meeting their commitments. Our country agreed along with others that each state situated in the area covered by the confidence-building measures should allow no more than three inspections per calendar year on its territory. In coming to terms on this, account was taken, of course, of the legitimate security interests of states. No inspections will be conducted in restricted areas, or at military and other defence installations. It is, in effect, the first agreement on armaments in history providing for on-site inspection.

There are four annexes to the Stockholm document which concern the following: (1) the zone of application for confidence- and security-building measures; it will cover the whole of Europe as well as the adjoining sea area (in this context, the notion of adjoining sea area refers also to ocean areas adjoining Europe) and to its air space; (2) the date of entry into force of the accords on exchanging annual plans for military activities and restrictive provisions; (3) a statement by the chairman of the plenary meeting that each participating state can raise any question consistent with the conference mandate at any stage subsequent to the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting; (4) the stipulation that inspection on the territory of a participating state can not be conducted by its allies which are participants in the CSCE.

The Stockholm conference failed to come to terms on all the issues whose settlement would have fully ensured the laying of solid foundations for confidence and security in Europe. However, the results of the Stockholm forum are the maximum of what is possible at present, and they can serve as the starting point for working out new effective solutions conducive to real disarmament in Europe.

By adopting agreed confidence-building measures in the military sphere, the conference created important prerequisites for a more favourable climate of confidence and security in Europe. Indeed, the political aspects of European security will now rest on broader foundations of restrictive measures in the military field than before. This certainly makes the preservation of peace and the promotion of cooperation in Europe more dependable.

At the same time, new prospects and opportunities are opening up for extending the Stockholm accords on confidence- and security-building measures to other continents, which would undoubtedly contribute to the establishment of a comprehensive international security system.

The results of the forum held in the Swedish capital carry forward in practice the Helsinki Final Act with due regard to present-day political and military realities in Europe. As a matter of fact, they constitute the first agreement within the framework of the far-reaching programme for peace, disarmament and security advanced by the Soviet Union in the Statement which the General Secretary of the CPSU CC made on January 15, 1986.

The accords reached in Stockholm were made possible by the steadfast efforts of socialist countries, neutral and non-aligned states, of all participants in the conference, by the political realism and sense of responsibility which they showed. This enabled them to overcome many barriers and difficulties in seeking a compromise based on a mutually acceptable balance of the security interests of all participating countries.

The state of affairs at the conference was constantly in the focus of attention of the leaderships of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Stockholm forum also held a prominent place during meetings of leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Summit meetings and talks, such as the exchange of views between Soviet and French leaders early in July 1986, played an important part in the attainment of positive results in Stockholm. This also applies to talks between the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, Britain, Italy, the FRG and other European countries. The problem of reaching agreement in Stockholm was among the subjects discussed during the September meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and US Secretary of State George Shultz. These efforts produced the Stockholm document on confidence- and security-building measures.

"The Soviet leadership", says Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement on the results of the Stockholm Conference, "takes a positive view of the results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Europe. A big step has been taken towards easing tensions and creating a healthier international political climate, which is so necessary for the solution of vitally important problems of this nuclear age.

"It is a victory for common sense, a gain for all the thirty-five countries which participated in the conference. They proved equal to rising above differences and achieving accords which are important in themselves and, furthermore, are improving the outlook for bringing about a stable situation in Europe. The Stockholm success can serve to extend the atmosphere of confidence at international level as well.

"The Soviet Union sees in this agreement the sprouts of a new way of thinking in world politics that are shooting forth on European soil. Stockholm has proved that even in a complicated situation it is possible to come to terms on security issues provided there is a desire and political will. It is an example of how the new edifice of detente and new relations between states can and should be built".

The Stockholm accords are evidence that the policy of detente has large potentialities and that the logic of confrontation has had its day while the trend towards lasting peace has deep roots and is essentially irreversible. They provide a favourable basis for further headway towards a stage-by-stage realisation of effective and concrete actions aimed at promoting and intensifying the general European process as a whole started over ten years ago in the Finnish capital.

The results of the Stockholm Conference are important for the Vienna meeting of the CSCE participating states. They are an earnest of success in starting the second stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The Vienna CSCE meeting should help bring about new important accords in all the spheres envisaged by the Helsinki Final Act. It should be used for carrying forward the many-sided European process in order to solve the problems of concern to all Europeans.

Interested in the achievement of positive results at Vienna as they are, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries consider that European security should be based on a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures in the political and military

DOCUMENT

OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

On Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe Convened in Accordance with the Relevant Provisions of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

- (1) The representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia, met in Stockholm from 17 January 1984 to 19 September 1986, in accordance with the provisions relating to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe contained in the Concluding Document of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting of the CSCE.
- (2) The participants were addressed by the Prime Minister of Sweden, the late Olof Palme, on 17 January 1984.
- (3) Opening statements were made by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and other Heads of Delegation. The Prime Minister of Spain as well as Ministers and senior officials of several other participating States addressed the Conference later. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden addressed the Conference on 9 September 1986.
- (4) The Secretary-General of the United Nations addressed the Conference on 6 July 1984.
- (5) Contributions were made by the following non-participating Mediterranean States: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria and Tunisia.
- (6) The participating States recalled that the aim of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is, as a substantial and integral part of the multilateral process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament, so as to give effect and expression to the duty of States to refrain from the threat or use of force in their mutual relations as well as in their international relations in general.
- (7) The participating States recognized that the set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures which are adopted in the present document and which are in accordance with the Madrid mandate serve by their scope and nature and by their implementation to strengthen confidence and security in Europe and thus to give effect and expression to the duty of States to refrain from the threat or use of force.
- (8) Consequently the participating States have declared the following:

REFRAINING FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE

- (9) The participating States, recalling their obligation to refrain, in their mutual relations as well as in their international relations in general, from

- the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, accordingly reaffirm their commitment to respect and put into practice the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force, as laid down in the Final Act.
- (10) No consideration may be invoked to serve to warrant resort to the threat or use of force in contravention of this principle.
 - (11) They recall the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.
 - (12) They will refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing any other State to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights.
 - (13) As set forth in the Final Act, no occupation or acquisition of territory resulting from the threat or use of force in contravention of international law, will be recognized as legal.
 - (14) They recognize their commitment to peace and security. Accordingly they reaffirm that they will refrain from any use of armed forces inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, against another participating State, in particular from invasion of or attack on its territory.
 - (15) They will abide by their commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force in their relations with any State, regardless of that State's political, social, economic or cultural system and irrespective of whether or not they maintain with that State relations of alliance.
 - (16) They stress that non-compliance with the obligation of refraining from the threat or use of force, as recalled above, constitutes a violation of international law.
 - (17) They stress their commitment to the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes as contained in the Final Act, convinced that it is an essential complement to the duty of States to refrain from the threat or use of force, both being essential factors for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security. They recall their determination and the necessity to reinforce and to improve the methods at their disposal for the peaceful settlement of disputes. They reaffirm their resolve to make every effort to settle exclusively by peaceful means any dispute between them.
 - (18) The participating States stress their commitment to the Final Act and the need for full implementation of all its provisions, which will further the process of improving security and developing co-operation in Europe, thereby contributing to international peace and security in the world as a whole.
 - (19) They emphasize their commitment to all the principles of the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States and declare their determination to respect and put them into practice irrespective of their political, economic or social systems as well as of their size, geographical location or level of economic development.
 - (20) All these ten principles are of primary significance and, accordingly, they will be equally and unreservedly applied, each of them being interpreted taking into account the others.
 - (21) Respect for and the application of these principles will enhance the development of friendly relations and co-operation among the participating States in all fields covered by the provisions of the Final Act.
 - (22) They reconfirm their commitment to the basic principle of the sovereign equality of States and stress that all States have equal rights and duties within the framework of international law.
 - (23) They reaffirm the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Respect for and the effective exercise of these rights and freedoms are essential factors for international peace, justice and security, as well as for the development of friendly relations and co-operation among themselves as among all States, as set forth in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States.
 - (24) They reaffirm that, in the broader context of world security, security in Europe is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole; in this context, they confirm their intention to develop good-neighbourly relations with all States in the region, with due regard to reciprocity, and in the spirit of the principles contained in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, so as to promote confidence and security and make peace prevail in the region in accordance with the provisions contained in the Mediterranean chapter of the Final Act.
 - (25) They emphasize the necessity to take resolute measures to prevent and to combat terrorism, including terrorism in international relations. They express their determination to take effective

measures, both at the national level and through international co-operation, for the prevention and suppression of all acts of terrorism. They will take all appropriate measures in preventing their respective territories from being used for the preparation, organization or commission of terrorist activities. This also includes measures to prohibit on their territories illegal activities, including subversive activities, of persons, groups and organizations that instigate, organize or engage in the perpetration of acts of terrorism, including those directed against other States and their citizens.

- (26) They will fulfil in good faith their obligations under international law;

they also stress that strict compliance with their commitments within the framework of the CSCE is essential for building confidence and security.

- (27) The participating States confirm that in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the Charter of the United Nations and their obligations under any treaty or other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter will prevail, in accordance with Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations.

- (28) The participating States have adopted the following measures:

PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF CERTAIN MILITARY ACTIVITIES

- (29) The participating States will give notification in writing through diplomatic channels in an agreed form of content, to all other participating States 42 days or more in advance of the start of notifiable* military activities in the zone of application for confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs). **

- (30) Notification will be given by the participating State on whose territory the activity in question is planned to take place even if the forces of that State are not engaged in the activity or their strength is below the notifiable level. This will not relieve other participating States of their obligation to give notification, if their involvement in the planned military activity reaches the notifiable level.

- (31) Each of the following military activities in the field conducted as a single activity in the zone of application for CSBMs at or above the levels defined below, will be notified:

- (31.1) The engagement of formations of land forces*** of the participating States in the same exercise activity conducted under a single operational command independently or in combination with any possible air or naval components.

- (31.1.1) This military activity will be subject to notification whenever it involves at any time during the activity:
—at least 13,000 troops, including support troops, or
—at least 300 battle tanks
if organized into a divisional structure or at least

two brigades/regiments, not necessarily subordinate to the same division.

- (31.1.2) The participation of air forces of the participating States will be included in the notification if it is foreseen that in the course of the activity 200 or more sorties by aircraft, excluding helicopters, will be flown.

- (31.2) The engagement of military forces either in an amphibious landing or in a parachute assault by airborne forces in the zone of application for CSBMs.

- (31.2.1) These military activities will be subject to notification whenever the amphibious landing involves at least 3,000 troops or whenever the parachute drop involves at least 3,000 troops.

- (31.3) The engagement of formations of land forces of the participating States in a transfer from outside the zone of application for CSBMs to arrival points in the zone, or from inside the zone of application for CSBMs to points of concentration in the zone, to participate in a notifiable exercise activity or to be concentrated.

- (31.3.1) The arrival or concentration of these forces will be subject to notification whenever it involves at any time during the activity:

—at least 13,000 troops, including support troops, or
—at least 300 battle tanks
if organized into a divisional structure or at least two brigades/regiments, not necessarily subordinate to the same division.

- (31.3.2) Forces which have been transferred into the zone will be subject to all provisions of agreed CSBMs when they depart their arrival points to participate in a notifiable exercise activity or to be concentrated within the zone of application for CSBMs.

* In this document, the term notifiable means subject to notification.

** See Annex I

*** In this context, the term land forces includes amphibious, airmobile and airborne forces.

(32) Notifiable military activities carried out without advance notice to the troops involved, are exceptions to the requirement for prior notification to be made 42 days in advance.

(32.1) Notification of such activities, above the agreed thresholds, will be given at the time the troops involved commence such activities.

(33) Notification will be given in writing of each notifiable military activity in the following agreed form:

(34) A — GENERAL INFORMATION

(34)

(34.1) The designation of the military activity;

(34.2) The general purpose of the military activity;

(34.3) The names of the States involved in the military activity;

(34.4) The level of command, organizing and commanding the military activity;

(34.5) The start and end dates of the military activity.

(35)

B — INFORMATION ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF NOTIFIABLE MILITARY ACTIVITIES

(35.1) The engagement of formations of land forces of the participating States in the same exercise activity conducted under a single operational command independently or in combination with any possible air or naval components:

(35.1.1) The total number of troops taking part in the military activity (i. e., ground troops, amphibious troops, air-mobile and airborne troops) and the number of troops participating for each State involved, if applicable;

(35.1.2) Number and type of divisions participating for each State;

(35.1.3) The total number of battle tanks for each State and the total number of anti-tank guided missile launchers mounted on armoured vehicles;

(35.1.4) The total number of artillery pieces and multiple rocket launchers (100 mm calibre or above);

(35.1.5) The total number of helicopters, by category;

(35.1.6) Envisaged number of sorties by aircraft, excluding helicopters;

(35.1.7) Purpose of air missions;

(35.1.8) Categories of aircraft involved;

(35.1.9) The level of command, organizing and commanding the air force participation;

(35.1.10) Naval ship-to-shore gunfire;

(35.1.11) Indication of other naval ship-to-shore support;

(35.1.12) The level of command, organizing and commanding the naval force participation.

(35.2) The engagement of military forces either in an amphibious landing or in a parachute assault by airborne forces in the zone of application for CSBMs:

(35.2.1) The total number of amphibious troops involved in notifiable amphibious landings, and/or the total number of airborne troops involved in notifiable parachute assaults;

(35.2.2) In the case of a notifiable amphibious landing, the point or points of embarkation, if in the zone of application for CSBMs.

(35.3) The engagement of formations of land forces of the participating States in a transfer from outside the zone of application for CSBMs to arrival points in the zone, or from inside the zone of application for CSBMs to points of concentration in the zone, to participate in a notifiable exercise activity or to be concentrated:

(35.3.1) The total number of troops transferred;

(35.3.2) Number and type of divisions participating in the transfer;

(35.3.3) The total number of battle tanks participating in a notifiable arrival or concentration.

(35.3.4) Geographical co-ordinates for the points of arrival and for the points of concentration.

(36) C — THE ENVISAGED AREA AND TIMEFRAME OF THE ACTIVITY

(36.1) The area of the military activity delimited by geographic features together with geographic co-ordinates, as appropriate;

(36.2) The start and end dates of each phase (transfers, deployment, concentration of forces, active exercise phase, recovery phase) of activities in the zone of application for CSBMs of participating formations, the tactical purpose and corresponding geographical areas (delimited by geographical co-ordinates) for each phase;

(36.3) Brief description of each phase.

(37) D — OTHER INFORMATION

(37.1) Changes, if any, in relation to information provided in the annual calendar regarding the activity;

(37.2) Relationship of the activity to other notifiable activities.

OBSERVATION OF CERTAIN MILITARY ACTIVITIES

- (38) The participating States will invite observers from all other participating States to the following notifiable military activities:
- (38.1) —The engagement of formations of land forces* of the participating States in the same exercise activity conducted under a single operational command independently or in combination with any possible air or naval components.
- (38.2) —The engagement of military forces either in an amphibious landing or in a parachute assault by airborne forces in the zone of application for CSBMs.
- (38.3) —In the case of the engagement of formations of land forces of the participating States in a transfer from outside the zone of application for CSBMs to arrival points in the zone, or from inside the zone of application for CSBMs to points of concentration in the zone, to participate in a notifiable exercise activity or to be concentrated, the concentration of these forces. Forces which have been transferred into the zone will be subject to all provisions of agreed confidence and security-building measures when they depart their arrival points to participate in a notifiable exercise activity or to be concentrated within the zone of application for CSBMs.
- (38.4) The above-mentioned activities will be subject to observation whenever the number of troops engaged meets or exceeds 17,000 troops, except in the case of either an amphibious landing or a parachute assault by airborne forces, which will be subject to observation whenever the number of troops engaged meets or exceeds 5,000 troops.
- (39) The host State will extend the invitations in writing through diplomatic channels to all other participating States at the time of notification. The host State will be the participating State on whose territory the notified activity will take place.
- (40) The host State may delegate some of its responsibilities as host to another participating State engaged in the military activity on the territory of the host State. In such cases, the host State will specify the allocation of responsibilities in its invitation to observe the activity.
- (41) Each participating State may send up to two observers to the military activity to be observed.
- (42) The invited State may decide whether to send military and/or civilian observers, including members of its personnel accredited to the host State. Military observers will, normally, wear their uniforms and insignia while performing their tasks.
- (43) Replies to the invitation will be given in writing not later than 21 days after the issue of the invitation.
- (44) The participating States accepting an invitation will provide the names and ranks of their observers in their reply to the invitation. If the invitation is not accepted in time, it will be assumed that no observers will be sent.
- (45) Together with the invitation the host State will provide a general observation programme, including the following information:
- (45.1) —the date, time and place of assembly of observers;
- (45.2) —planned duration of the observation programme;
- (45.3) —languages to be used in interpretation and/or translation;
- (45.4) —arrangements for board, lodging and transportation of the observers;
- (45.5) —arrangements for observation equipment which will be issued to the observers by the host State;
- (45.6) —possible authorization by the host State of the use of special equipment that the observers may bring with them;
- (45.7) —arrangements for special clothing to be issued to the observers because of weather or environmental factors.
- (46) The observers may make requests with regard to the observation programme. The host State will, if possible, accede to them.
- (47) The host State will determine a duration of observation which permits the observers to observe a notifiable military activity from the time that agreed thresholds for observation are met or exceeded until, for the last time during the activity, the thresholds for observation are no longer met.
- (48) The host State will provide the observers with transportation to the area of the notified activity and back. This transportation will be provided from either the capital or another suitable location to be announced in the invitation, so that the observers are in position before the start of the observation programme.
- (49) The invited State will cover the travel expenses for its observers to the capital, or another suitable location

* In this context, the term land forces includes amphibious, airmobile and airborne forces.

- specified in the invitation, of the host State, and back.
-) The observers will be provided equal treatment and offered equal opportunities to carry out their functions.
 - (51) The observers will be granted, during their mission, the privileges and immunities accorded to diplomatic agents in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
 - (52) The host State will not be required to permit observation of restricted locations, installations or defence sites.
 - (53) In order to allow the observers to confirm that the notified activity is non-threatening in character and that it is carried out in conformity with the appropriate provisions of the notification, the host State will:
 - (53.1) —at the commencement of the observation programme give a briefing on the purpose, the basic situation, the phases of the activity and possible changes as compared with the notification and provide the observers with a map of the area of the military activity with a scale of 1 to not more than 500,000 and an observation programme with a daily schedule as well as a sketch indicating the basic situation;
 - (53.2) —provide the observers with appropriate observation equipment; however, the observers will be allowed to use their personal binoculars, which will be subject to examination and approval by the host State;
 - (53.3) —in the course of the observation programme give the observers daily briefings with the help of maps on the various phases of the military activity and their development and inform the observers about their positions geographically; in the case of a land force activity conducted in combination with air or naval components, briefings will be given by representatives of these forces;
 - (53.4) —provide opportunities to observe directly forces of the State/States engaged in the military activity so that the observers get an impression of the flow of the activity; to this end, the observers will be given the opportunity to observe major combat units of the participating formations of a divisional or equivalent level and, whenever possible, to visit some units and communicate with commanders and troops; commanders or other senior personnel of participating formations as well as of the visited units will inform the observers of the mission of their respective units;
 - (53.5) —guide the observers in the area of the military activity; the observers will follow the instructions issued by the host State in accordance with the provisions set out in this document;
 - (53.6) —provide the observers with appropriate means of transportation in the area of the military activity;
 - (53.7) —provide the observers with opportunities for timely communication with their embassies or other official missions and consular posts; the host State is not obligated to cover the communication expense of the observers;
 - (53.8) — provide the observers with appropriate board and lodging in a location suitable for carrying out the observation programme and, when necessary, medical care.
 - (54) The participating States need not invite observers to notifiable military activities which are carried out without advance notice to the troops involved unless these notifiable activities have a duration of more than 72 hours. The continuation of these activities beyond this time will be subject to observation while the agreed thresholds for observation are met or exceeded. The observation programme will follow as closely as practically possible all the provisions for observation set out in this document.

ANNUAL CALENDARS

- (55) Each participating State will exchange, with all other participating States, an annual calendar of its military activities subject to prior notification*, within the zone of application for CSBMs, forecast for the subsequent calendar year. It will be transmitted every year, in writing, through diplomatic channels, not later than 15 November for the following year.
- (56) Each participating State will list the above-mentioned activities chronologically and will provide information on each activity in accordance with the following model:
 - (56.1) —type of military activity and its designation;
 - (56.2) —general characteristics and purpose of the military activity;
 - (56.3) —States involved in the military activity;
 - (56.4) —area of the military activity, indicated by appropriate geographic features and/or defined by geographic co-ordinates;
 - (56.5) —planned duration of the military

* as defined in the provisions of Prior Notification of Certain Military Activities.

activity and the 14-day period, indicated by dates, within which it is envisaged to start;

- (56.6) —the envisaged total number of troops* engaged in the military activity;
- (56.7) —the types of armed forces involved in the military activity;
- (56.8) —the envisaged level of command, under which the military activity will take place;
- (56.9) —the number and type of divisions whose participation in the military activity is envisaged;
- (56.10) —any additional information con-

cerning, *inter alia*, components of armed forces, which the participating State planning the military activity considers relevant.

- (57) Should changes regarding the military activities in the annual calendar prove necessary, they will be communicated to all other participating States no later than in the appropriate notification.
- (58) Information on military activities subject to prior notification not included in an annual calendar will be communicated to all participating States as soon as possible, in accordance with the model provided in the annual calendar.

CONSTRAINING PROVISIONS

- (59) Each participating State will communicate, in writing, to all other participating States, by 15 November each year, information concerning military activities subject to prior notification* involving more than 40,000 troops*, which it plans to carry out in the second subsequent calendar year. Such communication will include preliminary information on each activity, as to its general purpose, timeframe and duration, area, size and States involved.
- (60) Participating States will not carry out military activities subject to prior notification involving more than 75,000 troops, unless they have been the object of communication as defined above.
- (61) Participating States will not carry out military activities subject to prior notification involving more than 40,000 troops unless they have been included in the annual calendar, not later than 15 November each year.
- (62) If military activities subject to prior notification are carried out in addition to those contained in the annual calendar, they should be as few as possible.

COMPLIANCE AND VERIFICATION

- (63) According to the Madrid Mandate, the confidence- and security-building measures to be agreed upon "will be provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content".
- (64) The participating States recognize that national technical means can play a role in monitoring compliance with agreed confidence- and security-building measures.
- (65) In accordance with the provisions contained in this document each participating State has the right to conduct inspections on the territory of any other participating State within the zone of application for CSBMs.
- (66) Any participating State will be allowed to address a request for inspection to another participating State on whose territory, within the zone of application for CSBMs, compliance with the agreed confidence- and security-building measures is in doubt.
- (67) No participating State will be obliged to accept on its territory within the zone of application for CSBMs, more than three inspections per calendar year.
- (68) No participating State will be obliged to accept more than one inspection per calendar year from the same participating State.
- (69) An inspection will not be counted if, due to *force majeure*, it cannot be carried out.
- (70) The participating State which requests an inspection will state the reasons for such a request.
- (71) The participating State which has received such a request will reply in the affirmative to the request within the agreed period of time, subject to the provisions contained in paragraphs (67) and (68).
- (72) Any possible dispute as to the validity of the reasons for a request will not prevent or delay the conduct of an inspection.

* as defined in the provisions of Prior Notification of Certain Military Activities.

- (73) The participating State which requests an inspection will be permitted to designate for inspection on the territory of another State within the zone of application for CSBMs, a specific area. Such an area will be referred to as the "specified area". The specified area will comprise terrain where notifiable military activities are conducted or where another participating State believes a notifiable military activity is taking place. The specified area will be defined and limited by the scope and scale of notifiable military activities but will not exceed that required for an army level military activity.
- (74) In the specified area the representatives of the inspecting State accompanied by the representatives of the receiving State will be permitted access, entry and unobstructed survey, except for areas or sensitive points to which access is normally denied or restricted, military and other defence installations, as well as naval vessels, military vehicles and aircraft. The number and extent of the restricted areas should be as limited as possible. Areas where notifiable military activities can take place will not be declared restricted areas, except for certain permanent or temporary military installations which, in territorial terms, should be as small as possible, and consequently those areas will not be used to prevent inspection of notifiable military activities. Restricted areas will not be employed in a way inconsistent with the agreed provisions on inspection.
- (75) Within the specified area, the forces of participating States other than the receiving State will also be subject to the inspection conducted by the inspecting State.
- (76) Inspection will be permitted on the ground, from the air, or both.
- (77) The representatives of the receiving State will accompany the inspection team, including when it is in land vehicles and in aircraft from the time of their first employment until the time they are no longer in use for the purposes of inspection.
- (78) In its request, the inspecting State will notify the receiving State of:
- (78.1) —the reasons for the request;
 - (78.2) —the location of the specified area defined by geographical co-ordinates;
 - (78.3) —the preferred point(s) of entry for the inspection team;
 - (78.4) —mode of transport to and from the point(s) of entry and, if applicable, to and from the specified area;
 - (78.5) —where in the specified area the inspection will begin;
 - (78.6) —whether the inspection will be conducted from the ground, from the air, or both simultaneously;
 - (78.7) —whether aerial inspection will be conducted using an airplane, a helicopter, or both;
 - (78.8) —whether the inspection team will use land vehicles provided by the receiving State or, if mutually agreed, its own vehicles;
 - (78.9) —information for the issuance of diplomatic visas to inspectors entering the receiving State.
- (79) The reply to the request will be given in the shortest possible period of time, but within not more than twenty-four hours. Within thirty-six hours after the issuance of the request, the inspection team will be permitted to enter the territory of the receiving State.
- (80) Any request for inspection as well as the reply thereto will be communicated to all participating States without delay.
- (81) The receiving State should designate the point(s) of entry as close as possible to the specified area. The receiving State will ensure that the inspection team will be able to reach the specified area without delay from the point(s) of entry.
- (82) All participating States will facilitate the passage of the inspection teams through their territory.
- (83) Within 48 hours after the arrival of the inspection team at the specified area, the inspection will be terminated.
- (84) There will be no more than four inspectors in an inspection team. While conducting the inspection the inspection team may divide into two parts.
- (85) The inspectors and, if applicable, auxiliary personnel, will be granted during their mission the privileges and immunities in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
- (86) The receiving State will provide the inspection team with appropriate board and lodging in a location suitable for carrying out the inspection, and, when necessary, medical care; however this does not exclude the use by the inspection team of its own tents and rations.
- (87) The inspection team will have use of its own maps, own photo cameras, own binoculars and own dictaphones, as well as own aeronautical charts.
- (88) The inspection team will have access to appropriate telecommunications equipment of the receiving State, including the opportunity for continuous communication between the members

- of an inspection team in an aircraft and those in a land vehicle employed in the inspection.
- (89) The inspecting State will specify whether aerial inspection will be conducted using an airplane, a helicopter or both. Aircraft for inspection will be chosen by mutual agreement between the inspecting and receiving States. Aircraft will be chosen which provide the inspection team a continuous view of the ground during the inspection.
 - (90) After the flight plan, specifying, *inter alia*, the inspection team's choice of flight path, speed and altitude in the specified area, has been filed with the competent air traffic control authority the inspection aircraft will be permitted to enter the specified area without delay. Within the specified area, the inspection team will, at its request, be permitted to deviate from the approved flight plan to make specific observations provided such deviation is consistent with paragraph (74) as well as flight safety and air traffic requirements. Directions to the crew will be given through a representative of the receiving State on board the aircraft involved in the inspection.
 - (91) One member of the inspection team will be permitted, if such a request is made, at any time to observe data on navigational equipment of the aircraft and to have access to maps and charts used by the flight crew for the purpose of determining the exact location of the aircraft during the inspection flight.
 - (92) Aerial and ground inspectors may return to the specified area as often as desired within the 48-hour inspection period.
 - (93) The receiving State will provide for inspection purposes land vehicles with cross country capability. Whenever mutually agreed taking into account the specific geography relating to the area to be inspected, the inspecting State will be permitted to use its own vehicles.
 - (94) If land vehicles or aircraft are provided by the inspecting State, there will be one accompanying driver for each land vehicle, to accompanying aircraft crew.
 - (95) The inspecting State will prepare a report of its inspection and will provide a copy of that report to all participating States without delay.
 - (96) The inspection expenses will be incurred by the receiving State except when the inspecting State uses its own aircraft and/or land vehicles. The travel expenses to and from the point(s) of entry will be borne by the inspecting State.
 - (97) Diplomatic channels will be used for communications concerning compliance and verification.
 - (98) Each participating State will be entitled to obtain timely clarification from any other participating State concerning the application of agreed confidence- and security-building measures. Communications in this context will, if appropriate, be transmitted to all other participating States.
 - (99) The participating States stress that these confidence- and security-building measures are designed to reduce the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities and emphasize that their implementation will contribute to these objectives.
 - (100) Reaffirming the relevant objectives of the Final Act, the participating States are determined to continue building confidence, to lessen military confrontation and to enhance security for all. They are also determined to achieve progress in disarmament.
 - (101) The measures adopted in this document are politically binding and will come into force on 1 January 1987.
 - (102) The Government of Sweden is requested to transmit the present document to the follow-up meeting of the CSCE in Vienna and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Government of Sweden is also requested to transmit the present document to the Governments of the non-participating Mediterranean States.
 - (103) The text of this document will be published in each participating State, which will disseminate it and make it known as widely as possible.
 - (104) The representatives of the participating States express their profound gratitude to the Government and people of Sweden for the excellent arrangements made for the Stockholm Conference and the warm hospitality extended to the delegations which participated in the Conference.

Stockholm, 19 September 1986

ANNEX I

Under the terms of the Madrid mandate, the zone of application for CSBMs defined as follows:

"On the basis of equality of rights, balance and reciprocity, equal respect for the security interests of all CSCE participating States, and of their respective obligations concerning confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, these confidence- and security-building measures

will cover the whole of Europe as well as the adjoining sea area* and air space. They will be of military significance and politically binding and will be provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content.

As far as the adjoining sea area* and air space is concerned, the measures will be applicable to the military activities of all the participating States taking place there whenever these activities affect security in Europe as well as constitute a part of activities taking place within the whole of Europe as referred to above, which they will agree to notify. Necessary specifications will be made through the negotiations on the confidence- and security-building measures at the Conference.

Nothing in the definition of the zone given above will diminish obligations already undertaken under the Final Act. The confidence- and security-building measures to be agreed upon at the Conference will also be applicable in all areas covered by any of the provisions in the Final Act relating to confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament. Wherever the term "the zone of application for CSBMs" is used in this document, the above definition will apply.

ANNEX II

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

It is understood that, taking into account the agreed date of entry into force of the the agreed confidence- and security-building measures and the provisions contained in them concerning the timeframes of certain advance notifications, and expressing their interest in an early transition to the full implementation of the provisions of this document the participating States agree to the following:

The annual calendars concerning military activities subject to prior notification and forecast for 1987 will be exchanged not later than 15 December 1986.

Communications, in accordance with agreed provisions, concerning military activities involving more than 40,000 troops planned for the calendar year 1988 will be exchanged by 15 December 1986. Participating States may undertake activities involving more than 75,000 troops during the calendar year 1987 provided that they are included in the an-

* In this context, the notion of adjoining sea area is understood to refer also to ocean areas adjoining Europe.

nual calendar exchanged by 15 December 1986.

Activities to begin during the first 42 days after 1 January 1987 will be subject to the relevant provisions of the Final Act of the CSCE. However, the participating States will make every effort to apply to them the provisions of this document to the maximum extent possible.

This statement will be an annex to the Document of the Stockholm Conference and will be published with it.

Stockholm, 19 September 1986

ANNEX III

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

It is understood that each participating State can raise any question consistent with the mandate of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe at any stage subsequent to the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting.

This statement will be an annex to the Document of the Stockholm Conference and will be published with it.

Stockholm, 19 September 1986⁵

ANNEX IV

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

It is understood that the participating States recall that they have the right to belong or not to belong to international organizations, to be or not to be a party to bilateral or multilateral treaties including the right to be or not to be a party to treaties of alliance: they also have the right of neutrality. In this context, they will not take advantage of these rights to circumvent the purposes of the system of inspection, and in particular the provision that no participating State will be obliged to accept on its territory within the zone of application for CSBMs, more than three inspections per calendar year.

Appropriate understandings between participating States on this subject will be expressed in interpretative statements to be included in the journal of the day.

This statement will be an annex to the Document of the Stockholm Conference and will be published with it.

Stockholm, 19 September 1986

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spheres, real steps towards disarmament in Europe and a system of cooperation between countries in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, humanitarian and other spheres on the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Such cooperation provides a solid material basis for European security. In all these spheres, the Helsinki accords meet the objective requirements of the fast-growing internationalisation of the economic, political and cultural activity of nations as a result of scientific and technological progress.

There is no doubt that Europe can and should contribute actively to the effort to bring about a sharp turn in favour of the policy of peace and detente. It has ample and instructive historical experience and should set an inspiring example in this matter.

Yuri RAKHMANINOV

SOVIET PROGRAMME FOR FULLY ELIMINATING MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS

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struggle for nuclear disarmament has reached a higher level, from which it is necessary to intensify the efforts with the aim of carrying out radical reductions and a total elimination of nuclear weapons. In this respect the need was stressed for continuing contacts and negotiations including those in Geneva on the entire range of problems connected with nuclear and space weapons on the basis of the platform put forward by the Soviet side in Reykjavik."

The stand taken by the Soviet Union in the capital of Iceland is an embodiment of the policy advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress towards ridding mankind of nuclear threat, to complete elimination of mass-destruction weapons, the prevention of the militarisation of outer space, the consolidation of peace and security for all, the extensive, honest and mutually beneficial cooperation. The Soviet Union will continue to follow this line.

USSR — MADAGASCAR RELATIONS ARE MAKING HEADWAY

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Soviet-Malagasy cooperation is making steady progress and offers good prospects because it reflects long-term objective factors. The states' bilateral relations are based on close interests and goals of the socialist states and the newly free countries, which have opted for progressive transformations.

D. Ratsiraka's visit to the USSR, his meetings and talks are a tangible contribution to the development of friendship and understanding between the two countries and ushered in a new stage in Soviet-Malagasy relations. D. Ratsiraka appraised that visit in a telegramme to Mikhail Gorbachev as follows: "The fruitful and useful negotiations which I have had with you strengthened my conviction that our relations rest on a sound and solid foundation and that they will develop harmoniously in many fields in the interests of our peoples".

Vitali YAKOVLEV
